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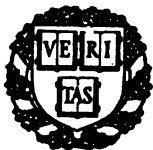
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THE

HOME AND FOREIGN

REVIEW.

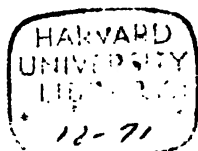
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HOME AND FOREIGN REVIEW.

JANUARY 1864.

MR. GLADSTONE'S FINANCIAL STATEMENTS.¹

MR. GLADSTONE has collected into a single volume his financial speeches in 1853, 1860, 1861, 1862, and 1863, and added to them, in an appendix, his speech on the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill in 1861, and his speech on the extension of the Income Tax to Charities, delivered during the last Session. There is no preface, and there are not more than half a dozen notes—none of them of any length or importance. The author has thought it unnecessary to deprecate criticism or to conciliate hostility. Strong in a well-founded confidence in his own great achievements, he is content to be judged by his contemporaries and by posterity on his own statements, anticipations, and calculations, just as they were made; and he leaves it to the reader to qualify and correct them for himself by the teaching of a subsequent experience. He has no reason to shrink from the verdict of his contemporaries or of posterity: the present volume contains a durable monument of his renown. It is the history of a great financial revolution, which Sir Robert Peel had the honour of beginning, but which Mr. Gladstone has carried over difficulties innumerable to a grand and successful termination. We view its appearance as a proof that such is the opinion of its author. It would hardly have been published had he felt that any large portion of the field of finance remained unexplored, or that any serious difficulty remained to conquer. Not only is it the record

¹ *The Financial Statements of the Years 1853, 1860-1863; with Speeches on Tax-Bills, 1861, and Charities, 1863.* By the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and M.P. for the University of Oxford. London, Murray.

of the financial triumphs of a successful Chancellor of the Exchequer; it is also a splendid record of parliamentary eloquence. Never did Mr. Gladstone's powers of luminous statement and convincing argument appear to so much advantage as in his financial speeches. It is curious that the most florid, the most excursive, the most declamatory, and the most impassioned speaker of the day never shines so much as when manipulating dry statements of figures; expounding the minute reductions and qualifications which are necessary in order to make a fair comparison between estimate, revenue, charge, and expenditure; or narrating the dry details of a business of which the interests of the Excise or Customs revenue have compelled him to make himself master.

The book is exceedingly difficult to review, because hardly any thing can be said of Mr. Gladstone's proposals which he has not previously said of them himself. He has laid bare to us the processes of reasoning and investigation,—the first idea maturing gradually into the full-blown conviction. He has stated, analysed, refuted all the arguments against him. He has turned his proposals round on every side, and looked at them in every light, until the reader or listener—carried away by the mixture of so much subtlety and so much candour—surrenders his mind to the influence of a man who seems to have foreseen, anticipated, and surmounted more objections to his own plans than the most determined and ingenious antagonist would ever have thought it possible to suggest. In two of these speeches—the financial statement of 1853, and the speech on the extension of the Income Tax to Charities—Mr. Gladstone undoubtedly put forth the whole powers of his mind, and exhausted the whole resources of his eloquence: in the first, to force an Income Tax on an unwilling House of Commons; in the second, to extort from an assembly which he well knew had already decided against him the tribute of an involuntary admiration, and of a conviction which some of the most prejudiced of his hearers found it impossible to withhold. Every speech in this volume, however, deserves study from those who wish to learn the art of addressing with success an assembly like the House of Commons. We may read and admire the speeches of the great orators of the earlier part of the century; but the style and manner suited to the present day can no more be extracted from them than from the orations of Cicero. Mr. Gladstone's treatment of every subject is essentially modern: it catches and preserves the tone of the days in which we live, and shows us at least one style which has been crowned with the most complete success. The advantage, however, after all, of possessing these monuments of splendid eloquence is not so great as it seems.

We never heard of any body attempting to imitate Mr. Gladstone; and such an effort would be very unlikely to be rewarded with success. He is above all things an *exemplar vitiis imitabile*. His peculiarities in inferior hands would very easily degenerate into faults. The fall of Phaeton may be prognosticated for any one who with less delicate and practised hand should strive to drive the coursers of the sun. The wonderful command of language might easily degenerate into languid prolixity; the subtlety of thought into verbal quibbling; the affluence of detail into minute and tedious disquisition. Mr. Gladstone deserves the highest credit for originality: his style, his point of view, his manner of treatment, are all his own. But unless a man can bring himself to the belief that he possesses the faculties which enable him to move at ease in so difficult an element, he will do wisely to select for himself some simpler but more attainable model for imitation.

When Mr. Gladstone rose to propose the Budget of 1853, he was placed in a position of no small difficulty and anxiety. He had exactly four months before succeeded in demolishing Mr. Disraeli's Budget by a most bitter and unsparing philippic, and in putting an end by that means to the administration of Lord Derby. From his political antagonists he had of course no mercy to expect when placed himself in a similar position. The battle of free trade had been finally fought and won in the general election of 1852; and the country looked forward, not unreasonably, to great financial reforms. The Coalition Government was in its earlier days of strength and union; and the shadow of the coming war with Russia scarcely yet darkened the horizon. There was nevertheless a tremendous difficulty to overcome. The Income Tax expired in the course of that very year. It is difficult for us at the present time vividly to recall the degree of detestation in which that tax was then held. Men talked loudly of its total repeal, or at any rate of the necessity of taxing incomes at different rates, in proportion to the uncertainty or permanence of the ownership. There can be no doubt that had one or other of these opinions prevailed, such a resolution would have operated as a sentence of official insignificance, almost of nullity, on the Chancellor of the Exchequer. This in his case would have been political extinction. Mr. Gladstone played his stake boldly, and won it easily against the most formidable difficulties. We do not notice those portions of his statements which are of merely transitory interest; but this memorable disquisition on the Income Tax, memorable not only for the mastery of the subject it displayed, but for its influence on the future destiny of our finances, is of no transitory importance. Mr. Gladstone began with great dexterity, avoiding the weak part of his subject, and

treating the Income Tax as a whole. Nay, he almost invested it with personality, pointing to it first as the potent ally by whose aid this country was carried through the great French war with an excess of expenditure over income of 2,000,000*l.* only during the last nine years, instead of an excess of 15,400,000*l.* a year in the first six; an inestimable service, when we consider the terms on which money was then borrowed, and the heavy depreciation of the paper currency. Not forgetting the useful part which an Income Tax might yet play in a future war, which was then much nearer at hand than either the orator or his hearers imagined, he reintroduced the Income Tax as the invaluable instrument of Sir Robert Peel in the tariff reforms which followed its imposition. Thus having associated with the idea of this hated tax the two agreeable notions of success in war, and relief from burdensome taxation, Mr. Gladstone addressed himself in earnest to the difficulties attaching to a reconstruction, or, as he preferred to call it, a breaking up of the Income Tax. He had no difficulty in showing that the owners of property assessed under schedule A, inasmuch as they pay upon the gross income, are much more heavily taxed than persons like those employed in trades and professions, and assessed in schedule D, who pay upon the net income only. The proportion he showed to be as 9 to 7, and then asked triumphantly whether that was not a sufficient difference in taxation to compensate for the more precarious nature of the property. He exposed with great felicity the absurdity of the proposal, since revived by Mr. Hubbard, of classing incomes in averages, and proportioning the tax to their amount. The answer to this proposal is, that such an attempt to do justice would leave the grossest possible inequalities unredressed; and, as it is by individuals, and not by classes, which are only general names for collections of individuals, that the tax is paid, the arrangement would prove utterly futile. "Will it be any consolation to the life of five years' purchase, who is to be averaged at thirteen years, when he shall be called to pay much more than twice as much as he ought on the principles of the reformers of the tax to pay, to find that the life of twenty years' purchase pays only one-half, or little more of what he should pay?" Then followed the argument drawn from the leniency of self-assessment, or, in plainer words, from the enormous frauds perpetrated in the return of mercantile and professional incomes, driven home by the celebrated instance of the owners of property destroyed in order to open Cannon Street. These persons returned their profits for the purpose of compensation at 48,159*l.*, while they were paying Income Tax at the same time on profits which they returned at the modest sum of 9000*l.* As regards incomes under schedule C, Mr. Gladstone argued with great force that it would be a

breach of faith to look beyond the income, in other words, to make them pay more than schedule D, because the capitalised value of their income is greater. "If Parliament," he said, "sets the example of establishing in time of war, when loans are constantly asked for, and when funds are low, the doctrine that you have nothing to do with capitalised income, and then in time of peace, when funds are high, sets up the opposite doctrine, you must prepare for a vital change in your relations with those who have hitherto trusted you." After showing, by an analysis of different kinds of joint accounts, that the fund-holder is not generally the rich and indolent person he is supposed to be, and descanting on the difficulty of dealing with such persons as bishops, deans, curates, and auctioneers, when included under the same class, he pointed out with great force and felicity the impossibility of exempting any set of persons without raising an equally strong claim for exemption on behalf of those who stand next to them in what we may call the scale of hardship. If you exempt annuitants for years, you can hardly refuse the same privilege to annuitants for life, whose interest is less certain to the possessor, and yet equally capable of being estimated in money. If you exempt one tenant for life, you can hardly refuse the claim of another; and thus the vortex of exemption gradually increasing, the whole settled property of the country would be ultimately drawn into it. Exemption would become the rule, and payment the exception; and the tax would break down under the weight of its own injustice and absurdity. Relinquish the tax if you will, but do not break it to pieces, nor believe that you can easily recall steps whose necessary effect must be to interest powerful classes in their continuance. Such was Mr. Gladstone's celebrated argument. How delicate and difficult he felt his position to be, we may judge from the care which he took to impress upon the House his opinion that the Income Tax is not well adapted for permanent revenue, and from the palliatives with which he was careful to accompany his proposal. He exempted insurances on life, within certain limits, from the incidence of the tax. He proposed, as an equivalent for any inequality which might still be thought to exist between schedule A and schedule D, a duty on successions to land. And he regulated the Income Tax prospectively, renewing it for two years at 7*d.* in the pound, for two years more at 6*d.* in the pound, and for three years more at 5*d.* in the pound; demonstrating by elaborate calculation that at the end of the last period in 1860, on the falling in of the terminable annuities, the Income Tax which would then expire need not again be renewed.

Never was success more complete. So entirely were the

House and the country carried away by this masterly argument, that Mr. Gladstone felt himself strong enough to extend the tax from incomes of 150*l.* to incomes of 100*l.* a year; and, as a sort of equivalent for the surrender of our claim on her for the famine, in the shape of four millions and a half of Consolidated Annuities, to impose the Income Tax on Ireland. By thus rescuing the Income Tax from what appeared inevitable destruction, Mr. Gladstone rendered a most important service to the country. By the retention of the Income Tax he preserved an instrument of extraordinary power, by means of which he was able to remit the excise duty on soap, amounting in round numbers to 1,400,000*l.*; to reduce the duty on tea from 2*s.* 2*d.* to 1*s.* 8*d.* a pound in 1853, and during this year to 1*s.*; and to revise our tariff by the abolition of duties on manufactured articles and of unproductive duties, by substituting rated duties for duties *ad valorem*, and by lowering duties on articles of food the produce of foreign countries. In the next year, when the Russian war was upon us, we had the greatest reason to rejoice that he had saved to us the Income Tax complete and entire, had widened the basis on which it rests, and had enabled us to add a million to our revenue every time we add a penny to the tax.

But while we render full justice to the magnitude of Mr. Gladstone's exploit, we cannot give our unqualified assent to all the arguments he employed. Ten years, perhaps mainly owing to him, have wrought a great change in the opinion of mankind with regard to the Income Tax. It is no longer looked upon as a temporary expedient; its existence is required to satisfy the demand which has grown up in the public mind for something like a balance between direct and indirect taxation. Higher ground is now taken for the Income Tax—and taken, as it appears to us, more successfully than the lower ground that it is a convenient inequality, an injustice which we cannot dispense with. The question has been raised as to the meaning of the rule which requires that all taxation should be equal; and it is denied that the Income Tax infringes this rule otherwise than every other species of taxation infringes it. If by equality of taxation it is meant that the sacrifice which every person is called upon by the State to make towards its support should be equal, no taxation would be possible, since not only the Income Tax, but every tax that is levied, must necessarily infringe the principle; for the sacrifice is measured not by the amount of the tax, but by the ability of the person taxed to pay it. But if by equality is meant arithmetical equality,—that the State, selecting a particular object of taxation, should take a certain aliquot part of it for itself, wherever it can find it,—then not only is the In-

come Tax equal, but it is the very type and ideal of an equal tax, being in fact the reduction into practice of the well-known dictum of Adam Smith on the subject. The difficulty is to fix the mind steadily on the idea of income, excluding alike the source from which it is derived, and the purposes for which it is destined; that is, to regard the tax as an Income Tax, which it is, and not as a property tax, which it is not, and never can become without ceasing to be an Income Tax. From this point of view the heavier payment which falls on Schedule A would not be regarded as the correction of an inequality, but as constituting itself an inequality only to be tolerated on account of the immense advantage of taking the tax at the source of income, in the hands of the tenant, instead of paying it over to the landlord in order that it may be again recovered from him. Neither can we admit the soundness of the exemption granted in favour of such portion of the income, not exceeding one-seventh, as may be devoted to life-insurance. It may have been necessary for prudential reasons to make this concession; but the only principle on which it can be justified is the exemption of all savings which can be proved to have been made. And the concession of this principle in a single instance is fraught with all the danger of breaking down the tax by the extension of the exemption to similar cases, which Mr. Gladstone so felicitously exposed. Events have sufficiently dealt with the reasoning which sought to reconcile the country to the reimposition of the tax on the ground that it might be dispensed with at the end of seven years. What really happened, though exactly the reverse of Mr. Gladstone's prognostication, would have furnished him (could he have foreseen it) with a much stronger argument. The first attempt at a seven years' budget was not successful, and gives little encouragement for its repetition. While noting defects, we must not pass over the heavy miscalculations with regard to the succession duty, which instead of 2,000,000*l.* yields, we believe, not much more than half a million a year. The subject was exceedingly complicated; and, had the mistake arisen in overlooking some of the numberless intricacies and perplexities of our law of real property, there would have been little cause for complaint. But the failure of the measure arose entirely from the assumption of a transparently false analogy between real and personal property; that is, from omitting to observe that real property almost invariably passes to the eldest son, who pays only a duty of one per cent, while personal property is often divided among persons much less nearly related to the testator or intestate, and bound therefore to pay a much higher rate of duty. The best that can be said of it is, that the fault is amendable, and that, according to Mr. Gladstone's financial statement, on the strength of which the duty was imposed, the landed in-

terest is debtor to the public revenue to the amount of a million and a half per annum.

We are now called upon to leap over the seven years covered by Mr. Gladstone's prophecies, and to pass by his War Budget in 1854, and the attacks which he made on the financial statements of Sir George Lewis in the three succeeding years. He invites us to meet him again on his own financial ground in 1860. The time was again one of peculiar interest, and Mr. Gladstone's position, if not so critical as in 1853, was one demanding the exercise of all his extraordinary powers. In 1860 the terminable annuities dropped, and the expenditure of the country was relieved by the annual amount of 2,146,000*l.*; 12,000,000*l.*, the amount of duties on tea and sugar, lapsed at the same time. The Income Tax, according to the arrangement of 1853, also came to an end, involving a revenue between 9,000,000*l.* and 10,000,000*l.* All this was foreseen; but what was not foreseen was that we had entered into the commercial treaty with France, involving the remission of taxes amounting to 1,190,000*l.* There were two methods, as Mr. Gladstone explained, by which the ways and means could be made to balance the charge of the year 1860-61, estimated at 70,100,000*l.* The one was to retain the tea and sugar duties at their former amount, and to impose an Income Tax at the rate of 9*d.* in the pound; the other was to reduce the tea and sugar duties to their amount before the war, and to fill up the deficiency by the simple expedient of an Income Tax of 1*s.* in the pound. Both these very sensible and straightforward propositions, either of which, under the circumstances, appeared to ordinary minds not by any means to be despised, the Chancellor of the Exchequer almost contemptuously rejected. The great, the cardinal, the critical year had arrived—the year destined to be ever memorable in the annals of British finance—when the falling-in of the terminable annuities would give the opportunity for the last and most glorious exploits of financial reform. For seven years Mr. Gladstone had waited for that time; and now that it was come, and come also when he was restored to office, after a dreary interval of exclusion, was it to be tolerated that so mighty an event as the reduction of the interest on the debt by a sum of 2,000,000*l.* per annum,—a thing that had never happened before, and in all probability would never happen again,—should be allowed to pass by without some amelioration in our fiscal system corresponding to the amount of the direct relief?

No doubt fortune dealt very hardly with Mr. Gladstone. He had to face an expenditure the amount of which it had not entered into his mind to conceive. The sense of insecurity produced by the threats following on the Orsini plot, the necessity of again revolutionising the structure of our whole navy, the

equally imperious demand for improved ordnance, and the unseasonable quarrel with China, with the prospect of operations on a large scale, had fearfully increased the expenditure since the golden days which preceded the Crimean War; and in this vast gulf the long-looked-for reduction in the interest of the debt was so completely swallowed up that, even after this reduction, there was, as we have shown, great difficulty in establishing an equilibrium. But Mr. Gladstone scorned to submit to adverse fate. He had marked out the year 1860 as a memorable epoch in British finance; and he determined to realise his prediction. The reduction of the debt could in reason only furnish an occasion for the reform of the tariff under the condition that it presented us with a surplus revenue. But Mr. Gladstone determined to create a surplus, and to draw from his own mind the resources which adverse fortune had so perversely denied him. The French Treaty required, as we have said, the taking off of import duties to the amount of 1,190,000*l.* Mr. Gladstone determined to make the revision of the tariff complete; and so, in addition to the French Treaty, he further proposed to take off taxes to the amount of 982,000*l.* As if this was not sufficient, he further announced his intention of taking off the excise duty on paper, amounting to about one million more. The effect of these different operations, after allowance had been made for some new taxes which he imposed, and for compensation for reduction of duties by increased consumption, he estimated would be a deficit of a little more than 2,000,000*l.* a year. To fill up this void he put an additional penny on the income tax, and shortened the credit given for the payments of the duty on malt and hops, so as to draw these payments back from the next into the then current financial year. The falling-in of the terminable annuities furnished the occasion and the pretext for these reductions. But as the money supplied by the falling-in of the annuities was needed for other purposes, their place was filled by an anticipation of next year's revenue, and by a call on the never-failing resource of the Income Tax.

With great admiration for the boundless fertility of resource displayed by Mr. Gladstone on this occasion, we cannot forbear expressing an apprehension that the result was scarcely worth the effort. Had he been content to wait patiently for a year or two, all that he wished to attain would, in the ordinary course of events, have fallen without effort into his grasp. But nature does not lavish all her gifts even on the most favoured of her children; and the same ardour, energy, and courage which have made Mr. Gladstone what he is, prevent him from yielding to adverse circumstances, or abiding that turn in the tide of affairs to watch and wait for which is the wisdom of ordinary minds. In this instance

at least *mihi res non me rebus* was his maxim. We do not dispute the excellence of the end he had in view. His arguments against the paper-duty were, as the arguments of much feebler men, when directed against any tax always are, unanswerable. The change which he effected in the Customs has brought the reform commenced by Sir Robert Peel to a complete and glorious consummation. The articles from which the revenue is derived are now only fifteen in number. Twenty-four are added for the purpose of preventing the evasion of these duties, and five to countervail equivalent duties of excise. Simplification has reached its utmost limits; and we may point to our tariff in its ultimate state as a striking example of sound scientific principles and strict logical analysis successfully applied to the administration of public affairs. But we cannot nevertheless approve the means by which these excellent results were obtained. The affairs of a great country ought to be considered with a simplicity and dignity which shall make them perfectly intelligible to all. If the revenue is not sufficient for the wants of the year, we are old-fashioned enough to think there are but two courses legitimately open to a Chancellor of the Exchequer,—to diminish the charge, or, if that be found impossible, to increase the revenue. The contrivance of drawing back a debt receivable next year into this, and taking credit for it as part of the ways and means, is only the art of postponing or disguising a deficit, and calling in chance to redress the evils of extravagance.

The result in the instance now under consideration is well known. The House of Lords refused to pass the Bill abolishing the paper-duty, on the ground that the revenue was in no state to afford it. It was perhaps fortunate for Mr. Gladstone that the year turned out an exceptional one, and enabled him to say that his predictions were affected by circumstances which no human prudence could forecast. It was found necessary to increase the charge by about 3,000,000*l.* in the course of the Session, in order to meet the demands of the Chinese war. The hop-duty fell short by 300,000*l.*, owing to an inclement season. There was a deficiency on malt, from the same cause, of nearly 800,000*l.* And Mr. Gladstone's able speech of 1861 is a long enumeration of the causes which occasioned failure in the revenue, and baffled the calculations of the year before. How eagerly every point in this direction was pressed may be gathered from the statement that, as the revenue of the country comes in at about the rate of 100,000*l.* a day, and as the year 1859-60 was leap year, and the year 1860-61 began and ended with a Sunday, and contained besides two Good Fridays, the year 1859-60 had three more days' revenue to show than the year 1860-61. We confess that we read statements of this kind with some impa-

tience ; exilis domus est ubi non et multa supersunt ; the vast revenues of England should be calculated with sufficient margin over the expenditure to render such refinements as these entirely superfluous. We do not wish to see matters pushed into such niceties. Each financial year should live at peace with all its brethren, and attempts should not be made to get up a sort of border warfare between them.

We need not dilate on a subject so notorious and so fully canvassed as the question of privilege which arose between the Houses upon the refusal of the Lords to pass the Bill for the abolition of the paper-duty. We are among those who think that the attempt by the Lords to alter the balance of income and expenditure, by rejecting one of the principal remissions of the year, fully justified the Commons in protecting themselves by sending up their measures of finance in a single Bill. It is expedient that there should be a single responsibility in such cases, and that the constitution under which we have so long lived and flourished should not be invaded with impunity by that which professes to be the more conservative branch of the legislature. Mr. Gladstone's speech on the subject, printed in this volume, appears to us unanswerable, and is a fine specimen of the vigour and acuteness with which he can argue and exhaust a legal subject. In 1861 he was able to state that the estimated revenue for 1862, amounting to 71,823,000*l.*, exceeded the estimate of expenditure, which was 69,900,000*l.*, by 1,923,000*l.* Upon this statement the paper-duty was repealed ; Mr. Gladstone's policy was carried out ; and the only relic of this memorable dispute is the practice, which will probably continue as long as the House of Commons itself, of putting all the financial measures of the year into the same Bill, instead of, as heretofore, tendering them for acceptance in the form of separate measures.

There remains one other question connected with the Budget of 1861 on which we have as yet said nothing. To none of his long and brilliant services does Mr. Gladstone owe so much fame and so much popularity as to the treaty which has thrown open to us the trade of France, and bids fair, if the peace of Europe be preserved, to indemnify us for the losses we have sustained by the civil war in America. It was probably the only way by which the markets of France, closed to us by laws of almost incredible absurdity, could be thrown open to the world. We find in it not only a source of present profit, but a guarantee of future peace. Somewhat too much stress, perhaps, has been laid on the single article of French wine ; seeing that the Treaty, or rather our extension of it, throws open to us other and more congenial markets in Spain and Portugal ; and that French wines are not at present, whatever they may have

been 200 years ago, or may become hereafter, adapted to the taste of the great majority of Englishmen. Mr. Gladstone says that no Free-trader objects to the Treaty, and that such objections as are taken from this point of view are those of Protectionists in disguise. We will freely admit that the evil reputation attaching to commercial treaties cannot with any fairness be attached to the recent Treaty with France. The ancient commercial treaties generally contain stipulations for a double monopoly, each contracting party requiring that his own commodities should be admitted without competition, and agreeing, in consideration of this benefit, to show the like favour to the productions of the other contracting party. It may also well be that the advantages of our commercial Treaty with France far outweigh the evils of a deviation from sound principle, and that it would be mere pedantry to except to so great a benefit because it has not been conferred strictly in accordance with the principles of abstract science. Nevertheless, as the precedent has been extensively followed, it is well to point out that the assumptions on which the Treaty of Commerce is founded are subversive of those very principles on which the doctrines of free trade rest. The assumption implied in such a treaty of commerce is, that exports are a good to the country from which they proceed, and an evil to the country to which they are sent; but that, as the advantage of exporting our produce to another country exceeds the disadvantage of importing the produce of that other country into our own, we are willing to submit to receive their imports on condition that they will receive our exports. The whole doctrine is redolent of the balance of trade, and of the exploded fallacies of the mercantile system. The object of exportation is importation; and unless we can receive, in money or in goods, an adequate consideration for our exports, we had better desist from trade altogether. Till this truth is understood and adopted, nations may embrace the practice of free trade, but will scarcely comprehend its theory; and we are greatly afraid that the true comprehension of that theory—so essential for the best interests of mankind—will be retarded or embarrassed by a solemn act performed by free-trading England, under the auspices of two such authorities as Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Cobden.

The financial epic of which Mr. Gladstone was the *Æneas*, and Mr. Disraeli the *Turnus*, draws to a conclusion. The rash and daring measures of 1860, completed by the repeal of the paper-duty in 1861, found their full accomplishment in 1863, in a day of triumph which must have more than compensated for all the anxieties and all the censures of the preceding three years. In spite of a number of circumstances so adverse that

they might well have accounted for a very different conclusion ; in spite of the American war and the distress in Lancashire ; in spite of a succession of three inclement seasons ; in spite of distress in Ireland, far greater than was apprehended until it was demonstrated by those agricultural statistics which a paltry jealousy denies to England ; Mr. Gladstone was able to announce a surplus of income over expenditure of 3,741,000*l.*, and thus to complete the symmetry of his great financial edifice. In accordance with the now tacitly, if not publicly, acknowledged position of the Income Tax as a permanent part of the public revenue of the country, he was enabled to mitigate the severity of his own measure of 1853, by deducting 60*l.* from all incomes under 200*l.* a year before they are assessed to the tax. He was enabled to lower the duty on tea to 1*s.* in the pound, and to take off the tax of 1*d.* on parcels of goods inwards, and the duty of 1*s.* 6*d.* on bills of lading outwards. These taxes were a reproach to Mr. Gladstone's financial career ; and we look back with surprise to that portion of his speech in 1860 in which he first announced them. They always appeared to us to be exactly the same in kind, though doubtless less burdensome in degree, as those transit duties which we found established in India ; the abolition of which in 1838 was one of the earliest exploits of her present financial minister, Sir Charles Trevelyan. The vexation they occasioned was enormous ; the revenue they yielded was small ; and we rejoice most sincerely that Mr. Gladstone has been enabled to remove this blot from his escutcheon. The best excuse that can be made for them is that they were imposed in the crisis of 1860, when it was confessedly necessary to scrape together revenue from every source, in order to make the year that which circumstances never destined it to be—a year of extensive remission and sweeping tariff reform.

Before we conclude this sketch of the career of the third great financial minister whom England has possessed since the accession of George III., we must touch on another subject, the controversy concerning which is not—like those on which we have already commented—concluded, but raged fiercely during last Session, and is likely to break out with even greater violence in the coming year. We refer, of course, to the extension of the Income Tax to charities. Charitable corporations, being immortal, could hardly without absurdity be subjected to the incidence of a succession tax ; and yet it seemed hard that, in raising 15,000,000*l.* by direct taxation, we should spare those wealthy institutions which have so often in the history of the world been made by governments the objects of plunder, and might therefore not unreasonably pay something towards taxation, as a sort of black mail—surrendering a part in order to

save the rest. The claim, however, of the charities is, to be exempt from direct taxation altogether; to profit in common with the rest of the community by the vast simplifications and remissions which the imposition of direct taxation has enabled us to obtain; and to extend—by means of fresh acquisitions, made either by gift or will from individuals, or by savings effected out of their own income—the property claiming this immunity to an amount to which no one can fix a limit.

It would seem that in such a case all the argument must necessarily be on one side; and, hitherto at least, it has been so. The general principle of taxation is indisputable; all property should contribute to the support of the State by whose agency it is protected; and charitable property has less than any other a right to exemption from this duty, inasmuch as not only the property of the charities, but the charities themselves, only exist through the act of law and the intervention of Government. These principles are so perfectly manifest, so absolutely incontrovertible, and the case of charities ranges itself so clearly within them, that it might seem to ordinary minds that nothing more was to be said. But the man who should hold this opinion little knows what an unfair and overbearing opposition, what a deputation so numerous and so influential that it seemed collected more for the purpose of intimidation than argument, can wring from a mind like Mr. Gladstone's, armed with every weapon of dialectical fence, bold, impetuous, ardent, impatient of contradiction, and wound up to the highest state of tension by the conviction of a good cause. Stimulated by these feelings, well knowing his cause was lost, but determined not to yield without executing signal justice on his opponents, Mr. Gladstone delivered, on the 4th of May last, a speech on the taxation of charities, which will probably form a memorable epoch in the history of eleemosynary corporations. Having no hope of carrying his measure during that Session, he travelled far beyond the simple question of the Income Tax for charities, and adduced facts and arguments which will some day bear other fruits than the extension of the Income Tax.

Regarded from this point of view, the merit of this great effort can hardly be surpassed. With a freedom and fierceness seldom heard from a man in high office in support of a financial proposition, Mr. Gladstone launched into the whole question. He showed how the word "charity" is restricted so that it does not comprehend those annual subscriptions which are by far its best form; and how the word is strained so as to include gifts tending directly to create poverty and to demoralise their recipients. Subscriptions pay Income Tax, while the rents of property held in mortmain and withdrawn from the salutary influence of opi-

nion pay nothing. He established, with a cogency which seems to admit of no contradiction, that every exemption from taxation is in reality a gift. A certain sum must be made up from among a certain number of contributors: if one of those contributors is excused payment, the burden must fall on the remainder, and the transaction is exactly equivalent to a present to him from the others of the extra amount which they are obliged to pay. The remission of a debt to a person able to pay it is in all respects the same as the gift of an equal sum of money. Armed with this potent weapon, Mr. Gladstone summoned the charities, one by one, to the bar of public opinion, and called upon them to show what they had done to deserve a grant out of the public taxation of the country. He inveighed with inimitable force and eloquence against the absurdity and inconsistency of examining every year, one by one, every article of expenditure, every grant made for any purpose—even grants secured by Act of Parliament on the Consolidated Fund—and giving 133,000*l.* a year in gross, without enquiry, for the assistance of a number of institutions varying in every possible way in their degrees of usefulness, and the purity or corruptness of their administration. We cannot follow him through his withering exposure of Jarvis's and Smith's charity, of the abuses of Christ's Hospital, and the plethoric state of some of those hospitals which are among the most useful of charitable institutions, but also among the most able to subsist without becoming a burden to the taxpayer. We have said that for Mr. Gladstone's object—which was not so much to carry his financial measure at the moment, as to arouse public attention to a subject too long overlooked, and thickly overlaid with ignorance and prejudice—this treatment of the question was probably most judicious. Many of these institutions will hereafter find that they would have consulted their own interests better by yielding at once to the moderate and reasonable demand made upon them on behalf of the public, than by provoking Mr. Gladstone to a series of attacks such as the one of which we are speaking. They have succeeded in exempting themselves from Income Tax for certainly one year, and probably for more; but they have roused the spirit of enquiry, which will never rest until it has thoroughly searched out these pleasant places of the earth, and brought to light many a job which now modestly nestles in congenial obscurity.

Merely as a financial argument, Mr. Gladstone's speech is open to the criticism ordinarily made upon it—that he undertakes a burden of proof which was not necessary for the support of his case. He could well afford to admit, for the sake of argument, that the money expended by charitable corporations was

upon the whole beneficially expended, and yet to deny that such beneficial expenditure afforded any ground for exemption, that is, for a grant in aid. The Income Tax is imposed upon income not because that income is misapplied, but because it is income, that is, the revenue of the nation, a part of which must be contributed to the support of the Government. The same principle which we indicated above—the restricting of our view to income only, and paying no attention, for the purposes of the tax, to the source from which it is derived, or the object to which it is applied—seems to dispose in the only consistent manner of this question of charities. We are not obliged to prove a man a villain in order to entitle ourselves to take for the public sevenpence out of every pound of his income; and we ought not to be required to show that a charity is mischievous or maladministered in order to make from it a similar demand for a similar purpose. We do not allow an individual to deduct from his income for the purposes of assessment his subscriptions for hospitals, churches, or schools. Why should we extend the exemption to institutions for these objects? The subscriptions to the Volunteers, to the Patriotic Fund, to life-boats, all go to perform duties which might be performed by the Government itself; yet the Government has no scruple in making money out of these well-meant efforts to assist it, and extracting a fresh revenue out of money paid for purposes in relief of the revenue already existing. Mr. Gladstone was much pressed with the argument that the effect of the Income Tax would be to reduce the number of patients in hospitals. He met this suggestion by what we believe to be a very well-founded doubt of its truth, by the assertion, which seems quite incontestable, that private liberality, if appealed to, would not fail to make good the deficiency, and that, if this were not so, it might be a proper case for a direct grant of public money. Would it not have been simpler to reply that, even if this should happen, it was only one of the inevitable evils which follow in the train of taxation? Is any man so simple as to suppose that the Income Tax can be collected from private persons without drying up the springs of useful charity, and cramping within narrow limits the circle of individual benevolence? You cannot impoverish the giver without in some degree acting upon the resources of the recipient. We confront this evil boldly in the case of private incomes; and it is difficult to see why we should shrink from the consequence when we are dealing with the incomes of corporations.

With these remarks we commend Mr. Gladstone's financial speeches to the careful perusal of every man who wishes to understand the principles upon which public affairs are now conducted, and the calibre of the men by whom they are administered. If we have any criticism to make, it is on excess of argument, of

illustration, of detail, and of refinement. But passing over these minor defects, what a profound mastery of the whole region of finance, what a grasp of principle, what a command of facts, what a facility in manipulating figures, what eloquence, what energy, what humour, what sarcasm does this single volume exhibit! Short as it is, its contents are so important and so multifarious, that the greatest want we feel in reading it is that of an index to enable us to refer and collate. The career it describes is that of a man possessing vigour of character and intensity of will sufficient to control events, and mould the most adverse circumstances to his purpose. The end is always kept steadily in view. Whether riding on the wave of well-merited popularity in 1853, or struggling against not wholly-undeserved censure in 1860, the intrepid pilot steers boldly onward until, in 1863, he moors his bark in the haven where he would be. What future triumphs are reserved for one who, not yet past the meridian of life, has reduced our revenue system to its present state of simplicity and perfection we cannot tell. We can only hope that the one great object in which Mr. Gladstone has been unsuccessful—the keeping down of our public expenditure within more moderate limits—may yet be granted to his efforts, and that there may be reserved for him the honour of devising and forcing on Parliament and the country some machinery by which provision may be made, on a scale worthy of the wealth and public spirit of the nation, for the appropriation of a considerable annual sum for the reduction of the National Debt. The perfection of our financial system is unhappily contemporaneous with a change in the relations of Parliament to the executive government of evil augury for the future. Time was when the whole struggle of those who represent the crown was to extract as much money as possible from the House of Commons, while the House defended the pockets of its constituents against what it considered, and often very justly, the arts of corruption and the means of extravagance. These parts are now exactly reversed. A large expenditure has become popular with the country and with its representatives. All idea of corruption or misappropriation being at an end, the House has become anxious to meet the wishes of the country, and the demands of a civilisation becoming daily more exigent and more fastidious. Symptoms have not been wanting that this easy temper of the House may be abused for the demands of local selfishness, or prostituted for the purposes of political corruption. The responsibility for this increased expenditure rests lightly on the House of Commons; and those who most complain of our estimates confine themselves to general denunciations, and habitually absent themselves from those committees of supply by

which alone any thing material in the way of reduction can be effected. But the minister of finance is saddled with the full weight of responsibility; and from him now comes the only practical check that still exists on public extravagance. The servant of the crown now defends the pockets of the people against the attacks of their representatives. So long as we have Mr. Gladstone at the Exchequer, we have no doubt this duty will be vigilantly and conscientiously performed. But we cannot avoid the apprehension that a time may come when public men will grow weary of drawing down unpopularity on themselves, and on the government to which they belong, by saving money which no one wants to save, and by preventing extravagance which no one wants to prevent. It is even possible that a Government may obtain a momentary power and popularity by a profuse and facile acquiescence in the demands that are made upon it, and that Parliament may incur permanent discredit, and the country the risk of dangerous organic change, when the conviction is once established that the public purse is placed in the hands of unthrifty guardians. Against these dangerous tendencies it seems to be Mr. Gladstone's lot to struggle. To one who has done so much scarcely any thing may seem impossible; and we are not inclined to believe that, as a financier, it is his destiny to subside into commonplace inglorious ease, after a career of ten such years as are depicted in the volume before us.

MILITARY COURTS-MARTIAL.

MARTIAL law, in the sense of a law creating or sanctioning any general jurisdiction over military persons other than that of the tribunals which have a common authority over all subjects of the realm, has been laid down to be a thing unknown in England. Among us the theory that "because men are soldiers they cease to be citizens," that "an Englishman by taking upon him the additional character of a soldier puts off any of the rights and duties of an Englishman," has never been any thing more than a "strange mistaken notion." For all ordinary wrongs, whether committed by or against him, a soldier is liable to the same punishments, and may avail himself of the same remedies, as other men. The only difference between him and them is, that he is subjected to an exceptional jurisdiction if he is guilty of certain exceptional offences. Still, even in this respect, he is only on the same footing as a clergyman or a barrister, one of whom may be tried by an ecclesiastical judge for a breach of the ecclesiastical law, while the other may be called to account for professional shortcomings by the Benchers of his Inn of Court. Indeed, in some ways, a court-martial occupies a lower position than either of these tribunals. They possess at least an authority and a procedure of their own; they can claim a place in the past; they can point to historical antecedents. But a court-martial is the mere creature of the statute law, having only a precarious existence from year to year by the direct intervention of Parliament.

It is necessary to point this out, because there is a tendency sometimes observable to treat a court-martial as a thing apart, exempt from the ordinary action of public opinion,—a thing with which the Legislature has little more concern than with the government of the royal household or the regulation of precedence at court. If the power of these military tribunals were as limited as their antiquity or their independence, this error would be of little moment. But this is not the case. It is true, indeed, that when a subject enters into a new contract with the State, by becoming a soldier, he loses none of the rights of a citizen save those which he voluntarily surrenders in return for certain benefits. But the rights of which he thus divests himself by contract are neither few nor unimportant. They are thus summed up by the Legislature every year in the preamble to the Mutiny Act: "Whereas no Man can be prejudged of Life or Limb, or subjected in Time of Peace to any kind of Punishment within this Realm, by Martial Law, or in any other

Manner than by Judgment of his Peers, and according to the known and established Laws of this Realm." And then, immediately after this solemn enumeration, comes the statement of the reason and nature of the distinction to be drawn between citizens and soldiers in respect of law and punishment. "Yet, nevertheless, it is requisite for the retaining all the Forces in their Duty, that an exact Discipline be observed, and that Soldiers who shall mutiny or stir up Sedition, or shall desert Her Majesty's Service, or be guilty of Crimes and Offences to the Prejudice of good Order and Military Discipline, be brought to a more exemplary and speedy Punishment than the usual forms of the Law will allow."

Thus the maintenance of the discipline necessary for the efficiency of the army is held to require three things—new crimes, new punishments, and new tribunals. Desertion, which apart from the Mutiny Act would only be a breach of contract, becomes a capital offence. Striking a superior, which in a civilian is only an ordinary assault to be visited by a trifling fine, takes its place in the military code on a level with wilful murder. And the delays of ordinary justice are provided against by the establishment of a court, the action of which is presumed to be "speedy," because the judges are chosen from the army itself, and are therefore always at hand; and "exemplary," because the trial is held in the very presence of the prisoner's comrades, and before a tribunal composed of his and their immediate superiors. Accordingly, by the joint operation of the Mutiny Act and the "Articles" which it empowers the Crown to make for the better government of the army, courts-martial are invested with a statutory jurisdiction over all military persons. In respect of offences against military law, this jurisdiction is exclusive; in respect of those offences against the civil law which are included under the Mutiny Act, it is concurrent with that of the ordinary criminal courts. This concurrent jurisdiction, however, is at the same time a strictly subordinate one, as the Mutiny Act provides that any officer or soldier may be proceeded against by the ordinary course of law when accused of felony or misdemeanour; and any commanding officer who refuses to deliver over the accused to the civil magistrate is, on conviction before a civil court, *ipso facto*, cashiered. Still, even with this proviso, both the sphere and the powers of courts-martial are very large. They can award the punishment of death for twenty-two offences, whether committed by officers or soldiers. For forty others an officer condemned by them must of necessity be cashiered; for twenty-two more he is liable to be cashiered. And, besides this long list of specified crimes, there are two clauses in the Articles of War which give to courts-mar-

tial a jurisdiction with regard to almost every offence of which a military person can be guilty ; one which assigns the punishment of cashiering to "any Officer who shall behave in a scandalous Manner, unbecoming the Character of an Officer and a Gentleman;" and another which provides that "all Crimes not capital, and all Acts, Conduct, Disorders, and Neglects, to the prejudice of good Order and Military Discipline," though not specified in the Articles of War, "shall be taken cognisance of by Courts-martial."

The Crown is empowered by the Mutiny Act to grant commissions under the sign-manual for holding courts-martial within the United Kingdom, and also to issue warrants under the sign-manual to the Chief Governor of Ireland, the Commander of the Forces, or the commander-in-chief of any body of troops either at home or abroad, authorising them to convene courts-martial themselves, and to delegate this power to any field-officer under their respective commands. The usual practice is for the Crown to issue such warrants annually to all officers in command abroad, and to all general officers commanding districts, garrisons, or divisions at home, empowering them to convene general, district, or garrison courts-martial as occasion may require. The distinction between these warrants usually is, that in the case of officers commanding abroad the permission to delegate this power to their subordinates extends to all these descriptions of court-martial, while in the case of officers commanding at home it is limited to district and garrison courts. A regimental court-martial may always be held on the appointment of the commanding officer, without any other authority.

The several kinds of court-martial are distinguished partly by the persons subject to their jurisdiction, partly by the offences which can be tried before them, and partly by the kind and degree of punishment which they can inflict. A general court-martial is competent to try all persons subject to the Mutiny Act for any offence against that Act or the Articles of War, and to pass sentence of death or penal servitude. A district or garrison court-martial is not competent to try any commissioned officer, or any offence punishable with death, except desertion, or to pass any sentence beyond imprisonment. A regimental court-martial is only competent to try soldiers for certain specified offences, and to pass sentence of imprisonment for not more than forty-two days. A general court-martial must ordinarily consist of not less than thirteen officers, a district or garrison one of not less than seven officers, and a regimental one of not less than five officers.

Upon two of these kinds of court-martial we do not propose

to touch any further. No dissatisfaction is felt, so far as we know, with regard to regimental or district courts-martial; and they are probably fitted fairly enough to administer justice in the matters which fall under their cognisance. It is against general courts-martial that the charges of denial or failure of justice are commonly brought, and it is with them alone that we intend to deal. It is therefore to be understood that in the remainder of this Article we shall, for convenience-sake, use the term court-martial as equivalent to general court-martial.

When an officer or soldier is charged with a military offence, he is placed under arrest or in confinement; and the commanding officer has then to determine whether the nature of the charge and the evidence alleged in its support are sufficient to justify him in applying to the proper officer to convene a court-martial. The charges are framed by the commanding officer. If the court is to be held at home, they are submitted to the Judge-Advocate-General; in other cases, the responsibility of proceeding upon them rests with the convening officer. The order conconvoking the court either fixes the time and place of meeting, names the president, and details the number and rank of the other members, who are to be furnished by the different districts, brigades, corps, or garrisons, according to the general tour of duty, or else leaves these points to be determined by the officer in command at the station where the court is held. The president must not be under the rank of a field-officer. The other officers composing the court must all be of equal or superior rank to the prisoner. The court is attended by an officiating judge-advocate, who is appointed in trials at home by the Judge-Advocate-General, either generally or specially for the particular court-martial, and in trials abroad by the convening officer. He is forbidden to act as prosecutor, or to appear as witness for the prosecution. Upon this officer devolves the duty of summoning the witnesses, registering all the proceedings and acts of the court, and taking down all the evidence in writing. He advises the court on all points of law; and both the prosecution and the prisoner have a right to ask his opinion on any legal question which may arise during the proceedings. He is bound, in the event of the court disregarding his suggestions, to transmit a statement of the circumstances which he thinks material, together with the record of the proceedings, to the Judge-Advocate-General at home, or the confirming officer abroad. Since the beginning of this century, the officiating judge-advocate has always been a military officer, though before that time civilians were sometimes appointed. The prosecution is always held to be at the suit of the Crown; and the actual prosecutor is either the prisoner's commanding officer, a staff-officer specially appointed

for the purpose, or the person who prefers the charge, provided he be subject to military law. Only the prosecutor and the prisoner are allowed to address the court, or to put questions to the witnesses, though by custom the prisoner is permitted to have the assistance of a friend or of a professional adviser during the trial.

Having thus sketched the constitution of the court, we will next describe its procedure.

Upon the assembling of the court, the warrant or order by which it is constituted, the warrants appointing the president and officiating judge-advocate, and the charge upon which the prisoner is to be tried, are first read. The names of the officers composing the court are next read over in the hearing of the prisoner; and he has a right, upon cause assigned, to challenge any of them. If he object to the president, the challenge must be referred to the authority which appointed him, unless the challenge be disallowed by two-thirds of the other members. The validity of an objection to any other officer is decided upon by the court. An oath is then taken by the members that they will "duly administer justice," according to the Articles of War and the Mutiny Act, "without partiality, favour, or affection; and if any doubt shall arise, which is not explained by the said Articles or Act, then, according to your conscience, the best of your understanding, and the custom of war in the like cases." After this the charges are again read, and the prisoner is arraigned. He may either plead "Guilty" or "Not guilty;" or he may plead in bar of trial, either by objecting to the jurisdiction of the court or by alleging special reasons why the proceedings should not go on. Evidence must be received, if offered, in support of a plea in bar; and, if it is accepted as valid, the court must adjourn and report its finding to the convening officer. If a prisoner pleads guilty, the court still go on hearing the evidence, and the prisoner may cross-examine,—the object of this singular departure from ordinary criminal procedure being apparently to enable the court to determine what punishment shall be inflicted. When the pleas are disposed of, the prosecutor opens the case by a written address, and then calls his witnesses. If he is himself a witness, he is sworn and examined immediately after addressing the court. The prisoner may cross-examine each witness either at the end of the examination in chief, or after the case for the prosecution is closed, or, by the leave of the court, at any intermediate time; and the court, or any member of it, can put questions to the witnesses at all stages of the proceedings. The prisoner may address the court either at the opening of his defence, or after he has examined his witnesses, or at both times. The prosecutor cross-examines each witness

after the examination in chief. Throughout the trial every question is first written down, and then handed to the president; if approved by him, it is entered in the proceedings by the judge-advocate, then read aloud, and, if no objection is made to it by the opposite party or the court, finally put to the witness. If the prisoner has adduced evidence, the prosecutor is entitled to a reply; and if the evidence involves any new matter, or affects the credibility of the prosecutor's witnesses, he has the right to call witnesses to rebut the defence on these points, and the prisoner may cross-examine them. The prisoner then addresses the court in rejoinder, and, if he chooses, produces further evidence to reestablish the credibility of his witnesses where it has been impugned by the reply.

As soon as the case on each side is over, the court is closed for deliberation upon the finding. The president puts the question to each member, beginning with the junior officer; and the finding is determined by a majority of votes. If it is "guilty," the court reopens to receive evidence of previous convictions and as to the general character of the accused. Witnesses on these points may be cross-examined by the prisoner; and he may rebut their testimony by witnesses of his own. The court then again closes to deliberate upon the sentence; and upon this question the votes of all the members present must be taken, even of those who have previously voted for acquittal. There must be an absolute majority in favour of the particular punishment awarded. For a sentence of death there must be a concurrence of two-thirds of the members present. The court may add any remarks upon the conduct of the prisoner, the prosecutor, or the witnesses, and upon any thing which has been brought out in the course of the proceedings; and the finding and sentence, together with the proceedings, are then forwarded to the proper authority. Within the United Kingdom this is the Judge-Advocate-General, whose duty it is to lay them before the Crown. Officers commanding abroad, who are authorised under the sign-manual to convene courts-martial, are also empowered to confirm their proceedings; but in the case of a commissioned officer being sentenced to suffer death or penal servitude, or to be cashiered, dismissed, or discharged, the matter must be referred to the Judge-Advocate-General, or, in India or China,¹ to the general commanding-in-chief in that country. No sentence of death can be carried into effect in any colony without the approval of the civil governor. Both the finding and the sentence may be sent back once for revision by the court; but it is

¹ This power was for the first time inserted in the warrant issued to the officer commanding in chief in China in the year 1858. See *Simmons on Courts-Martial*, p. 269.

optional with the court itself whether it will act on this suggestion. The decision of the Crown or of the confirming officer is forwarded to the officer by whom the court-martial was convened, and by him communicated to the prisoner's commanding officer.

On turning from the bare statement of what a court-martial is to an examination of the actual working of the system, the first thing which strikes us is, how little justification is afforded, either by the constitution or by the procedure of the court, for one kind of attack to which it is often exposed. In the eyes of some persons a court-martial is only a piece of organised injustice,—a nominal trial, in which the object of the judges is sometimes to shield a guilty man, and sometimes to crush an obnoxious man, but always to do one or the other. On whichever side popular sympathy has declared itself, whether for the prisoner or against him, it is apt to be at once assumed that the court, or more vaguely the authorities, will be on the opposite side. To get off the accused or to get rid of him are the only alternatives which they are supposed capable of presenting to themselves. And it must be admitted that this view receives some countenance from the arguments by which it is often met. A military trial, it is said, must not be judged by the standards applicable to other trials. An ordinary court has only to get at the real facts of the case, to decide the simple question of guilt or innocence: a court-martial has something more than this to care for. Its primary object is the interest of the service; and the first requisite for the interest of the service is the maintenance of military discipline. So far as truth and justice are attainable, consistently with this end, it is the duty of the court to keep them steadily in view; but above all things the judges must remember that they are soldiers. Now, whatever else may be said in defence of such a theory as this, it can derive no support from received military jurisprudence. There is nothing to favour it in the Mutiny Act or in the Articles of War. The only reason there alleged for creating so exceptional a jurisdiction at all is the necessity of bringing offenders to "exemplary and speedy punishment." All the safeguards with which ordinary criminal justice surrounds an accused person exist, almost in the same form, in a trial before a court-martial. The prisoner must be made acquainted with the charges a reasonable time beforehand; it is customary to furnish him with a list of the witnesses for the prosecution; he has the right of challenging every member of the court; he may take advantage of various technical objections to being tried at all; and in the conduct of his defence he is generally allowed even greater liberty than he would be in a civil court. The judges are specially sworn to administer justice;

and both they and the judge-advocate are bound to "take care that the prisoner shall not suffer from a want of knowledge of the law, or from a deficiency of experience, or of ability to elicit from witnesses, or to develope by the testimony which in the course of the trial may present itself, a full statement of the facts of the case as bearing on the defence. Justice is the object for which the court is convened and the judge-advocate appointed; to this aim all their enquiries and attention ought to be directed; and if, in the prosecution of the design, the prisoner should be benefited, the efforts of the court or of the judge-advocate will have been satisfactorily and legitimately exerted."²

So far, therefore, as regards the theory of courts-martial, there is no reason why they should be judged by any other standard than that which we apply to civil tribunals. Both alike are courts of criminal justice, established for the discovery of the truth about that class of facts which involves the guilt or innocence of accused persons. If the existing form of military trials is to be defended, it can only be by showing that it is not in its own nature unfitted for the adequate discharge of this function.

Now courts-martial, as at present constituted, are simply tribunals administering a technical system without the professional knowledge which is required to administer it satisfactorily. The Act of Parliament by which they are created provides them with no rules of evidence proper to themselves, and with no exemption from the consequent necessity of conforming to those laid down by the common law of England. The chapters on evidence, which form a part of every treatise on military law, are simply an abridgment of the recognised legal text-books on the subject. The objections made, either by the prosecutor or the prisoner, to the questions which are put to a witness, or the evidence it is proposed to receive, are exactly those which are raised every day in the ordinary courts of justice. The difference is that, in the one case they are submitted to judges qualified by training and experience to give a satisfactory decision upon their validity, and in the other to judges who have no special knowledge to assist them, and who must therefore base their conclusion either upon uninstructed common sense—in which case their tendency will be to admit all the evidence offered—or upon the degree of plausibility which seems to attach to the particular objection—in which case they will be likely to admit what they have already rejected, or to reject what they have already admitted.

But it is sometimes said, Why should they not trust to uninstructed common sense? This freedom from technical restric-

² *Simmons on Courts-Martial*, p. 179.

tions, this inability to be bound by mere legal niceties, which is urged as an objection to the present system, is really its greatest recommendation. After all, what is the enquiry into the truth of a disputed fact but an exercise of plain common sense? Why should the process be delayed and embarrassed, if not altogether defeated, by the intrusion of artificial restrictions?

This argument is prompted by an entire misconception of the nature and object of rules of evidence. They are simply rules for the discovery of truth under certain conditions. The investigation of a natural law and the trial of an accused person for murder are equally instances of the inductive process; but there is this difference between them: that the scientific investigation is concerned with the discovery of facts for their own sake, while the criminal trial is concerned with the discovery of facts simply as involving the guilt or innocence of the prisoner. The one process may be indefinitely prolonged. Successive enquirers, or even successive generations of enquirers, may contribute their share to the result; and while the truth is still uncertain, we have only to hold our judgment in suspense. The other process cannot be carried on in this way. It deals with a question which must be settled on the evidence obtainable at the time. If, in order to arrive at an absolutely certain answer to it, the trial of a prisoner were to be indefinitely postponed or prolonged, the attempt would defeat itself, and the attainment of practical justice would be sacrificed to the pursuit of ideal justice.

The object, therefore, of rules of evidence is to apply the general laws of scientific investigation under the ordinary conditions of a trial in a court of justice. In this instance the truth has to be extracted by men gifted with only ordinary powers of attention and discrimination from the materials actually submitted to them. If none of these limitations existed,—if every trial might, without inconvenience, be extended over months or years; if the mind of the hearer could take in any amount of evidence, and he could construct for himself, and with reference only to the particular case, a test by which to determine to how much of what he had heard he should attach any weight, and how much he should put aside altogether,—then it might be wise to lay down no restrictions as to the conduct of the investigation, and to admit every kind of testimony which could by possibility supply materials for a verdict. Under these circumstances there could hardly be such a thing as irrelevant evidence. Whether A did or did not commit a given crime is usually a matter to be determined by the degree of credibility we attach to certain witnesses; and every thing which can throw any light upon their

character has a bearing more or less direct upon the point at issue. But the kind of investigation which this view of the subject implies is, in human affairs, simply unattainable. If we were thus to set no limit to the evidence to be received, we should in fact be carrying on a dozen trials instead of one; and in each of them we should have to determine not merely the simple question, Did A do this? but the far more difficult one, Are the witnesses for or against him most likely, judging from all we have heard of their past lives and characters, to be telling the truth?

If, therefore, it is true that, so long as a legal investigation has to be conducted by men, the first requisite to its successful prosecution is the proper limitation of the area over which it is to extend, no argument against applying the rules we have been speaking of can be drawn from the fact that the immediate object of most of them is the exclusion of particular kinds of evidence. It may indeed sometimes seem as though their effect were to shut out useful helps towards a right conclusion; and jurymen no doubt have often thought that the very considerations which the judge has directed them to dismiss altogether from their minds, when deliberating upon their verdict, are just those which they would like to go into more minutely, and which, if they could only be quite satisfied about them, would clear up all their difficulties. If they made the experiment, they would soon find out their mistake. They would find that the judge, who has seemed to be standing between them and the truth, has really been protecting them from multiform chances of error; and that the rules which they have decried as mere arbitrary technicalities are really based on the recognition of the necessary conditions of every human enquiry.

Two things, then, seem clear:—first, that rules of evidence are simply necessary instruments for the attainment of truth; and next, that by the present system of courts-martial they are entrusted to hands which are quite incompetent to use them. Perhaps these two considerations might of themselves be good reason for a change; but the practical evils of the present system afford an argument more generally convincing than any which can be derived from purely theoretical imperfections.

The ultimate purpose for which all courts of law exist is the dispensing of justice. As they are human, it is of course impossible that they should always succeed in doing this; but every failure is, so far, a failure to answer the very end of their institution. It does not follow that this is, in all cases, a discredit to the tribunal concerned. It may arise from circumstances which have their origin outside the court itself, or from the exceptional

operation of a rule which is generally beneficial. But if the miscarriage of justice can in any respect be traced to the constitution or procedure of the court, then of necessity that constitution or that procedure stands condemned. We have seen that the actual conduct of a trial by court-martial, however cumbrous may be the formality of some of its details, is, in all its main principles, identical with that of any other criminal trial; and it will not, therefore, be necessary to say any thing further upon this part of the subject. But when we turn to the constitution and functions of the military courts, it must strike every one that if a tribunal so composed, and invested with such anomalous offices, can be safely entrusted to administer the law, our whole system of civil judicature is a mistake.

Let us take the ordinary case of a prisoner tried at the assizes. There is no admixture of the functions of judge and jury. The jury are allowed to keep their attention wholly fixed upon the facts as they are laid before them. Even in this they are aided. They have the whole mass of evidence for and against the prisoner carefully analysed and arranged for them, so as to show the exact bearing of every part upon the question; and this is done by a judge whose whole professional life was a preparation for his office, and who is constantly employed in its discharge. Upon him devolves the decision of all the questions which may arise as to the admissibility of this or that piece of evidence; and his sense of responsibility in this respect is quickened and sustained by the knowledge that his decisions are uttered before a trained bar accustomed to discuss and criticise them. If he feels a doubt upon any point, he is usually able to consult another judge who is sitting in an adjoining court; and in all cases he can reserve the question for the consideration of the Court of Criminal Appeal, where it will be submitted to the Justices of the Queen's Bench and Common Pleas and the Barons of the Exchequer. Even if the offence be one which falls within the jurisdiction of the quarter sessions, though the magistrates are not lawyers, yet the chairman of the bench has at least all that part of a judge's training which comes from experience and practice; and there are the same opportunities of submitting his decisions to higher authority.

Let us now turn to trial by court-martial. The officers who compose the court are at once judges and jurymen. In the one capacity they have no knowledge; in the other they have no assistance. They have to give decisions upon all kinds of technical difficulties raised in name by the prisoner or the prosecutor, but in fact by the counsel sitting at his side. They have the advice, it is true, of the officiating judge-advocate; but he is a

soldier like themselves, possessing, it may be, no greater legal knowledge, and having only this advantage over them, that he is not responsible for his opinion. It is an opinion, and nothing more. The members of the court have to decide by the light of their own understanding, and at their individual risk. Embarrassed by the results of their judicial incompetence, they proceed to discharge the functions of a jury. They have to disentangle the conflicting details of a mass of evidence, half of which possibly has been wrongly received, and is wholly irrelevant to the issue, while the other half perhaps is hardly intelligible for want of some link in the chain, which has been wrongly rejected. They come to this task with the declamation or the sophistries of the opposing counsel fresh in their ears,—for it is only the counsel's voice, and not his arguments, that a court-martial is afraid of;—and they have no summing-up to guide them, no judge to point out to them the facts which are really in dispute, the nature and amount of the evidence which has been adduced on each side, or the exact proportions of the issue upon which they are to decide. To argue that there is no danger of justice miscarrying where the conditions of the quest after it are such as these, would be to claim for courts-martial either the privilege of inspired knowledge or the safeguard of miraculous guidance.

But it may be objected that one important fact has been omitted; that, granting the chances of failure to be thus numerous, the danger is practically averted by the reference of the proceedings to the Judge-Advocate-General; that he, at any rate, being a lawyer, will detect any material error; that upon his advice, the finding can, if necessary, be reversed, or the sentence remitted; and that, though this arrangement may be a clumsy one, it at all events secures to the prisoner the substantial benefit of a fair trial.

To allege this objection is to assume that that is a fair trial for the prisoner which takes place without publicity, without any oral examination of witnesses, without any opportunity for the judge to put any questions for himself. But passing by this, and passing by also the obvious argument that, if the Judge-Advocate-General's office is to be the real seat of military justice, the proceedings may as well begin there as end there, this line of defence only embraces half the charge. The escape of an innocent man is not the only, though it may be the most important, test of the right administration of justice. The condemnation of a guilty man has to be secured also; and for this the reference to the Judge-Advocate-General affords us no guarantee. The conviction is quashed if there has been any important technical error in the

trial; and then, if the conviction was wrong on the merits, the final result is satisfactory. But supposing the conviction to be right on the merits, what is the consequence? The prisoner stands acquitted, not because he is innocent, not because the evidence of his guilt was incomplete, but because his judges in condemning him have vitiated their own act by their own blunders. In all cases where the court is wrong in its law and right in its facts, the intervention of the Judge-Advocate-General may secure justice from violation; but it can only do so at the expense of truth.

The imminent danger of a failure of justice is not, however, the only evil of the present system of courts-martial. The entire uncertainty which exists whether the finding on any given trial will be right or wrong, combined with the absolute certainty that, with the present constitution of the court, the whole weight of probability is necessarily against its being right, has given birth to a complete want of confidence in the result. A trial in an ordinary civil court usually settles the disputed question in the public mind. If the evidence is very conflicting, and the jury have had to elect which side they should believe, there may be people who think their decision wrong; but still, in all ordinary cases, the verdict is accepted by the public as the best attainable conclusion upon the facts. But no such general acceptance follows upon the sentence of a court-martial. Those who take interest enough in the subject to read the report of the proceedings weigh the evidence, after a fashion, for themselves; but they do this instead of accepting the verdict, rather than as a preliminary to approving it. It is hardly too much to say that in general society the position of an officer is unaffected by the result of his trial. Public opinion condemns or acquits him in a certain rough way; but it does this in the majority of cases on its own responsibility, and without much troubling itself to enquire whether its conclusions are or are not in harmony with those of the court. And although respect for authority may prevent military men from admitting the fact quite so frankly, it is probable that the opinion of the intelligent members of the profession coincides in the main with that of the public.

Such a state of things can hardly be satisfactory to any of the parties concerned. If the prisoner is guilty, he does not feel his chances of escape increased; and if he is innocent, he knows that an acquittal will be deprived of half its value. If the prosecution is instituted on behalf of a private person, he shares the prisoner's uncertainty as to the result; if it is in fact as well as in name at the suit of the Crown, the authorities must be aware that, whatever may be the issue, it will involve, almost in-

evitably, some new discredit. To the members of the court the office must be at the best a wearisome and thankless one. Their labour is great and their responsibility is great, and neither can be much lightened to them by the occasional fear that they may have gone wrong, or the abiding consciousness that they have no knowledge to keep them right. And after all this trouble it is a poor reward to find that society has taken the case out of their hands, and pronounced upon it without even the ceremony of waiting till their finding has been made known. One more mischief of the present system may be mentioned here. As it is the object of rules of evidence to define and specify the exact points to be proved, so it is generally the wish of one or other of the parties to extend and amplify those points. Nothing is more difficult than to convince either plaintiff or defendant that any part of his story is beside the mark. Now this is just the kind of tendency which a court-martial is powerless to check. Every possible grievance of the prosecutor against the prisoner, of the prisoner against the prosecutor, of both against their brother officers, and of their brother officers against both, is diligently hunted up; and, as one piece of evidence of this kind suggests a good many more, the proceedings of a court-martial seem to end, almost invariably, by becoming a scandalous chronicle of the regiment to which the trial relates. Now, not to speak of the utter confusion to which the court is reduced by this process, it obviously strikes directly at the efficiency of the army. These men, who have been openly charging each other with malice and slander, and perhaps hinting not obscurely at conspiracy and perjury, had at first probably no very deep sense of injury to contend against. If their quarrels had been let alone, they might first have slumbered, and then died out. When they have once been envenomed by publicity, and stereotyped by being sworn to, there is little hope of their extinction. It would be difficult to exaggerate the ill effect of such a result upon the mutual intercourse of men who have to pass their lives together. Yet between the harmony of this intercourse and the proper discharge of their duties there is an intimate connection; and upon the proper discharge of their duties depends the discipline of the soldiers under them, and, by no remote consequence, the conduct of the regiment in the field.

Thus long and thus formidable is the array of mischiefs which spring from the existing system of trials by court-martial. It remains now to enquire what can be suggested in the way of remedy.

The first requisite to any improvement is the separation of

the characters of judges and jurymen. Under any circumstances it is a questionable experiment in criminal jurisprudence to combine them in the same person, even when that person is a single experienced judge. Law and facts, what constitutes evidence and what is the weight of evidence, are matters which it is hard for one and the same mind to consider without allowing one class of considerations to influence its judgment upon the other. But to make the attempt in the case of a numerous court, of which no one member has any clear idea where the dividing line between the two offices is to be drawn, is to ensure their failure in both capacities. If this separation were all that is wanted, it could be secured with a very small amount of change. The least number of which a court-martial can be composed is thirteen. The president of the court is appointed by name, and is always at least a field-officer; the regulations provide that the other members shall be appointed by rotation, and their rank may vary. Here there are two distinct elements, which might without difficulty be developed into a judge and jury. But though even this would be a manifest improvement, since we should thereby secure having the whole attention of one man devoted to the legal bearings of the trial, still it is very far from being a complete remedy. It is not only the attention of a judge that the court stands in need of: it is his knowledge also. The interests at stake in the trial are often at least as important as in any other form of criminal trial; and if training and practice are not superfluous qualifications in a civil judge, it is hard to see why we should contentedly put up with their absence in the military official. Assuming the separation of judge from jury to have been effected, by what process shall we best secure that practical acquaintance with the law of evidence which we have seen to be indispensable to the due performance of the judicial function?

The simplest method perhaps of effecting this, and one which would involve the minimum of apparent change, would be to leave the constitution of the court itself unaltered, and to make a change in the position and duties of the officiating judge-advocate. At present this official is always a soldier appointed for the particular trial. He gives advice to the court, but they are not bound to accept it; and if they do so, the responsibility of their act is in no way transferred from their own shoulders to his. If this were so far altered that the judge-advocate should be the responsible assessor of the court on all points of law, including the reception or rejection of evidence; if the court were bound to accept his ruling on all these questions; and if it were made part of his duty to sum up the evidence before they deliberated on their finding,—they would still retain the nominal dignity of judges,

while they would in reality be reduced to the position of a jury. The judge-advocate might either be an officer in the army, as at present, or a civilian. If the former, he should be an officer with no other duty than that of attendance at courts-martial, and standing wholly outside the regimental organisation. The Staff College might be made to supply the means of instruction in the principles of the law of evidence. If, on the other hand, the judge-advocate were a civilian, the appointments would naturally be given to practising common-law barristers; and they might perhaps be about equal in value, and consequently in the class of men they would attract, to borough recorderships.

It is a considerable objection to this scheme that it creates an anomaly. A court which retains the semblance but not the reality of authority, a tribunal of *rois fainéants* nominally advised and in fact presided over by a *maire du palais*, is just the kind of organisation which, if it were the natural offspring of circumstances, might be very well put up with, but is hardly likely, if deliberately invented, to be received by the public with much contentment. Nor would the relations between the court and the judge-advocate be altogether satisfactory. The decisions given would still in appearance be those of the judges; and it would probably be difficult to make them thoroughly understand that they were never to be so in reality. Advice which is given without being asked for, and must be taken whenever it is offered, and a court which reigns but does not govern, are legal fictions not likely to commend themselves to the acceptance of military men. In addition to this, the judge-advocate, if an officer, would frequently be a young man of no high military rank; and if a civilian, his professional standing and eminence would be very inferior to that of a civil judge. In either case it is doubtful how far he would be likely to impress a military court with any great notion of the dignity of the legal element in the investigation.

Another expedient would be to make the president of a court-martial the judge, and the other members the jury; leaving the latter to be appointed as at present, and providing the former, either by special appointment for each trial or by a general systematic distribution, from a body of trained officers. This would secure all the advantages of the last-mentioned scheme, as the presidents would be properly instructed in the law of evidence; while, as they would necessarily be field-officers, and occupy the judicial seat as well as exercise judicial authority, there would be no conflict between theory and fact. Dignity and power would be united; and no violence would be done to military sentiment. The collective presidents might also constitute a court of crimi-

nal appeal; and any one of them being in doubt as to the law upon a point in a case tried before him might reserve it for the opinion of his brethren. The chief difficulty here is how to give the presidents the necessary training. They would study the law of evidence at the Staff College. But they can hardly remain there till they become field-officers; and the number of vacancies occurring in the judicial body would not be large. How are they to be employed up to the time of their appointment? It may be said that they could act as officiating judge-advocates. But when the president of the court becomes a trained judge, there is no longer any need of a judge-advocate.

There is one important objection, however, which applies to any scheme for providing either trained military judges or trained military judge-advocates. It is comparatively easy to give them the instruction required; but where are they to obtain the practical knowledge which is no less a part of a judge's education? A chairman of quarter sessions, whose position is somewhat analogous to that of one of the proposed presidents, has the advantage of trying a good many cases four times a year; but it is doubtful whether courts-martial would supply any thing like this amount of practice. And the chairman of quarter sessions has the advantage of a reference to the Court for Crown Cases Reserved, which is composed, not of his brother chairmen, but of all the judges of the superior courts.

All these difficulties would be avoided by the creation of a permanent military court, with a judge and a bar of its own. The judge of such a court would be a civilian of the same rank with the judges of the civil courts; but he would be appointed by the authority which governs the army, and would thus hold, in regard to the service, a position analogous in some degree to that of the judge of the Court of Arches in regard to the clergy of the Established Church. The Dean of the Arches is frequently the Judge of the Admiralty Court as well; and if the duties of the military court were not sufficient to supply the judge with constant work, he might sit at other times in some other capacity. To this court might be reserved an original jurisdiction over certain offences, and the sole power of passing certain sentences, as well as an appellate jurisdiction on questions of law from the decisions of general courts-martial. Army courts might sit permanently at London, perhaps at Dublin, at Calcutta, or, if necessary, at the capitals of the three Indian Presidencies; and whenever any considerable body of troops happened to be stationed in any colony with an established civil judicature, a commission might be issued constituting a special army court, so long as the troops remained there, and nominating one of the

colonial judges to act as judge. The whole system of military tribunals would then stand thus:—Lowest in the scale would come the regimental and district courts-martial; they would exercise, as at present, a summary jurisdiction, which may be compared to that of police-magistrates or justices of the peace in petty sessions. Next would come general courts-martial. Here certain changes would be necessary: the functions of the judge should be separated from those of the jury; counsel should be allowed to address the court and to examine witnesses; and appeals should be permitted on questions of law. Above all would come the new army courts. The functions of the Judge-Advocate-General, so far as regards the revision of the proceedings of courts-martial, would then cease; and he would be simply the military law-officer of the crown, instead of constituting in his own person an irregular and secret court of appeal. The power of pardon and of commuting sentence of death would of course remain with the crown, and be exercised on the advice of the Secretary of State.

No doubt difficulties may easily be raised in the way of carrying out this proposal. But this objection will apply with equal force to either of the other schemes we have discussed, and probably to any scheme which can be suggested. No measure of reform has all the argument on its own side. But we do not recommend any such measure for immediate or unconditional adoption. In truth, the subject is not at this moment ripe for legislation. Before it can become so, we want to know two things: Can officers in the army be so trained as to be good judges? and what would be the effect upon military discipline and sentiment if the Supreme Court were composed of civilians? The fittest method of arriving at this knowledge would be through a Royal Commission. Such a commission should itself include members of the two professions most intimately concerned in the enquiry; and in the selection of witnesses to be examined, both of them should be represented. The evidence given by lawyers would show what is the kind of education that judges and advocates have received, or are receiving; how much of it can be imparted by others; how much must depend upon actual practice; and what degree of success can be attained by those with whom the preparation has been only one element of professional study, instead of the labour of a lifetime. The evidence given by intelligent officers of the army would show both their own feelings upon the subject and the extent to which those feelings are shared by the service at large; it would supply materials for determining whether that dislike which undoubtedly exists among military men to the jurisdiction of a judge who is not himself a soldier, is

a mere unfounded sentiment, or whether it springs from a real, however erroneous, belief that a civilian is necessarily incompetent to redress military grievances or to punish military crimes. For these three reasons, therefore,—because no one of the proposed ameliorations in the present system of courts-martial is more conspicuously free from objections than any other; because further information is necessary before Parliament can choose between them, or improve upon them; and because that information lies close at hand, and only waits to be collected,—we trust the Government may be disposed, by sanctioning the appointment of a commission, to lay the only sure foundation for the changes which have become absolutely necessary. The existing system cries aloud for reform, but reform must be preceded by enquiry.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTION IN SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN.

To explain the nature and causes of the quarrel between Denmark and Germany at the very moment when it has brought Europe to the threshold of a general war is an arduous undertaking. So intricate a controversy cannot be made intelligible if sympathy is allowed to colour the plain simplicity of history; and the necessary impartiality is hard to observe after the conflict has passed from the stage of theory to a practical issue, in which every one must choose his side. It is no longer possible to undervalue its importance. In the interest of Europe, the question might appear hardly great enough to endanger the general peace. But there are no great and no small questions at the present day. Questions are either practical or impractical; and every question is essentially practical if its solution alters the weights in the sensitive scales of the balance of power. This is peculiarly the character of the Schleswig-Holstein difficulty. So many interests are involved in its settlement that every attempt which has hitherto been made has aggravated the entanglement; and the difficulty of explanation increases with the difficulty of solution.

The Protocol of London was an attempt of this kind. It was certainly a justifiable endeavour to put an end to the dispute by an adjustment sacrificing in some degree the strict letter of the law to the interests of European policy. During the life of Frederick VII. it might appear better in the eyes of practical men to assent to a compromise not entirely equitable, than to prolong a suit in which the obstinacy of the parties, and the absence of a final tribunal, made a termination hopeless. But the death of the late king has completely altered the position of affairs. It has brought on that crisis the prospect of which has from the beginning given the cause of the Duchies so much importance in the eyes of Germany, and obliged the Diet to ignore the London Protocol. But for the expectation of this event, the prolonged agitation would have been a wanton and puerile disturbance of international order, a true *querelle allemande*. Talk too big for the occasion is as unworthy of a great nation as it is absurd in an individual; and the Germans would richly deserve this reproach if nothing had been at stake in the question beyond the political rights of a portion of the Danish monarchy which did not belong to the Confederation, and the connection of which with Holstein had been dissolved by the London Protocol. The interests of Germany are not concerned with these rights, and would have been satisfied by the autonomy of Holstein. The German feeling on the subject of Schleswig

might also have been gradually conciliated by the concession of a separate government to both the Duchies. Under these circumstances, no sensible politician in Germany would have desired to keep the wound open by persisting in the agitation whilst the late king lived.

On the 15th of November, 1863, Frederick VII. died; and now the moment had arrived at which the succession became a practical question, and compromise had to give way to a valid legal claim. The question now was whether the interests of European peace were to be preferred to the rights of Germany. The whole German nation has unmistakably declared itself in favour of enforcing its rights at any cost; and whereas on every former occasion, where great national interests have been involved, the parties have been violently divided, it must be admitted that things have now assumed a very different aspect. All parties are for the first time merged in the common determination to stand by the Duchies of the Elbe in the dispute which is to decide whether they are to be German or Danish. The hostile leaders eagerly unite in demonstrations for Schleswig-Holstein. The political distinctions between *Grossdeutsch* and *Kleindeutsch*, Liberals and Conservatives, Catholics and Protestants, have disappeared; even that between north and south has lost its power. Since the War of Deliverance, no such unity has been seen in Germany. This unity is no doubt the product of a sudden enthusiasm, but it bears a very different character from that of 1848. The movement of that year was a manifestation of popular license, and a combination of the most different objects and motives; and therefore ended in discord and helpless weakness. The agitation of the present winter has one single cause and object; it is not diverted to secondary matters; and it finds the people of Germany, educated in political life by half a generation of severe trials, no longer eager for unattainable things, but perfectly resolved to become the central nation of the European system.

We propose to carry our readers away from the surprising spectacle of a practical, resolute, and united Germany, to the dry details of public law, and the origin of the claims that meet in this momentous controversy. The enquiry can only interest those who feel that no arbitrary decision can do justice to conflicting rights, and who care to study the reasons of the extreme bitterness with which the present contest is carried on. But it must be remembered that larger interests than those of Denmark and the Duchies are implicated in the quarrel, and that it has long been the policy of the cabinets to regard the Belts and the Sound as a Northern *Dardanelles*.

Holstein has been one of the marches of the Empire since

Charlemagne; Schleswig, at least from the time of Henry I. The proportion of the two national elements in the population was then nearly the same as now. The more dense population of Holstein was entirely German, whilst the less populous Schleswig was mixed in its northern part, where the Danish element began to predominate in the twelfth century, under dukes of the Danish line. Schleswig was afterwards conquered by Denmark; and King Waldemar III. granted it, in 1326, to Count Gerard of Holstein. This was the beginning of the union of the two provinces; and the famous constitution of Waldemar provided that Schleswig should never be united with Denmark—*regno et coronæ Daniæ non uniatur nec annectetur ita, quod unus sit dominus utriusque*. The state-papers defining the relations between Schleswig and Denmark begin with this instrument. Schleswig was not yet definitely united with Holstein. The line of Gerard of Holstein expired in 1375; and as King Olave V. of Denmark prepared to take back Schleswig, Gerard IV. of Oldenburg obtained the hereditary investiture by force of arms (Treaty of 1386). Subsequent attempts were made by Denmark to reconquer the Duchy, between the years 1412 and 1435; but they were repulsed by the Counts of Holstein with the aid of the Hanse Towns.

In the middle of the fifteenth century the Danes elected Christian I., a prince of the house of Oldenburg, to the vacant throne. His uncle, Adolphus VIII., the reigning Duke of Schleswig and Count of Holstein, had previously declined the crown; but he obtained of Christian, in the year 1448, a confirmation of the compact that Schleswig should never be united with Denmark, and that the feudal relations which still remained should be purely nominal and involve no service. On the death of Adolphus, in 1459, the male line of the Schaumburg dynasty in Schleswig-Holstein became extinct. His next male heir was Count John of Holstein-Rendsburg. But the law of succession was doubtful in Schleswig; and Christian I. of Denmark, who descended in the female line from the family of Adolphus, caused the dispute to be referred, as was usual in such cases, to the Estates of Schleswig and Holstein. In order to preserve their union, they immediately elected Christian as their Duke, but obliged him to renew, in 1460, the instrument of 1448. This is the Charter of Liberties which is the basis of the legal relations of the Duchies with each other and with Denmark.

Christian I. therein acknowledges "that the prelates, knights, burgesses, and inhabitants of Schleswig-Holstein have elected him to be their sovereign of their own free will, and out of attachment to his person, and have done homage to him not as a King of Denmark, but as a Duke of Schleswig-Holstein." Then it is provided that the male succession shall prevail in the Duchies, in direct contradiction to the law of Denmark. Christian further swore in this

capitulation to maintain the following rights: "Schleswig and Holstein shall remain united for ever (*dat se bliven ewich tosamende ungedelt*); the inhabitants shall not be bound to render military service beyond Schleswig and Holstein; no tax shall be levied without the consent of the Estates; no coin shall be introduced that is not current in Hamburg or Lübeck; only natives shall be employed in the public service; no inhabitants shall be brought before a foreign tribunal; no Dane or foreigner shall try them; the sovereign shall not make war without the consent of the Estates; the right of election is recognised in Schleswig-Holstein; the Estates shall be convoked annually; each following sovereign shall confirm these Liberties; if he refuses, the Estates may elect another male descendant of Christian I. as their Duke." In the year 1477 Christian obtained of the Emperor Frederick III. the erection of Holstein into a Duchy, by which it not only was placed on a level with Schleswig, but secured the much more important consequence that, having been hitherto a fief, first of Saxony and then of the Bishop of Lübeck, it was now held immediately of the Empire, and so continued as long as the Empire existed.

The son of Christian, John I. of Denmark, broke his father's engagements, and compelled his younger brother Frederick, who was to have succeeded to Schleswig-Holstein, to accept the *Gottorp Compact*, by which he obtained only part of Holstein and Gottorp. But John's son, Christian II., was deposed by the Danes; and his injured uncle, Frederick of Holstein-Gottorp was raised to the throne in his place. He, as well as his son, Christian III., confirmed the ancient privileges of Schleswig-Holstein, and particularly their inseparable union, by an act of 1524. Nevertheless the latter shared Schleswig-Holstein with his brothers John and Adolphus, after such a fashion that while the most important political affairs were conducted in common, the administration was divided between the royal, or Sonderburg portion, the Gottorp portion, and the joint portion. The system of partitioning the country continued, amid constant disputes, until the Duchies were broken up into a number of small territories, governed by many members of the same family. In order to meet this the three chief houses introduced the law of Primogeniture, and the Estates, which had lost their power by the subdivisions, were deprived of their right of election in the course of the seventeenth century.

Meantime, however, the Duchy of Schleswig became legally as well as practically independent of Denmark. In the year 1658 the Duke of Gottorp, Frederick III., obtained the surrender of the suzerainty of the Danish crown over Schleswig, and the recognition of the Duchy as a sovereign state. His successor, Christian Albert, having been made prisoner by the King of Denmark, was compelled to purchase his freedom by the surrender of his sovereign rights, in

the compact of Rendsburg, 1675. But he was no sooner free than he revoked the compulsory engagement; and the ambassadors of the great powers, who were negotiating the peace of Nimeguen, took up his cause. Through the mediation of France, a clause was inserted into the Treaty of Fontainebleau, in which the King of Denmark conceded to Christian Albert the restitution of his dominions and of his independent sovereignty. The political rights of Schleswig were now clearly defined; and they would have remained unquestioned had not the King of Denmark continued to levy taxes and exercise other prerogatives in the Duchy; a proceeding which he justified on the ground that he was the head of the elder branch of the Gottorp line. In the disputes which followed with the Duchies, Denmark refused to recognise the arbitration of the Emperor, on the ground that Schleswig did not belong to the Empire, and that the close union of the two Duchies consequently suspended the imperial authority also in the differences which arose with Holstein. The protest of the Emperor against this fallacious argument could not in the then condition of Germany be supported by armed force; and the King of Denmark proceeded, in the year 1684, to announce that he had annexed the portion of Schleswig which had hitherto belonged to the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp. The case of that potentate was now carried before the Imperial Diet; and the emperor undertook to mediate in conjunction with Saxony and Brandenburg, and with England and Holland. The result was the compact of Altona, of the year 1689, which restored to the Duke all the dominions and rights which he had possessed before the year 1675. These stipulations were confirmed to him, after new disputes with Denmark, by the Treaty of Travendahl in the year 1700.

The wars of Charles XII. disturbed this settlement. The Swedish General Stenbock was allowed to retire to the territory of Gottorp; and Denmark punished this breach of neutrality by sequestering the Gottorp portion of Schleswig, for which she obtained the guarantee of Hanover and Great Britain, Prussia and France, in the years 1715 and 1720, and that of Austria and Russia in 1732. The Sonderburg portion of the Duchy was afterwards purchased by Denmark, whose position towards Schleswig has remained unaltered from the day when the Estates did homage in 1721. The tenour of the instruments by which the settlement was guaranteed which has endured so long deserves careful attention. They recognise the right of the King of Denmark as Duke of Schleswig to the Gottorp portion of Schleswig; but they neither decide that the Duchy loses its distinct sovereignty, nor that it becomes a part of Denmark, nor that the union with Holstein is dissolved, nor that the collaterals lose the right of succession. In the royal patent summoning the Estates to do homage it is stated, not that the Got-

torp territory is annexed to Denmark, but that it is annexed to the Glückstadt portion, of which the King of Denmark was the sovereign. Nothing, therefore, was added to the rights of the Danish crown; but the Duke of Schleswig enlarged his ducal territory, and the Duke of Schleswig of the day was also King of Denmark. Nothing was altered in the separate existence of Schleswig, or in its separate constitution and government. Therefore the Estates of the Gottorp portion now took the oath of allegiance to King Frederick IV., but the Glückstadt Estates did not renew the oath which they had taken in 1699. Consequently Schleswig was in no sense of the term incorporated with Denmark. The only change was, that the Glückstadt line now governed the whole of Schleswig, whilst the Gottorp line was confined to Holstein. Peter, the son of that Duke Charles Frederick who had been compelled to surrender the Gottorp portion of Schleswig to the King of Denmark, and of Anna Petrowna, the daughter of Peter the Great, succeeded to the Russian throne, and prepared to avenge the wrongs which his family had suffered at the hands of the Danish kings. But after his assassination, Catherine II. suspended hostilities, and concluded a provisional treaty in the name of her infant son Paul, who was now Duke of Holstein. By this treaty the Gottorp claims in Schleswig were abandoned, and the portion of Holstein which belonged to that house was given up to Christian VII. of Denmark, in exchange for Oldenburg and Delmenhorst. This provisional treaty of 1767 was confirmed by Paul when he attained his majority in 1773; and the territories which had been received in exchange were ceded to the younger branch of the house of Gottorp, which assumed the name of Holstein-Oldenburg.

By this act Schleswig-Holstein reverted once more to the King of Denmark, under exactly the same conditions as in the time of Christian I., who had expressly recognised that he governed them as duke, that is, by virtue of their own law of succession. It was therefore certain, and was never disputed by the Danes, that Schleswig-Holstein would belong to the Kings of Denmark only so long as they were sprung from the male line of Holstein-Gottorp, as by the old Danish law, confirmed by the Royal Act of 1665, the next of kin by females took precedence of male descendants or relatives in a remoter degree. On the day when that law took effect the King of Denmark would cease *eo ipso* to be the Duke of Schleswig-Holstein.

Whilst the old charter of Christian I. continued to be formally in force in the Duchies in spite of the resistance of the Danes, the act of 1665 had made the crown absolute in Denmark. The subdivision of Schleswig-Holstein under several petty rulers had brought the ancient constitution into decay. The Estates had lost their corporate power, and had never been convened since 1712. Under

these circumstances the temptation was strong upon the King of Denmark, at the beginning of the present century, to unite in a single state his several dominions which were connected only by a personal union. When, therefore, the German Empire fell, Christian VII. published a patent (Sept. 9, 1806), which proclaimed that the Duchy of Holstein was in all respects an inseparable portion of the State under his sceptre, and was accordingly thenceforward subject to his sole and absolute authority. At that juncture no one was in a position to protest on behalf of the Duchies against this revolution. But in 1815 the King of Denmark joined the Confederation with Holstein and Lauenburg, which latter territory had been ceded by Prussia in return for Rügen and Swedish Pomerania. By this measure Holstein again came into connection with Germany, and the obligation of sustaining the chartered rights of the Duchy devolved henceforward on the Diet.

The King of Denmark proceeded to proclaim a constitution for Holstein, in conformity with the 13th article of the Act of Federation. But the nobility of Holstein declared that the old constitution and the rights which it conferred were still in force, and that a new constitution could only be prepared with the aid of the Estates of the Duchy; such a constitution must also necessarily include Schleswig, which had been closely united with Holstein from very early times. The circumstances we have already narrated show plainly that both the dynastic and the constitutional disputes between the Duchies and the kingdom of Denmark represent in reality the struggle between the Danish and the German nationalities. But the Diet was so much accustomed during the earlier period of its existence to identify national aspirations with revolution, that it could not be made to understand that the principle of legitimacy was bound up with the claims of the Holstein Estates, as well as the interest of Germany. On the 23d of November 1823 the Diet refused the appeal of the clergy and nobles of Holstein, on the plea that the constitution of the Duchy had no longer a recognised existence; but it was added that assurances had been given by Denmark that the new constitution would as far as possible respect the ancient rights, and adapt them to the circumstances of the time.

After this repulse, Holstein and Schleswig could rely on no one for support, and were reduced to silence. They were heavily oppressed by the Danes; and the movement which was provoked by the Revolution of 1830 was put down with extreme severity. But the agitation of that year made a deep impression at Copenhagen. In May 1831 King Frederick VI. announced that Schleswig should receive the same constitution as Holstein, and that, although the Estates of the two provinces were to be held separately, nothing would be altered in the union of the two Duchies. This constitu-

tion, which was a very liberal one according to the standard of that day, was proclaimed, in May 1834, for Denmark as well as for Schleswig-Holstein. The Estates of the Duchies did not indeed recover their former privileges; they were to have no initiative, no right of voting taxes or impeaching ministers, and only a consulting voice in legislation. But there was one important change. Hitherto public opinion had been impotent to prevent oppression and wrong; now the country possessed a legitimate organ of its rights and wishes. In their second session, in the year 1838, both Estates petitioned for a more free and for a united constitution. Their petition was rejected; but the unexpected death of the king, on the 3d of December 1839, gave a powerful impulse to political agitation both in the Duchies and in Denmark itself.

The accession of Christian VIII. inaugurates the last period of the Dano-German controversy. He was the son of a brother of Christian VII., and had an only son, who was twice married, and without children; so that it was probable that the younger branch of the royal family would become extinct at his death, as the elder branch had expired with Frederick VI. When that event occurred, the crown of Denmark would pass to the female line, whilst Schleswig-Holstein, according to their undisputed law, would come to the head of a younger branch, which descended through males to the house of Augustenburg; and the separation of the Duchies from the kingdom of Denmark would be accomplished. With this prospect before them, it became very desirable for the Danes to amalgamate the Duchies, or at least Schleswig, with their monarchy betimes; and it naturally followed that the imminent approach of this danger stimulated the resistance of the Duchies. What had hitherto been a constitutional struggle now became a great national conflict. The democratic party in Denmark, which had been growing in influence since the year 1840, opened the attack. They began by agitating the question of nationality in Schleswig; and their success was immediate, as both the government and the people of Denmark well knew the danger that was at hand. Nearly all parties were soon consolidated in this one movement. In the year 1844 the Danish Estates almost unanimously adopted the revolutionary motion of Algreen Ussing, that the king should proclaim Denmark, Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg to constitute one indivisible state, in which the succession was regulated exclusively by the law of 1665, and that every man who wrote, or spoke, or acted against it was guilty of high treason.

The Duchies resisted as well as they could. The Estates of Holstein protested vehemently in an address to the king, in which they asserted the three fundamental points,—that the Duchies are independent states, that the succession goes in them exclusively in the male line, and that Schleswig and Holstein are politically

united. Lauenburg protested also. On the other hand, the Danes proceeded vigorously in the work of making Schleswig a Danish province. Innumerable pamphlets were published on their side; and by degrees the opposition in the Duchies awakened the sympathies of Germany. It began to be felt that the material interests of the Zollverein were concerned in the question, and that it would determine the future maritime position of Germany, and her relations with the Scandinavian powers.

Under the pressure of the Danish democrats, and perhaps with a hope of obtaining a compromise, Christian VII. put forth a declaration on the 8th of July 1846. Referring to an enquiry which had been instituted into the question of the law of succession, he stated that the transactions of 1721 allowed no doubt of the validity of the Danish law of succession in Schleswig and in Lauenburg. It was doubtful in certain portions of Holstein; but he would endeavour to remove this difficulty, and to obtain the recognition of the integrity of Denmark as a collective state. Schleswig, it was added, had nothing to fear for its independence or its connection with Holstein. This document, instead of producing the desired effect, caused great excitement; the king refused to receive a declaration from Holstein; the Estates of the Duchy appealed to the German Diet, and adjourned after solemnly reasserting the rights of the country. Several princes likewise protested on behalf of their claims to the eventual succession; and the Diet passed the often-cited resolution of the 17th of September 1846. The king had sent to Frankfort an assurance that he had never dreamed of invading the independence, constitution, or other stipulated rights of Holstein. Thereupon the Diet replied that it expected that in the settlement announced in his declaration the king would respect the rights of all, and especially of the German Confederation, the collaterals in the line of succession, and the constitutional representation of Holstein. The Diet, as the organ of the Confederation, reserved the right of enforcing its legitimate authority in case of need.

The agitation in the Duchies, the protests of the princes, and the attitude of the Diet, induced the government of Copenhagen to adopt a more conciliatory course. A second declaration was issued, affirming that the first had implied no intention of injuring the rights of either Duchy, and that it had contained a distinct promise that Holstein should not be separated from Schleswig. Meantime the actual policy of the government was in flagrant contradiction to these assurances. The Estates of Schleswig were treated as uncereemoniously as those of Holstein had been; and a new uniform constitution was secretly prepared at Copenhagen, with the design of definitively incorporating the Duchies in the Danish monarchy.

The death of Christian, and the accession of Frederick VII., on the 20th of January 1848, did not affect the progress of these schemes. But the moment had now come when the personal union had only one life to run ; and the electors of Schleswig-Holstein, who were convoked in order to send deputies to assist in preparing the new constitution, resolved at a meeting at Kiel, on the 17th of February 1848, that their deputies should be instructed to protest against a common constitution, and to endeavour to obtain a separate one for the united Duchies. The fanatical Nationalists in Denmark, who had not yet got the government of Copenhagen into their hands, carried on the process of making Schleswig Danish with great violence ; and the revolution of February raised the excitement to the highest pitch.

From a great meeting held at Rendsberg, on the 18th of March 1848, a deputation was sent with a petition to the king, demanding a common constitution for Schleswig-Holstein, the admission of Schleswig into the German Confederation, freedom of the press, liberty of association, and a national guard. At this juncture (March 21) the revolution triumphed at Copenhagen, and the king was compelled to form an administration out of its leaders. The new ministry immediately conceded to Holstein all that the deputation demanded, but decreed that Schleswig should be separated from it and incorporated with Denmark under a common democratic constitution. Several regiments were marched into Schleswig to give effect to this decree.

The question was therefore now restricted to Schleswig. But as the violence of the Danes made negotiations impossible, a provisional government for Schleswig-Holstein was established at Kiel, and confirmed on the 3d of April by the Estates of the Duchies, which at once recognised King Frederick VII. as duke, but declared at the same time that he was not a free agent, but suffering coercion from the party of the Eider-Danes. War broke out ; the Danes occupied Schleswig, and the Diet committed to Prussia the office of mediation. On the 12th of April the Diet recognised the provisional government, under the protection of Prussia, and decreed the incorporation of Schleswig into the Confederation, and the expulsion of the Danes from its territory, if necessary by force of arms. Early in April two regiments of Prussian guards had entered the Duchies, under Bonin. The 10th Federal corps followed, under Halkett. Wrangel received the supreme command ; and on the 1st of May he followed the retreating Danes across the frontier of Jutland. The Diet proclaimed that the conditions of peace would be the admission of Schleswig into the Confederation, and the unity of the Duchies. Prussia accepted the mediation of Sweden on this basis, and, after concluding an armistice at Malmoe on the 2d of July, obtained authority from Frankfort to conclude

peace, under the following conditions : The laws made by the provisional government were to continue in force ; the troops in the Duchies were to be placed under a German commander ; and the members of the new provisional government were to be named at once. Having accepted these instructions, however, Prussia concluded a suspension of hostilities for seven months on a totally different understanding, abrogating all the decrees of the provisional government, and separating the Schleswig from the Holstein army. England undertook to guarantee the armistice.

The Duchies still hoped that Germany would refuse to ratify this evasion of the stipulated conditions of peace ; but this hope was disappointed by the Frankfort Parliament. That party which beheld in the establishment of Prussian supremacy the real object of the national movement, the party now called the *Klein-deutsch* or *Gotha* party, obtained the confirmation of the armistice, and a joint administration of the Duchies, under Denmark and Prussia, was introduced. The Danes, encouraged by the contemptible weakness of Prussia and Germany, and urged forward by Russia, renewed hostilities, in April 1849, against the advice of England. The Prussian officers in command of the Federal troops acted in obedience to instructions from Berlin ; and these instructions were dictated by the hope that Prussia, by betraying the Duchies to Denmark, might obtain the consent of the great Powers to the prosecution of her own designs on Germany. The Danes were victorious ; and the armistice of Berlin (July 10, 1849) provided that Schleswig should be separated from Holstein, that it should be evacuated by the Schleswig-Holstein army, and that it should receive a separate constitution.

These preliminaries were rejected by the Estates of the Duchies, but were maintained by Denmark and Prussia ; and Russia dictated the terms of peace. In spite of the resistance of the Central Federal Commission at Frankfort, a peace was concluded at Berlin, on the 2d of July 1850, by which all the questions in dispute were left open, and no way was provided for their final settlement. Schleswig was handed over to Denmark ; and the king received the right of invoking the Federal intervention in Holstein, and of using military force in case it should not avail. In the then divided state of Germany, Prussia was able to obtain the ratification of this treaty ; and the Schleswig-Holsteiners, having tried once more the issue of battle, were threatened with an invasion of 50,000 Prussian and Austrian troops if they prolonged hostilities. On the 11th of January 1851 Schleswig-Holstein, deserted by Germany, announced its submission. Schleswig was thenceforward governed by a Danish commissary with arbitrary power, whilst in Holstein a mixed commission dissolved the army of the Duchies, and made over all the munitions of war to Denmark. A period of degradation fol-

lowed, not only for Schleswig-Holstein but for Germany, where the Emperor Nicholas predominated as arbiter and protector, whilst England, France, and Sweden supported the rising demands of Denmark. In this state of things diplomacy imagined a solution, consisting of the following provisions: The unity of Denmark, Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg, as a single state, to be secured by a uniform law of succession, and their internal affairs to be regulated by one general constitution for the affairs which could be carried on in common, and four separate constitutions for the rest. This was the arrangement proposed by the Protocol of London of 2d August 1850, which was signed by England, France, Russia, Austria, Sweden, and Denmark.

The question of the constitution made but small and slow progress, as Austria and Prussia, who represented the Confederation, insisted on the administrative separation of Schleswig from Denmark, which both the Eider-Danes and the party of unity, who alternately prevailed at Copenhagen, were alike determined to refuse. But the Emperor Nicholas pressed for a settlement of the question of the succession. It was proposed to institute a new dynasty in the place of the line which was to pass away with King Frederick VII., and to obtain the resignation of all prior claimants. Prince Frederick of Hesse, the son of a sister of Christian VIII., declined the election, as he is the heir of the Elector. Russia and Denmark promoted the nomination of the Grand-Duke of Oldenburg; but he stipulated for the maintenance of the constitutional rights of Schleswig-Holstein, and so his candidature failed. The choice of the court of Copenhagen next fell on Prince Christian of Glücksburg, an ardent Dane, whose wife was the sister of Prince Frederick of Hesse. Russia approved and Denmark submitted to a provision that the claims of the Imperial family on the succession in Holstein should be recognised, and reserved. The acts of abdication of Catherine and Paul were therefore considered not to exist; and it was represented that the consent of the Emperor Nicholas, and the conditional abandonment of his immediate claim to the succession, had removed the principal objection to the new arrangement. A Danish circular pronounced the claims of the house of Augustenburg unfounded, or at any rate forfeited by treason, and repeated the sophisms about the cession of the Emperor Nicholas.

It was under these circumstances that the well-known treaty was concluded in London, on the 8th of May 1852, between England, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark. The contracting parties engaged to recognise the succession of Prince Christian of Glücksburg, and of his male descendants by his marriage with Louise of Hesse, to the whole of the dominions united under the sceptre of Frederick VII., when his line should be extinct. They did not guarantee his succession. The principle of the in-

tegrity of the whole Danish monarchy was declared permanent, but was also not guaranteed. It was agreed that Denmark should propose a further arrangement for the event of the extinction of the male posterity of Prince Christian. The rights of the German Confederation with respect to Holstein and Lauenburg were declared to be untouched by the treaty. This clause enabled Prussia and Austria to sign the treaty, as it saved the principles of their own negotiations with Denmark, of which we shall immediately speak. Other powers were to be invited to join in the treaty; but the Confederation was not invited, and although several German states have subsequently concurred, the treaty has no existence in its eyes.

The negotiations carried on by Prussia and Austria in the name of the Confederation during the years 1851 and 1852 were alike tedious and unprofitable. The terms which were agreed upon with Denmark, and confirmed by the Diet on the 3d of June 1852, were, that the Danish monarchy should remain united under one sceptre, but that Schleswig should not be incorporated with Denmark, and that its German and Danish inhabitants should be placed on an equality. The constitutional union with Holstein was to be broken off; but several common institutions, such as the canal and the university, were to remain as they were. The consolidation of the Danish monarchy under a single crown was to be accomplished without making one part subordinate to another, preserving their equality and their several constitutions. The new constitution, which was to embrace all the territories, was to be adopted constitutionally, after consultation with the Estates of Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg. Schleswig-Holstein was to have its own minister of the interior; the Council of State, the army, the finances, and foreign affairs were to be regulated in common. In all matters in which the Estates of the Duchies are competent, they were to have a final voice.¹

But whilst the Diet was confirming these arrangements, Denmark took advantage of the lawless period to wreak its vengeance on Schleswig-Holstein. In 1853 assemblies were convoked to discuss the proposal of the separate constitution; but they were forbidden to examine those clauses which governed their position in the united monarchy. When these provincial constitutions were concluded, a common constitution was proclaimed, on the 26th of July 1854, which, not satisfying the extreme Danish party, was recalled by the Scheel ministry, and replaced by another, of the 2d of October 1855, which was agreed upon by the Danish Parliament alone.

¹ The most important documents referring to these stipulations are: 1. The Danish manifesto of July 14, 1850. 2. The Danish despatch to Berlin and Vienna of December 6, 1851, with enclosures. 3. The replies of Austria and Prussia, dated December 26 and 30, 1851. 4. The message of the King of Denmark of January 28, 1852. 5. The Danish despatch to Berlin and Vienna of January 29.

The protests of Holstein were left without notice ; the commissary prevented the Estates from debating on an address to the king ; and when the first Diet assembled at Copenhagen under the new constitution, the motion of the German members, that it should be referred for revision to the Estates of the Duchies, was rejected by the Danish majority, with a scornful declaration that no concessions were intended to those who had been vanquished in the field and condemned by Europe.

These proceedings attracted the tardy attention of Prussia and Austria. The German powers pointed out the several infractions of the engagements of 1851 and 1852, denounced the practical breach of the stipulations in the new Danish constitution, and demanded that it should be referred to the Estates of Holstein for revision. The Copenhagen ministry was very dexterous in avoiding the point of the German remonstrances, and succeeded in protracting the negotiation and delaying any decision. At length, when the provincial constitution of Holstein was again laid before the Estates with a prohibition to deliberate on the general constitution of the monarchy, when the Estates on their refusal were dismissed in disgrace, and when Lauenburg had complained to the Diet of many breaches of the constitution, Austria and Prussia compelled the Diet once more to interfere for the protection of the Duchies against their Danish oppressors. On the 11th of February 1858 the Diet passed a resolution showing that the constitution of Denmark was formally and materially in contradiction to the Federal rights and the promises of 1851 and 1852. Denmark was therefore required to establish in Holstein and Lauenburg a state of things consistent with the fundamental laws of the Confederation, and with the engagements which had been accepted—a state of things which should secure the separate constitution and administration of the Duchies, and their equal rights ;—and to inform the Diet of the measures it might adopt, or intended to adopt, for the purpose. The Diet also demanded that the Danish government should take no further steps in Holstein or Lauenburg on the strength of laws which had not been constitutionally carried.

Denmark again prolonged the discussion, and, representing the points in dispute as a European question, inasmuch as they affected the integrity of the monarchy, attempted to remove them from the Federal jurisdiction. France and Russia could not be won over to this view, but evidently watched for an opportunity of interfering. England addressed herself to the task of appeasing the impatience of the Germans under the contemptuous treatment they received.

Whilst the German Diet was taking heart, and passing the spirited resolutions of February 1858, the Diet of the united Danish monarchy voted war-supplies, and the government sent an unmeaning answer to Frankfort. On the 20th of May the Diet preemptorily

repeated its demands, and gave Denmark six weeks to consider them. The preparations had already been begun for a Federal execution, when, on the last day of the term, the Danish government replied that, although its conviction was the other way, yet considering the authority of the Diet with reference to the formal relation between the constitution of Denmark on the one hand and Holstein and Lauenburg on the other, that constitution should be temporarily suspended, as well as a part of the constitution of Holstein, on which the Holstein estates should pronounce. But it was denied that the Confederation was materially competent to pronounce on the consistency of the new constitution with the former engagements; and the Danish government persisted in the refusal to propose any constitutional reforms, urging such frivolous excuses as the illness of the king. On the 12th of August 1858 the Diet threatened a Federal execution if the demands of the 20th of May were not complied with. Denmark now adopted the proposed form of confidential communications, as it was said, for the amicable settlement of the dispute; and the envoy for Holstein and Lauenburg was actually invited to attend the meetings of the committee of execution in order to confer privately on the subject.

This measure, which was justly stigmatised as an act of unheard-of weakness, was as fruitless as the rest. But the "New Era" in Prussia, by putting an end to the hindrances which the government had hitherto placed in the way of an energetic policy, altered the position of affairs. A motion for the Federal execution was before the Diet when three patents of the King of Denmark, dated the 6th of November, were presented to it. The first suspended the constitution so far as it affected Holstein and Lauenburg, reserving further constitutional measures for the union of the Duchies with the monarchy; the second set aside the decrees concerning the Holstein constitution; and the third promised that the Holstein Estates should be convoked to consider a supplementary scheme for a separate constitution, whereby they were to have an opportunity of expressing their wishes relative to their connection with the monarchy. Although this move of the Danish government caused great astonishment, and although much distrust was felt, and no one believed that the patents would entirely satisfy the demands of the Diet, yet the execution was necessarily postponed, until the committees should have reported to the Diet the result of the negotiations between Denmark and the Estates of Holstein. The government of Copenhagen, having gained its point, forbade all common action of Schleswig with Holstein; and in January 1859 it submitted proposals to the Holstein Estates, which openly tended to an absolute separation of Holstein from Schleswig, and the incorporation of the latter Duchy with the kingdom of Denmark. They were of course rejected by Holstein.

Whilst the Italian war of 1859 diverted the attention of Europe from the Duchies, the conflict between the unitarian party and the Eider-Danes interrupted the constitutional development of the Danish state. In every difficulty at home the ministry sought to extricate themselves and to disarm their opponents by urging forward the denationalisation of Schleswig; and the Estates of the Duchy vainly demanded the fulfilment of the promises of the 28th of January 1852, and protested against every measure that aimed at the separation of the Duchies in defiance of the declaration of the 7th of September 1846. Denmark thought the moment favourable to obtain for the incorporation of Schleswig the sanction of an accomplished fact, and, under pretence of protecting the interests of Holstein and Lauenburg, put forward, in the autumn of 1859, what was called the theory of exclusion. The object of this theory was the absolute constitutional unity and fusion of Denmark and Schleswig, and the exclusion of Holstein by separating it from Schleswig, and even, if possible, excluding it from the general constitution of the monarchy. It involves alike an absolute negation of the principle of the integrity of Denmark, which was established by the London Protocol, and an open violation of the rights of the Duchies, which have been so often and so solemnly confirmed, as well as of the engagements of the Federal law, and of the Treaty of 1852. Under the Hall ministry this theory has completely prevailed. The government has protested accordingly against all the demands of Germany for the fulfilment of the promises of 1858, as an invasion of the prerogatives of sovereignty; and it has invoked the protection of the powers who signed the Treaty of London against the threatened execution.

In this appeal Denmark has not been successful. England and France have recognised the competence of the Confederation, and have denied that the dispute bears an international character. The Diet has repeatedly threatened energetic measures against particular acts of the Danish government, such as the imposition of a new financial law on Holstein, and has always been pacified at the last moment by the withdrawal of the offensive act. At last, after much negotiation, Austria and Prussia categorically enquired whether Denmark intended to carry out the promises of 1851 and 1852; and on the 27th of March 1862 the Diet joined in making the same enquiry. This was followed by a protest against the creation of a council of state for Denmark and Schleswig alone; and the government of Copenhagen again invoked the intervention of the other powers. Repulsed on all sides, and admonished to fulfil its engagements to the Confederation and to the Duchies, it took refuge at last in the Royal Patent of the 30th of March 1863. The King declared that the Diet had interfered in the internal affairs of his kingdom, and had made demands which were not

justified by the Federal laws nor compatible with the independence or his crown and the rights of those of his dominions which do not belong to the Confederation; and that the provincial Estates of Holstein had not only rejected every proposition, but had declared that they would not admit the principle of a joint representation with the rest of the monarchy. On this ground it was decreed that Holstein, with its army and its finances, should be entirely excluded from the rest of the monarchy; and it was announced that the king's directions for the settlement of the position of the Duchy would be laid before the Estates for their acceptance.

This was the crowning act of Denmark's resistance to her Federal obligations. By it all her previous engagements were broken, and the complete separation of the Duchies finally proclaimed. Austria and Prussia protested on the 17th of April; and the other great Powers expressed their disapproval of the policy of the Danish government. In spite of this general censure the fragmentary Rigsraad assembled for the purpose of framing a constitution, which divided the kingdom into two separate parts, incorporating Schleswig entirely with Denmark, and completely excluding Holstein and Lauenburg. The majority accepted the proposals of the Hall administration. The intervention of Germany was met with protests, until at length the Diet resolved to compel the fulfilment of the treaties by means of a Federal execution. The actual execution was, however, delayed until the new constitution had received the royal sanction. Before that was given Frederick VII. died, and Christian IX. ascended the throne. In order to prevent an immediate revolution in Denmark, he at once assented to the new constitution. But the crisis had arrived which superadded a new cause of dispute to the long-standing constitutional question; and, in the shape of a disputed succession, the struggle between Denmark and Germany entered on a new and far more formidable phase.

PARIS, MUNICIPAL AND ECONOMICAL.

As Cuvier, with a single bone before him, could reconstruct a lost skeleton, so from the municipal organisation of a country we may arrive at a knowledge of its whole social and political constitution. In its general and essential outlines the municipal corporation is the State in little, the microcosm of the national cosmos. There may be great variation in matters of detail in the different municipalities of any one country; but the genius of the people keeps these varieties within such limits as prevent the loss of common national characteristics.

Thus, in England, all the municipal corporations—whether cities, towns, boroughs, or parishes—have this in common, that the local affairs are always regulated by the inhabitants, either directly or by elected boards; while all more general business, especially that which concerns the future, is regulated by the national legislature. Of the administrative interference of the government by its agents and officials we know nothing; we have neither prefects nor sub-prefects. But the reverse is the case on the Continent. There are, it is true, profound differences between the systems of the various Continental states, from the municipal organisation of Rostock in Mecklenburg, in which the government has scarcely any share, to that of Paris, where it is nearly all in all. But still, with a few exceptions, the Continental governments have every where a hand in municipal affairs. Where they do not order and prescribe, they at least authorise and revise; and the necessity of approbation implies the right of *veto*.

There is a vast difference, however, in the principles upon which these different states act. Thus, to select a single point, in most German states there are at least two systems of communal legislation—the *Stadtordnung* for towns, and the *Gemeindeordnung* for villages. The former, or urban legislation, gives a much greater autonomy to townsmen than the latter does to villagers; it has been considered that the education and intelligence necessary for the proper performance of communal duties are not so easily to be found in rural society as in the great centres of population. In France it is exactly the reverse. There the little communes have much more self-government than the great towns: and the great towns, in their turn, enjoy rights which Paris does not possess. Yet in Germany every peasant can read and write: while in France there are places where the whole municipal council signs with a cross, because not one of its members can write.

If the French law of 1855 limits the power of the mayors in

towns of 40,000 inhabitants and more, and refuses to the citizens of Paris and Lyons the least morsel of influence in the management of their own concerns, it is by no means because they are supposed to be without intelligence, but because they are not trusted. It is feared that the people would use their undeniable knowledge and talents for purposes of opposition; that is to say, the law was made, not for, but against, the people, and the government feels its interests to be distinct from those of the nation. Or perhaps it is thought that the people, left to themselves, would not know how to set about procuring those common comforts which the municipal bodies provide them with; that if the law did not force the communes to sweep and light the streets, to distribute clean water and drain away the dirty, the French towns would be darker and filthier than they are. But in England the towns are swept and lighted; and the French law of 1837, which is still in force on these points, expressly includes these functions in the "free expenditure," because no doubt was felt but that they would be spontaneously undertaken; nor has the administration any power of compelling the communes, except in the matter of "obligatory expenses," the list of which includes precisely those services which the communes would either not undertake at all or only incompletely.

But whatever the motive of the law may have been, its result is to divide the communes of France into three classes. The first class consists of those with less than 40,000 inhabitants, where the mayor keeps all the power given him by the former legislation. The second class consists of those with 40,000 inhabitants and more, where the prefect performs several of the mayor's functions. In these two classes the mayors are named by the government (in the little communes by the prefects, in the large ones by the Emperor), and the municipal council is elected by the inhabitants. The third class consists of Paris and Lyons. Here the prefect is in reality the mayor,—for the mayors of *arrondissements* have scarcely any powers,—and the municipal council is named by the Emperor. It is to one of the towns composing this third class that we shall devote the present Article.

I. With regard to the administration of Paris, the bases of the municipal organisation of the town date from the beginning of this century. After 1789 the administration of the communes was confided to committees called Directories; but this experiment failed. It was found necessary to lodge the two essential functions of administration—the deliberative and executive—in separate hands. In accordance with the plan of the First Consul, the executive power was entrusted to a single person, while the deliberative power was lodged in a board. Such at least was the

principle ; and, in fact, there is in each place only one mayor or one prefect. If the administration of Paris was confided to two prefects, the principle was not really infringed. For the idea of it was to make each officer responsible for his own acts ; and the functions of the Prefect of the Seine and those of the Prefect of Police are perfectly distinct, and the two functionaries are completely independent of each other.

The division of functions between the two prefects made by the consular decree of 12 Messidor AN VIII amounts to a practical definition of the two French words *administration* and *police*. It is to the Prefect of the Seine that the administration belongs. This includes, according to the decree, the following functions. He manages the property of the department ; he prepares its budget, which he lays before the general council of the Seine ; he collects all the receipts, and makes all the disbursements authorised by the budget ; he directs and overlooks all public works in the department ; he conducts the measures for recruiting the army ; he represents the department in all legal actions, whether as plaintiff or defendant ; he assesses the taxation ; and he performs a quantity of secondary functions which it would take too long to enumerate. Besides all this, the Prefect of the Seine, being also Mayor of Paris, has a double office within the city ; and thus in many cases his acts in order to be regular should be signed by him twice, once as mayor and again as prefect. The department also contains, besides Paris, a certain number of communes, the mayors of which possess all the powers given to them by the law ; and in these the Prefect of the Seine has about the same powers as the other prefects in the communes of their own departments. The Prefect of Police has to take all measures necessary for the security of person and property. He keeps the peace and preserves public decency in the streets and in all public places, such as churches, exchanges, theatres, taverns, and places of debauchery. He is the sanitary officer, and inspects markets, ports, and all places where provisions of any kind are brought in, in order to see that they are not adulterated or noxious to health, and that they are sold by true weight and measure. He has other minor functions, which we need not enumerate.

But life consists of so many and such various details, and the citizens of Paris are so absolutely shut out from all share in their own common affairs, that the two prefects require a very multitudinous staff to enable them to perform all that is required of them. And in the complicated relations which spring up between these different officers occasional disputes arise as to the spheres belonging to each. These disputes, however, are less frequent than they might have been if the distinction between the offices had been less logically drawn, or if the law had not

been sufficiently clear to allow of its consequences being easily deduced from it. For this cause the division remained unaltered, or nearly so, for sixty years; dynasties rose and fell without interfering with it. But it was modified by a decree of October 10, 1859, in favour of the Prefect of the Seine, to whom some functions of police were given which were taken from the Prefect of Police, not on any general principle of logic or expedience, but, in part at least, from considerations merely personal. Formerly the Prefect of the Seine was charged with the *grande voirie*, that is, he marked out the lines of road, and indicated how far houses might be advanced over the public way, or how far they were to be carried back in case of rebuilding. He repaired the highways, and ordered the opening of new streets. The Prefect of Police, on the other hand, was charged with cleansing and lighting and removing obstructions from the streets. The decree of 1859, however, centralises in the hands of the Prefect of the Seine every thing relating to public thoroughfares; and he now not only opens new streets, boulevards, and avenues, but also sweeps and waters the roads, and carts off the mud, the snow, and the ice. The same decree, with more or less reason, also takes from the Prefect of Police, and gives to the Prefect of the Seine, the following functions: the cleansing of sewers and cesspools; the licensing of private persons to set up baths, washing-houses, mills, or the like, on rivers or canals; the fares and regulations of public carriages, and the appointment of stations for them in the streets and public places; the tariffs, and the collection of the municipal taxes in the public markets; and the regulation of the bakers—though this last function has ceased since a decree of 1863 gave the bakers their liberty. Of these modifications introduced by the decree of 1859, some had plausible reasons: for instance, the cleansing of sewers, because it may be provided for in their construction; the emptying of cesspools, because the town makes a profit of their contents, and the Prefect of the Seine is the administrator of the communal funds. The public carriages and the markets are also sources of revenue, and the highways and markets are communal property, of which the Prefect of the Seine is the proper manager. If the Prefect of Police had hitherto been charged with these functions, it was because the cleansing of sewers and cesspools has a direct relation with the public health, because the public carriages might block up the streets and endanger the passengers, and because the markets might be places where false weights were used and unwholesome food sold. The arguments for and against are nearly balanced; and it was the personal influence of one of the prefects that made his rival kick the beam.

Perhaps our readers will not be very inquisitive about the

exact results of this dualism, or about the debates of the two consuls of the capital of the civilised world, as many a Parisian considers his native city to be. They may be more desirous to know what share of influence belongs, we will not say to the senate,—the comparison would not be fair,—but to the municipal council of the French metropolis. This influence has always been very moderate; but it has varied with the times. Under the First Empire the government named the municipal councillors in all the communes of France. The Restoration kept up this illiberal policy, not, however, without great opposition in the Chambers, where the debates had so prepared the public mind that one of the first laws of the government of July in 1831 related to the election of the municipal councils. The organisation of Paris, which is always treated as a thing apart, was reformed by a law of April 20, 1834. From that date each of the twelve arrondissements of which the town then consisted had to elect three councillors, constituting a municipal council of thirty-six members. The general council, which holds the same place in the department as the municipal council in the commune, consisted of forty-four members, namely, the thirty-six of the municipal council, and four apiece for the arrondissements of Sceaux and St.-Denis.

These councillors were not elected by universal suffrage, which long after 1834 was scouted as a utopia by one party, and as an absurdity by the other. The municipal electors of each arrondissement consisted of the electors who named the deputies to the Chamber—that is, all who paid direct taxes to the amount of 200f.—with the addition of what were then called the “capacities,” that is, officers of army and navy, judges and legal officials, members of the Institute, barristers, solicitors, and notaries, medical men who had fulfilled certain conditions, and professors in superior or secondary schools, whatever might be the amount of their direct assessment. For the whole of Paris the number of electors did not exceed a few thousands; but their independence was above all suspicion. Their choice generally fell on liberals, sometimes on advanced democrats whose opinions were certainly not those of the majority of the electoral body; but it was considered desirable that all shades of political opinion should be represented in the municipal council. We need not say that this council made a serious business of its power of voting the receipts and expenditure of Paris, and of controlling the management of the Prefect of the Seine. If its powers were not as extensive as those of other communes, at least no part of them was lost through an exaggerated complaisance towards the government.

The revolution of 1848 occasioned an exceptional order of things, which was meant to be only provisional, but which still

existed at the time of the *coup-d'état* of the 2nd of December 1851. The municipal council, elected by the citizens, was replaced by a municipal commission, named by the executive power; and the decree of the 5th of May 1855 changed nothing except the word "commission," for which it substituted "council." The French are very fond of these changes of words. In 1848 many a man thought himself a good republican because it cost him so little to say "Citoyen Maire" instead of "Monsieur le Maire." The law of June 16, 1859, which threw back the boundaries of Paris, necessarily added to the number of its *arrondissements*; there are now twenty; and the Emperor nominates all the sixty municipal councillors.

Those who think that it does not signify whether the prefect, a nominee of the government, be under the control of a council elected by the tax-payers, or of a council nominated by the government, should study the following table, which shows, in francs, the expenditure of the city of Paris during the three periods we have described:

(1) *Period before the Law of 1834.*

AN VI.	1,970,171	1816	36,534,380
VII.	5,644,573	1817	68,721,218
VIII.	12,247,457	1818	32,874,350
IX.	11,216,117	1819	38,728,901
X.	11,872,270	1820	41,459,794
XI.	11,962,994	1821	43,557,014
XII.	18,448,640	1822	43,695,992
XIII.	20,682,880	1823	49,242,011
XIV. (100 days ¹ of)	5,162,334	1824	50,172,320
1806	21,134,180	1825	50,179,062
1807	20,231,039	1826	46,588,696
1808	21,983,323	1827	44,387,846
1809	22,857,999	1828	44,597,389
1810	28,264,760	1829	48,695,224
1811	33,705,105	1830	45,178,703
1812	30,658,401	1831	52,538,602
1813	22,667,062	1832	56,548,452
1814	33,483,376	1833	38,173,322
1815	78,078,442		

(2) *Period from 1834 to 1847.*

1834	40,446,130	1841	43,435,705
1835	41,894,045	1842	43,960,153
1836	42,062,049	1843	45,368,548
1837	44,954,898	1844	48,254,425
1838	41,093,671	1845	47,292,775
1839	41,642,947	1846	46,364,507
1840	44,216,856	1847	61,214,365

¹ To make the period agree with the Christian computation.

(\$) Period from 1848 to 1859.

1848	59,088,780	1854	83,429,145
1849	64,128,153	1855	107,635,453
1850	50,513,215	1856	103,987,055
1851	56,338,485	1857	114,797,081
1852	80,095,912	1858	95,622,308
1853	77,818,757	1859	97,720,544

In 1860 the *banlieue* was taken into the town; and the population was thereby increased from 1,174,346 to 1,525,942, and, according to the census of 1861, to 1,667,841. The expenditure rose in proportion: in 1860 it was 138,544,981*f.*, and in 1861, 192,406,266*f.* The budget voted for 1862 was 197,604,869*f.*; and that for 1863, 193,518,697*f.* The realised receipts for 1862 were only 175,712,567*f.*; and the corrected estimate for 1863 is reduced to 183,486,848*f.* For 1864 the estimate, both of receipts and expenditure, is 151,408,942*f.* Most of the fluctuations in the above table are easily accounted for. The excess in 1817 and in 1847 was caused by the distribution of bread during scarcities; that in 1815, by the invasion of the Allies; that in 1832, by the cholera; and that of 1848, by the revolution. But it is not necessary to our present purpose to discuss these details.

It may be said that the excessive expenditure of the last period has produced excessively great results. But the partisans of an elective council will answer that they had rather be free than have beautiful streets to look at; of two evils they would choose the lesser, and of two good things the greater.

II. The ways and means by which this enormous expenditure, amounting to nearly eight millions sterling, is fed, are various. It is remarkable that of the 193½ million francs voted for 1863, less than 3,000,000 are obtained by direct taxation. The additional centimes added to the imperial taxation amount to 2,917,170*f.* Contrast this with London, where almost all the municipal taxation is direct; though nearly the whole revenue of the State, except the income and assessed taxes, comes from indirect imposts. In matter of revenue, however, Paris is by no means an enlarged specimen of the rest of the French communes. In the villages, nearly the whole revenue, which is often very small, is produced by direct taxes—the additional centimes and the tax on dogs. Sometimes the commune has some property. Its indirect resources consist of an insignificant sum for certificates of birth, marriage, and death, a bonus of ten francs upon every game-license taken out by an inhabitant of the commune, and a certain proportion out of fines inflicted. There are communes where nothing is received on

these two heads, and where the certificates do not bring in more than five francs a year.

The controversy between the advocates of direct and indirect taxation cannot be discussed incidentally. We may, however, remark, that in France public opinion is becoming more and more unfavourable to indirect imposts, at least in the form of customs levied at the frontiers and at the gates of towns. The arguments against them are partly economical and partly political. The economical arguments do not seem to make much impression on the "let-well-alone" temperament of French financiers; but the political arguments find a response among the people. Indirect taxation, they say, by its natural increase, encourages governments to increase their expenditure in an unlimited ratio. Moreover—and this is their strong point—if there were only direct taxes, every man would know exactly how much he pays to the State; the amount of the sum would frighten him; and he would not fail to make every effort to reduce the public expenditure.

Those who argue thus aim chiefly at the *octroi*, which is a kind of customs duty levied at the barriers of the town for the municipal chest. The State, it is true, utilises the machinery of the *octroi* for collecting part of its spirit duties; but this is an accessory, which need not detain us. This tax is only collected in about 1400 of the largest communes; the other 35,000 are exempt. The 1400 places which enjoy this privilege make more than 120,000,000*f.* by it. Paris alone gets nearly 80,000,000*f.*, leaving 40,000,000*f.* for the other places. This sum is very unequally distributed, not only because towns of 3,000 inhabitants do not consume so much as towns of 100,000, but also because the tariff is different for different places. In one, only wine pays the duty; in another, only meat; in a third, both. In other places fish is added to the list; elsewhere, all other eatables; then fuel, then forage, then building materials—every article being assessed more or less highly according to the amount of revenue which the municipal council thinks proper to raise.

In Paris the assessment is highest; and all eatables, beverages, forage, fuel, and building materials are subject to it. But the common objection to indirect taxation—that it makes the poor man pay as much as the rich—does not apply to the Parisian *octroi*. Luxuries are assessed much more highly than necessities. Wine in barrels pays 10*f.*, wine in bottles, 17*f.*, cider only 3*f.* 80*c.*, and beer still less, the hectolitre. This is at least the principal or primitive tax; at present there is an additional 10 centimes on each packet, and a second 10 centimes on all articles but wine, beer, and meat. Spirits pay 23*f.* 50*c.*, which would be little enough, were it not that the State makes the

octroi officers collect another 91*l.* for the treasury. Ordinary oil pays 21*l.*, and olive-oil 38*l.* the hectolitre. Truffles and truffle-patties pay 120*l.* the 100 kilogrammes; fowls and game 30*l.*; salmon, turbot, and the like, 60*l.*; while other fish pays 15*l.* Ordinary oysters pay 5*l.*, Ostend oysters, 15*l.* So the tax upon forage, though it presses on industry, is a tax upon the rich man and not on the poor. But the enemies of the octroi are not satisfied with these feeble attempts to temper the tax in favour of the poorer classes.

It appears to us that, of all the methods of municipal taxation that have been proposed for Paris, the octroi is the least objectionable. The administration uses part of its produce to pay the whole income-tax of those too poor to pay a rent of more than 250*l.*, and part of the income-tax of persons whose rent is between 250*l.* and 1500*l.* The abolition of the octroi, and the substitution of an income-tax, would have this injurious effect among others: the shopman, the clerk, the workman, who struggle on with 1500 to 2000*l.* a year in their lodgings, would have to pay some 100*l.* income-tax; while the 30,000 or 40,000 unmarried workmen, whose wages perhaps are higher, but who live in furnished rooms, and are therefore looked upon as travellers, and not taxed, would pay nothing towards the municipal expenditure, and would be enabled to drink a few quarts more a year. Justice and morality do not require men to be exempted from taxation simply because they exhibit no foresight, and like better to spend their evenings in a public-house than in a home, dull enough no doubt, but sanctified by the presence of wife and children.

It is necessary that every person should contribute, if such a sum as 79,802,000*l.* is to be raised. Compare this, the estimated octroi for 1863, with that of the year VII. (1798), the year of the creation of the tax. Most of the articles now taxed were so then; but there have been frequent changes in detail, and several augmentations. In 1815 there was an addition of a tenth for the war; and in 1848 a second tenth was imposed upon most of the taxable articles. The amount of the tax in the year VII. was 6,634,055*l.*, part of which went to the hospitals. The rest of the municipal revenue amounted to only 383,417*l.* A modest beginning, which soon grew great. In 1800, when the population of Paris was officially estimated at 547,000, though we believe it was at least 600,000, the octroi produced eleven millions and a half. In 1817, when the population was exactly 713,966, it brought in eighteen millions and a half; but the scarcity of that year entailed a loss of at least two millions. In 1831, when the revolution of 1830 was still felt, the amount was 19,980,000*l.*, for a population of 774,338. In 1841, for a population of 985,261,

it was 31,338,000f. In 1851, for a population of 1,053,000, it was 37,380,000f. In 1861, for a population of 1,667,000, it was 77,300,000f. Of this last sum, beverages paid 28½ millions; other liquids (vinegar, oil), 7 millions; provisions, 14 millions; fuel, 9½ millions; building materials, 11 millions; and forage, 4 millions: the rest was made up by miscellaneous articles.

After the octroi duties, in the budget of the ways and means of Paris, come the markets. In France the right of constructing a covered market, or *halle*, belongs to the commune: it may concede this right, under certain conditions, to a private person or a company; but the law does not favour such concessions. Moreover the soil of the public places or streets where markets are held in the open air belongs to the commune; and the rents paid by the stall-keepers go into the municipal chest.

Paris contains a great number of covered and open markets. Between the magnificent central halles, which are not yet finished, but already bring in 880,000f., and the open-air market in the Rue de Sèvres, which brings in 26,000f., there are thirty places of public sale in the Paris of 1859, and fifteen more in the *banlieue* now taken into the city. The whole rental of these markets amounts to 2,691,720f. Besides the rental of stalls, there is a municipal tax upon all wholesale operations in products exempt from the octroi: this was estimated at 4,550,000f. for 1863, bringing up the total produce of the markets to 7,241,720f.

The next item in the ways and means comes from payment for services rendered,—services which it is optional to accept or not. The public finds the advantage of applying to the office for weighing and measuring,—*bureau du poids public*,—because its acts are authentic and recognised in courts of justice. The gross produce of this office is 867,000f.

The next item is the thoroughfares, divided into the great and little *voirie*. The first provides the roads; the second looks after the circulation. It would take us too long to show how the one produces 300,000f. and the other 100,000f. Every balcony that is to overhang the street requires a license, which is always granted, but is paid for according to a tariff. Almost all shop-fronts require some projection over the footpath,—about eight inches is the usual allowance,—but this has to be paid for.

The next item is the waterworks. Here again the revenue is only payment for services rendered to the inhabitants, by furnishing them with water in their houses. In spite of its position on the Seine, Paris used to be ill supplied with good drinkable water. In the old times, thirty or forty years ago, the water-supply was afforded by carriers, with two buckets slung to their shoulder-yokes, and their lugubrious cry of “o-o-o” (*eau*). They drew their water from the Seine, and sold it at two sous a pailful.

But times have changed. Before the annexation of the banlieue in 1859, 196,000 cubic mètres of water were distributed through 524,000 mètres of pipes, to 8000 out of the 33,000 houses, to 33 monumental fountains, 69 public and market fountains, 1779 cocks for watering the streets, 58 plugs to supply the watering-carts, 111 fire-plugs, 105 plugs under the pavement, 125 public establishments, and 171 washhouses. Seven-eighths of the supply came by the Ourcq canal. Besides this, the banlieue had its own 260,000 mètres of pipes belonging to a private water-company. Since 1860, this company has contracted for the supply of the whole of Paris. The municipal chest bears a large part of the first expenses, and the company works the machinery, for which it is paid out of the water-rates. A supply of 200 litres a day costs sixty francs a year. The actual supply of water is far from sufficient; and measures are being taken to draw more from the Seine, from rivers, and springs. There is also a talk of making fresh artesian wells besides those of Grenelle and Passy. There were 91,539 mètres of new pipes laid down in 1862, some of them upwards of half a yard in diameter. The produce of the waterworks for 1863 is estimated at 4,270,000f.

The slaughter-houses produce 2,140,000f. They cost many millions; but they were necessary as a sanitary measure, and the money was well spent. Now the facility of commerce requires the present *abattoirs* to be replaced by a single central one—the French like any thing central—to be erected near the new cattle-market.

The wine-dépôt produces a rental of 426,000f.; licenses to let chairs on the boulevards and the like produce 19,475f.; licenses for erecting moveable stalls, and especially stands for public carriages, bring in 2,247,860f.; and the payment for the right of laying gas-pipes and the like under the streets produces 200,000f. There are several other minor items, which bring up the total of this division of the revenue to 2,796,000f.

Besides this public property, the commune has also several lots of private property, the rental of which amounted in 1863 to nearly 1,103,000f. The birth, marriage, and death certificates figure for 145,000f., and funeral dues for 659,827f. These dues are a tax proportioned to the ostentation of the funeral. Burial dues bring in 1,350,000f. Graves are granted either for five years or in perpetuity. The first cost 50f.; the second vary with the extent of ground required.

The next item, chapter 14 of the budget, is worth the study of our Board of Works, for it shows that in France they know how to utilise the sewage. The cleansing of cesspools brings in 620,000f. Part of the contents is manufactured into manure at Bondy, and sold at a high price. The 15th chapter includes

fifteen items, together producing ten and a half millions. They include 3,850,000f., the share of the government in maintaining the pavements; 3,847,000f., its share in the municipal police; 873,500f. paid by private persons in lieu of sweeping the street before their houses; the charges made for police service in the theatres, or for firemen's service; and similar items.

The 16th chapter comprehends the miscellaneous receipts, such as police-court fines, 118,000f.; the bonus of ten francs on game-licenses, 60,000f., which gives 6,000 sportsmen for Paris; the dog-tax, 425,000f., which gives from 50,000 to 60,000 dogs, for the tax is 10f. for each fancy dog, and 5f. for each house-dog. Blind men's dogs pay nothing.

To recapitulate. The ordinary receipts above enumerated give a total of 117,304,197f. To these we must add 11,598,000f. of extraordinary receipts—the proceeds, in part, of the sale of property purchased by the town for improvements, and in part of a subvention of 8,800,000f. due by the State in virtue of an agreement made in 1858. There is also 16,000,000f. of supplementary receipts, comprising the balance of the preceding year. And finally, there is 48,616,500f. of special receipts, consisting chiefly of loans contracted for special objects. We shall see further on what these objects are.

III. After the receipts come the expenses. And here we shall not exactly follow the order of the published budget, which is arranged rather with the view to simplify the accounts than for the purpose of giving a general idea of the municipal action of Paris. We shall take no notice, therefore, of the official distinction into chapters, but simply follow the leading lines of division.

The administration forms naturally the first head of expenditure, as being the machinery by which every thing is directed and worked. The prefecture and the mayoralties of Paris, the salaries and minor expenses, cost 3,665,735f. More than 3,000,000f. of this sum go in payment of salaries and wages of functionaries and clerks; but it does not comprehend the salaries and wages paid in the special branches. The expenditure given for each branch of the service includes the payment of the persons employed in that branch.

Next to the expenses of the administration come the expenses of collecting. Every where in France, and now almost all over Europe, the budget gives the gross revenue; this indicates the gross total of the tax, corresponding with the burden laid on the tax-payer. It is only by making the government account for the gross total of receipts that control becomes possible. The expenses of collection amount to 7,948,298 fr. Of this four and a half millions belong to the octroi, or 5·66 per cent on its gross

product of 79½ millions. This is not much for an indirect tax ; the customs cost far more ; the expenses are eight millions, being about 7 per cent on the ordinary receipts (117 millions).

We have mentioned that out of the octroi duties a sum was taken to exempt poor housekeepers from the income-tax. The amount is 1,680,000f. The town also pays 180,000f. land-tax, and 260,000f. in other taxes. The total is 2,120,000f. Communal property pays taxes, unless it is devoted to the public service—as is a church, a *hôtel de ville*, or a promenade.

The Paris police costs rather more than 15,000,000f. The prefecture of police takes 12,268,000f. of this sum. The rest goes to pay the firemen, the national guard, and the *garde de Paris* (who must not be confounded with the *sergents de ville*). The government pays almost four millions of these expenses, because Paris being the metropolis, the seat of government, and the residence of the sovereign, must be more abundantly guarded than an ordinary town. Moreover it must not be forgotten that public order is still further insured by the presence of the *armée de Paris*, which occupies the numerous barracks of Paris, Versailles, and the neighbourhood. There are persons, indeed, even in Paris, who hold that respect for the law, and the love of peace and quiet, would be better guarantees for order than bayonets can be. But these persons have no voice in the management of affairs.

We come next to a branch of expenditure which is one of the glories of the administration of Paris—the streets and thoroughfares. Including the sewers and public walks, the ordinary expenditure under this head for 1863 amounts to 21,675,000f., and the extraordinary expenditure to 9,795,000f., or upwards of thirty-one millions in all. This sum tells tales both of the enlargement and of the embellishment of the capital. Formerly the one source of expenditure was the maintenance of the public ways ; and this was no slight burden. The question between macadam and pavement was a serious one. The increase of traffic makes it more difficult every year to maintain the pavement in decent order. The number of carriages was 21,960 in 1853, and was nearly 40,000 in 1860. The increase was due in great measure to the heavy wagons employed for carrying stone and other massive materials. Hence the sandstone with which Paris has been paved for centuries can no longer bear the traffic, and granite and porphyry have to be brought from a distance. The old pavement only costs forty-eight centimes the square mètre to keep up ; but it is easily crushed, and soon worn out. Granite lasts longer, but it is dearer, and horses slip over it. Macadam is good for those who keep carriages ; but the foot-passenger grumbles at the mud. It costs moreover 2f. the square mètre. For some time past a middle course has been taken. The middle of the road is macadamised,

and the two sides paved up to gutters which divide the road from the footpath. For 1863 the pavement of Paris costs 6,698,000f., and the asphalt for footpaths 485,000f.; the scavenging of the macadamised roads 748,000f.; that of paved roads (including watering) 3,020,500f.; besides the wages of the inspectors, highway wardens, and others, which amount to 837,000f. The length of paved roads is 531,000 mètres, with superficial contents of 4,183,000 square mètres. The length of macadamised roads is 178,000 mètres, and their surface 1,754,000 square mètres.

This expenditure does not pay for more than the maintenance of roads already existing; it has nothing to do with the new streets through the demolitions, which have to be levelled, furnished with foot-pavements, water, gas, and sewers; so that what is out of sight often costs more than what is seen. The cost of these new streets is a separate item of the "special expenditure."

Lighting the streets costs 3,036,000f., besides 301,000f. for inspectors. There are about 23,000 jets. Since the fusion of the different gas companies the town is supplied more cheaply; and the banlieue especially has gained. There are about 300,000 jets in public establishments and private shops.

The waterworks and sewers cost 2,307,000f.; the walks and plantations 2,587,460f. The engineers, architects, and inspectors of public walks are paid 253,000f. Many of the inferior officers receive only from 1200f. to 1500f.; but their number neutralises the effect of the smallness of their wages. This sum, moreover, does not include the salaries for the maintenance of the Bois de Boulogne or of the Bois de Vincennes, one of which costs 460,000f., the other 280,000f. a year.

The maintenance of public buildings costs 1,467,000f. This is not much. The *hôtel de ville* only costs 60,000f.; the churches, 150,000f.; the Lycées and the Sorbonne, 50,000f.; the communal schools, 200,000f.; the *halles* and markets, 100,000f. These sums are, of course, only for repairs.

By the side of these long rows of figures, the expenditure for public worship makes but a sorry show. It amounts to 148,186f. It must be remembered, however, that the French clergy are paid by the State. The salaries are very low; but in Paris they are largely increased by the piety of the faithful. Of these 148,000f., only 56,000f. go towards the expenses of Catholic worship, for the rental of small churches and presbyteries which do not belong to the town; the rest is spent in assisting other religious bodies.

Public instruction absorbs 3,068,000f., 144,000f. of which go for secondary or middle-school education and special instruction. The rest is spent on primary instruction, infant

schools, poor schools, Sunday and evening schools, and classes for adults. There are 419 such establishments, besides 38 private schools, assisted by the municipality. In 1862 these schools contained about 72,000 scholars—27,000 girls and 45,000 boys. All the schools assisted by the municipality give a gratuitous education.

Another item of expenditure is the poor-relief. It is set down at 10,236,399f. for 1863. We need enter into no details on this point, as we have already discussed the whole subject of poor-relief in France in the first volume of this Review.²

With the interest of the municipal debt, the ordinary expenses for 1863 amount to 81,237,043f., which, with 47,665,154f. of extraordinary expenditure, 16,000,000f. of supplementary expenditure, and 48,616,500f. of special expenses, make up the general total of 193,518,697f.

IV. It is now time to speak of the public works for utility and ornament, for which modern Paris is so remarkable. It is not often that great ideas come into the world in all their completeness. A great design, presented at first in its full development, would be often rejected as impracticable. But if it is begun modestly, and pushed on with vigour, as far as means will allow, it is then very often gradually enlarged, and made to embrace one thing after another till it is complete. When we have hold of a finger, we can grasp the hand, and then the arm; and at last we are able to collar the man. Circumstances, too, sometimes favour this natural expansiveness of our desires. Thus it has been in the case of the reconstruction of Paris. The starting-point of the gigantic works which all the world now admires was a law made in 1851, under the Republican government, for the rebuilding of the central halles and the lengthening of the Rue de Rivoli. The halles, which are really the central dépôt for nearly all the provisions required by the immense city, had, no doubt, become too small. As for the Rue de Rivoli, which was not then meant to be made nearly so long as it has since been made, its prolongation was a measure of precaution in case of an insurrection; and the demolition and rebuilding gave present employment to workmen who could not be left in idleness without danger.

These two motives lost none of their force after the *coup-d'état* of December 2, 1851. To provide work and to hinder the rise of barricades became a permanent business of the new *régime*. Finally, when the President became Emperor, he conceived the idea of erecting his own monument, and leaving his name inscribed in indelible letters upon the capital of France. The powers which the Emperor, so liberal of every thing but liberty,

² P. 312.

has managed to accumulate in his own hands have supplied him, directly or indirectly, with ample means for realising his idea.

The sinews of war are equally the sinews of building. There have been many attempts made to calculate the expenditure already incurred for the reconstruction of Paris, but none of them are complete. Those which we have examined only include a small portion of the whole. Some accounts only give the expenditure of the municipality; others add that of the government; but none attempt to estimate that of private persons. Yet more money has been spent by individuals than is usually imagined. We do not pretend to give a reliable estimate of its amount—there are no materials for such a judgment; but, at any rate, we can make a more complete general estimate than has been hitherto made.

And, first, we must remember that the ordinary municipal budget contains one or more divisions, amounting to millions of francs, appropriated not simply to the maintenance but to the embellishment and reconstruction of the town. Then comes the extraordinary expenditure, covered by the surplus of the receipts. And lastly come the loans. The surpluses might be compared to a mirage if their results were not so solid. To enable our readers to understand the ingenious process by which a good surplus is always shown, it is necessary to say a few words upon the principles of French finance. Neither the State nor the municipal bodies have any fixed revenue of their own: whatever they need must be supplied by the contributions of the taxpayers and ratepayers. Hence they always begin with voting the budget of expenditure, before they examine that of ways and means. This is reasonable. The variability of our income-tax proves that we acknowledge this relation between our wants and our taxation. But in France the case is altered. There also the expenditure is voted before the receipts,—they are too logical to do otherwise,—but not before the receipts have been mentally calculated, and the expenditure so arranged that not a particle of income may be lost—that is, may remain in the taxpayer's pocket.

We should not think it reasonable that the ordinary receipts of the municipality of Paris should be 117 millions, and its ordinary expenditure 81 millions. Our resource would be to cut down the octroi duties by some 30 millions. But in Paris these 87 millions will be all used for building and improvements. No Frenchman wonders at this; he would not wonder even at an increase of taxation; but he would be greatly and, we suppose, agreeably surprised at any reduction of expenditure.

But even this large surplus is quite insufficient for the transformation of Paris; indeed, in 1851, when the transformation

was begun, it was not so large as it is now. The only alternative then was to contract a loan. And the National Assembly authorised the municipality to borrow 50 millions on bonds of 1000*fr.*, at 5 per cent interest, repayable in twelve annual instalments between 1859 and 1870. This law, in a financial point of view, was quite legitimate. A town with the enormous income of Paris can easily contract a debt of 50,000,000*fr.* for useful works. But the law contained a provision all the consequences of which were not seen at the moment. This provision was developed by a decree of 1852; and it now plays a great part in the reconstruction of Paris.

Our readers are aware that the French law authorises an *expropriation forcée pour cause d'utilité publique*, obliging proprietors to sell all sites necessary for carrying out an object of public utility. It is founded on a law of 1841, of which the two first articles run as follows: "Art. 1. Expropriation for the purpose of public utility takes place under the authority of the judges.³ Art. 2. The tribunals can only order the expropriation when its utility has been ascertained and declared in the forms prescribed by the present law. These forms consist of—(1) The law, or royal ordinance [the imperial decree], authorising the execution of the works for which the expropriation is required. (2) The act of the prefect appointing the locality or territory where the works are to be erected, when such appointment is not contained in the decree. (3) The further order of the prefect determining the particular properties to which the expropriation is to be applied. No such application to any private property can be made till the interested parties have been enabled to make their objections, according to the rules laid down further on."

By this second article,—and, indeed, by the whole tenour of the French law,—the government is set up as the sole judge of the utility of an expropriation; the law does not interfere except to settle the price. The prefect defines what property is to be expropriated; but he must keep within the limits marked by the decree which declares the work to be one of public utility. At present the prefect can go still farther. A law of 1850 on unhealthy habitations, and that of 1851 for the prolongation of the Rue de Rivoli, extended his powers in special cases; but the decree of March 26, 1852, which, in consequence of its having been issued during the Dictatorial period, has the force of a law, contains the following article: "In every projected expropriation for enlarging, improving, or forming streets in Paris, the adminis-

³ The intervention of the tribunals is a mere formality, because in France it is only the tribunals that can interfere with private property. See the Articles *Chemins vicinaux*, *Expropriation*, *Marais*, *Voirie*, in Dr. Maurice Block's *Dictionnaire de l'Administration Française*, Paris, Berger-Leclerc.

tration shall have power to purchase the whole of each property through which the line passes, whenever it considers that the remaining portions are insufficient for the construction of healthy houses. It can in like manner include in the expropriation properties outside the line of the streets, when their purchase is necessary for the suppression of old thoroughfares which are considered unnecessary." We may say, for the information of persons not familiar with the art of legal interpretation, that the word "healthy" in this article is the sheep's clothing that conceals the wolf; experience has, however, discovered his claws and teeth. The amount of the purchase-money is fixed, without appeal, by a jury composed of a magistrate, as president, and a certain number of citizens. If the proprietor and the administration cannot come to terms, the one makes a claim, the other an offer; the jury invariably goes somewhat beyond the real value in deciding between them.

The prefect then is all-powerful until he has to ask for money; and money he must ask for, as we shall see. The loan of fifty millions authorised in 1851 was contracted in 1852. The properties that blocked up the Louvre and Tuileries were purchased; and the State bore in the latter case half, in the former a third, of the expense. In 1854 new works were projected,—the prolongation of the Rue de Rivoli as far as the Rue St.-Antoine, and the opening of the Boulevards of Sebastopol and Strasburg, between the Rues St.-Denis and St.-Martin, through the most populous and busy quarters of Paris. The expense of these improvements was estimated at 101,000,000*f.*, of which the State was to bear one-third. The Boulevard de Sébastopol alone was to cost 74,000,000*f.*; but the two-thirds which the town had to bear were reduced to 41,000,000*f.* by the estimated produce of the sale of materials and surplus plots of ground. These surplus plots are very expensive, and bring in much less than they cost. They are often too small for any one to purchase them separately; for no one but the proprietor of the next house can make any use of them. If he will not purchase, he also is compelled to sell his house, which has to be pulled down before the united plots can be sold. This has to go among the unforeseen expenses, which mount up so rapidly that by 1854 the prefect had already to confess a deficit of 56,000,000*f.*

When the bill of 1855 was brought in, to authorise the town to borrow 60,000,000*f.*, and to give it a subvention of thirty-odd millions, the Parisian budget showed a surplus of 24,000,000*f.*; but no one entertained, or at least no one expressed, the idea of reducing the rates. The only question was, whether this sum should be spent annually in the gradual transformation of Paris, say within ten years, or whether money should be borrowed to

do it in five. As only 60,000,000*f.* were wanted, the loan was determined on. We do not think that there were then even "The Five" opposition members in the Chamber: all the voting was unanimous. In the municipal council every member was a nominee of the Emperor.

If there had been a question only of 60,000,000*f.*, doubtless the best plan would have been to borrow the money and get the work finished. With an income of 110 or 120 million francs, and a surplus of 24,000,000*f.*, a debt of 60,000,000*f.* is soon paid off.

The works then were pushed on with a vigour which astonished Parisians and strangers. Persons coming to visit their friends found the houses where they had seen them two months before utterly razed. But this was only a beginning. In 1857, by the law of the 19th of June, a new convention was made, whereby the State engaged to undertake a third of the expense of the southern continuation of the Boulevard de Sébastopol, the opening of the Rue des Ecoles, and the clearance round the Hôtel de Cluny and the Palais des Thermes. But prudence had come with experience; and the State stipulated that its share should not exceed twelve and a half millions.

In 1858 there were new projects on a still vaster scale. The town engaged, under treaty with the State, to complete within ten years from 1859 the following works, the greatness of which can be appreciated by any one who knows Paris: (1) Nine boulevards,—those du Prince Eugène, du Nord, du Château d'Eau, de Malesherbes, de Beaujon, three others meeting at the Pont de l'Alma and that of St.-Marcel. (2) The opening or enlargement of ten streets from twenty to forty mètres in width: these streets are all to be cut through the most populous quarters. (3) The opening of four avenues, or roads, somewhat smaller than boulevards. (4) The rectification of the numerous streets intercepted by the new cuttings.

It was necessary, said the prefect, in his report to the municipal council, to open through Paris wide strategic roads for purposes of security, for facilitating the access to the railways, and for embellishing and making healthy the capital of the empire. Attention had been given to every part of the town. After improving the centre by the erection of the halles, the completion of the Rue de Rivoli, and the opening of the Boulevard de Sébastopol, it was necessary to create in the west, between the Parc de Monceau and the Bois de Boulogne, a town for the fashionable population; to balance it in the east, by extending the manufacturing town towards Vincennes; and in the south, to put life into the 12th arrondissement, which was the disgrace of Paris. The cost of these works was estimated at 180 millions, 50 of which would be borne by the State. The law of May 28, 1858, autho-

rised the project, and gave the subvention to which we have already referred in our analysis of the budget. The municipality was authorised by the law of July 26, 1860, to issue 287,618 bonds of 500f., each bearing 15f. interest, and repayable by lot within thirty-seven years from the 1st of September 1860 in annual amounts of 600,000f.

We still have to say a few words on the *Caisse de Travaux*, and the annexation of the *banlieue*. The *Caisse de Travaux*, or bank of public works, was established in 1858. Through it pass all the receipts and expenditure of this branch. A fund, first of 10, and afterwards of 20 millions, was set apart for it—why we cannot tell, for the *caisse* is simply a machinery acting for the municipality. The *caisse* is authorised to issue bills (*bons*), the amount of which was first fixed at 30,000,000f., but reached 100,000,000f. in 1860 and 1861, and 125,000,000f. in 1862. In the years 1859, 1860, and 1861, the *caisse* paid in purchases and labour 257 millions, and issued bills for 354 millions. Bills for 125 millions have been in circulation at one time; but they are partly, or—according to the prefect, who is an optimist, like all his brethren—wholly covered by the property purchased and not yet sold. Nevertheless public opinion was agitated about the creation of this new floating debt; and the prefect promised to keep it within 75 millions. But he soon found that to be impossible; and the budget voted for 1864 authorises the issue of bills to the amount of 100,000,000f. for each of the years 1863 and 1864. He promises that only 80 millions shall be issued in 1865, and 60 in 1866. But here, again, he will be found to have been an optimist.

Much might be said, and even something prophesied, about this *caisse* of public works, which seems a most convenient machine for concealing expenditure under a cloud of financial illusions. But we must pass on, for we have still to speak of the annexation of the *banlieue*. Before 1860 Paris had an area of 3288 hectares, or 8220 acres, enclosed within a wall pierced with barriers, or turnpikes, where the octroi dues were collected. Beyond this wall, and within the fortifications of Louis Philippe, was a narrow zone containing several independent communes, grouped round the capital, and called the lesser *banlieue*, with an area of 3800 hectares, or 9500 acres. Paris then consisted of two concentric areas; and in demolishing the wall that divided them the prefect did a real service to the suburban communes. It will be, perhaps, ten years before they realise the benefit, and in the mean time they have to pay the octroi; such is the decision of the law of June 16, 1859, which authorised this enlargement of the town.

Now the motive for this annexation, which was the inability

of little communes like Auteuil, Passy, Batignolles, Montmartre, or Belleville, to follow the capital, and to carry out on their own soil the works necessary for the completion of those of Paris, is a guarantee that the expenditure will be very great for a long time to come. A moving body gathers impetus; and, if no collision takes place, it will go on to-day to replace cottages with houses, and to-morrow houses with palaces. The Paris of 1900 will not be much like that of 1800. The modern Rome will have been transformed without any Neronian conflagration, except that of the fires of ambition and speculation. We cannot tell how many thousands of millions it will all cost; no one has any idea; the accounts hitherto made out confine themselves to the expense of the demolitions, without considering the cost of the constructions.

The municipal share of this expenditure is as follows. The two first loans of 50 and 60 millions brought in a little more than their nominal value, and the third, of 143 millions, a little less. At the end of 1861 M. Devinck's report showed the town-debt to be 294 millions. Some of this has been paid off; but the expropriations continue, and the board of works is still issuing bills. We do not think that 350 millions is an exaggerated estimate of the present debt. It is not excessive; it swallows up only 14,224,581*fr.* in annual interest and 11,299,078*fr.* for sinking fund. But if we want to know how much the town has spent on its embellishment, it is not enough to look at the amount of its debts; we must also take account of the annual surplus spent on the works, and the deficit which may exist. The demolitions are like a fire; we cannot tell where they will stop. We imagine that the town has already spent more than it wished.

According to the accounts of the *caisse* of works, 200 millions had already been spent before 1858, when the *caisse* began to act. Between 1859 and 1861 it had paid 257 millions, and owed 266 millions. Let us suppose, then, that the works have hitherto cost the town some 700 millions, and the State 200 millions. Yet these 900 millions are a very small part of the whole cost of the transformation which is going on before our eyes. For, even allowing for the few hundred millions spent on some public buildings, much more than half the sum was spent on the purchase of the ground for the new streets. And who pays for the private buildings?

The usual process is as follows. When the administration wishes to open a new street, it begins by tracing its plan, and estimating the number and value of the houses that must come down; then it calculates the cost of levelling and paving the new street. The estimate will always be below the real cost, because the juries will fix the purchase-moneys of the properties at a

higher figure than it calculates, and because it will be found necessary to purchase several properties outside the line, and not comprehended in the plan. On the other hand, the building plots, which it sells by auction, will often fetch higher prices than were expected. And the purchasers of these plots on both sides of the street build great and fine houses from pure speculation. For this the town gives them nothing; it only undertakes to make the road, and leaves private persons to line it with houses. The capital of these speculators is the chief agent in the reconstruction of Paris.

The report of the prefect to the General Council of the Seine on the redistribution of taxes contains materials for a comparison between the demolitions and the constructions. In a table prepared for this purpose, he shows that in the Department of the Seine, for the ten years from 1852 to 1861 inclusive, there were 10,143 houses pulled down, and in 1862, 1049; in all 11,192. The new buildings during the same ten years were 50,417, and in 1862, 5447, in all 55,864; giving a balance of 44,672 new buildings. In Paris there were, in 1861, 2932 new buildings, and 1144 houses pulled down,—261 by compulsion and expropriation, and 883 voluntarily. In 1862 there were 2582 new houses, and 763 demolitions,—250 forced, and 513 voluntary. In 1863, there were 993 demolitions—337 forced, and 656 voluntary—and 2943 new houses. How much all these new houses have cost no one knows; but the expense must be several thousands of millions. If it is not talked about, it is because the budgets of private persons are not published; if they were, they might prove as instructive as those of the State or of the great towns.

From this examination of the expenditure of Paris it results that the capital displaced directly by the town is not sufficient to involve it seriously in debt, nor to have any great influence on the money-market. But the same cannot be said of the operations of the private speculators, who have petrified in stone the capital which might have vivified the soil, or set manufactories in motion. If we remember how great was the ardour for commercial and industrial enterprises between 1852 and 1856, and then how that ardour is now cooled, we shall see clearly that the building mania which has attacked almost every street in Paris must have something to do with the check.

The most astonishing result of the movement is that, in spite of the continual multiplication of habitations, rents are constantly rising. By the census of 1856 the inhabitants of the Department of the Seine were 1,727,419; in 1851 they were 1,422,665; and in 1861, 1,953,660. This shows that the growth of population has been rather checked than accelerated. In his report the prefect states that in 1860, 1861, and 1862, the num-

ber of habitations increased by 36,017; and he adds, "Allowing three persons to each habitation, there is room in the town for 108,051 more persons than there was room for in 1859." In 1863 there has been a further increase of 16,490 habitations. It seems improbable that the population has increased in this proportion; and there must be more apartments vacant than the prefect supposes. In the official table we find the total of 603,444 habitations thus divided:

- 257,406 tenanted by occupiers not subject to taxation.
- 100,281 of less than 250f. rental.
- 145,090 of 250f. to 500f.
- 36,047 of 500f. to 1000f.
- 10,998 of 1000f. to 1500f.
- 15,479 over 1500f.
- 23,708 buildings devoted to commerce or industry.
- 14,485 vacant.

The untaxed occupiers doubtless belong to very different categories; and they ought to have been distinguished, to show whether lodgers in furnished apartments were reckoned among them. However this may be, one thing is certain, that there is a unanimous complaint of the great rise in rents. The result has been much suffering among operatives obliged to remain in the quarters where their work is found. This suffering is often shared by the proprietors themselves; for when they have built expensive houses on costly sites, and have paid constantly-increasing wages, they cannot let the houses under a certain rent. It is only the proprietors of old houses who have made an entirely gratuitous profit.

In spite of all these complaints, and of the numerous cases of hardship, the general prosperity is certainly on the increase. This is shown by the scarcity of workmen in all branches of industry, the rise of wages, and especially the increase of consumption. In 1860 Paris consumed 2,067,920 hectolitres of wine in barrels, and 11,991 of wine in bottles. In 1861 the quantities were 2,267,789 and 14,886. In 1860, 161,320 hect. of beer passed the barriers, and 168,171 were brewed in the town. In 1861 the quantities were 191,004 and 185,210. In 1860 the meat was 101 millions of kilogrammes, in 1861, 103 millions, besides pork and offal. So with forage. In 1860, 6,212,127 hect. of barley and 125,777,538 of oats paid the octroi; in 1861 the respective amounts were 7,822,789 and 145,704,358.

So far, the building fever which rages at Paris has had no appreciable ill effect, beyond that of concentrating capital on one object, at the expense of other branches of industry. But the prefect goes too far in his report for 1862 when he says, "For some time we have been witnessing a strange movement. When,

not quite four years ago, we undertook a set of works combined so as to realise the most urgent part, but still only a part, of that transformation of the plan of Paris which had been determined on in the highest quarters, our resolution was considered foolish; but that which was then thought excessive is now considered insufficient. Those very persons who were originally least disposed to understand and aid our labours, who accused us of not understanding, and making no account of, the times, of opposition, of prejudices, seem now ready to reproach us with sloth, indecision, and timidity." Is this optimism, or does the prefect take the flatteries of his admirers, and the whispers of interested men, for the voice of the whole people? It is certain that Paris has made use of its whole force to work these great changes, and has succeeded because it has persevered in the work for many years. But how long can we count on this continuing without a crisis? Instead of urging the prefect on, the wiser course would be to moderate his ardour. He has done enough to hand down his name to posterity; and, as posterity will not have suffered the inconveniences which those endure who witness the work in its progress, it is probable that the name of M. Hausmann will be more popular with them than it is with the present generation of Parisians.

OLD SPANISH BALLADS.¹

THERE is something exceedingly interesting, though perhaps perfectly natural, in the feelings of romantic admiration which most cultivated Americans cherish towards the literatures and the arts of European nations. Entering into possession of the incalculable riches and resources of a new world, they all look back with reverent fondness on the less material treasures of the old. Each in his separate way endeavours to realise to himself the glories of a past so different from the actual present. Each American poet or scholar looks for his Atlantis in the east and not in the west; for his Eldorado, not along the banks of the busy Sacramento, but by the castled Rhine or the dreamy Guadalquivir. Thus it is that some of the most charming books we possess on the old countries of Europe are by Americans. Many Englishmen probably look with greater appreciation on their own green lanes and hedge-row elms since Irving and Emerson wrote. Hillard and Hawthorne have thrown a new charm even over Italy; the gentle lute of Longfellow rings with the foreign lay of the Minnesinger, or the rough melody of the Skald, as naturally as when 'discoursing the exquisite music of *Evangeline*'; the great days of Ferdinand and Isabella return upon the vivid and faithful page of Prescott; and a whole literature comes again to light in Mr. Ticknor's remarkable *History*.

Long ago, in the lifetime of the great wizard, a young American presented himself at the gates of Abbotsford, and received from its illustrious owner that cordial welcome of which he was almost as prodigal as of his genius. So remarkable were the stores of ballad and romantic lore possessed by this wanderer from the New World, that they fairly astonished the modern Ariosto himself. With such tastes and such acquirements; with ample means for visiting the country of his choice, and studying the literature that he most loved; with his opportunities of conversing with eminent men, by personal intercourse and through their writings,—some memorable result was reasonably to be expected. Nor was that expectation disappointed. And when at length, in 1849, the fruit of so many years of labour, of travel, and of thought, was given to the world, the literary public, both in America and in Europe, were surprised,—not so much at the ability and accuracy with which Mr. Ticknor had executed his work, as at the unexpected richness of the literature of which

¹ *History of Spanish Literature*. By George Ticknor. In 3 vols. Corrected and enlarged Edition. (London: Trübner.)

it was the fullest exposition. In England, for nearly two centuries, Cervantes was the only Spanish writer known, not merely to the public, but even to literary students otherwise well informed, and he was known by only one of his works, which no doubt was his greatest. The smart but unjust pleasantry which represented Spanish literature as possessing one book, the principal merit of which consisted in its exposing the worthlessness of all the rest, was believed to be the simple truth. The other great names of Spanish history, fiction, and song, were either utterly unknown or ignorantly despised, to such an extent even, that in our time Sydney Smith could point one of his witty sentences with a sneer against the most fertile dramatic genius the world has ever produced, of whose writings he had not read a line. In Germany the ignorance was not so general or so dark. Special departments of Spanish literature had been studied almost with enthusiasm. A general idea of its most salient points had been diffused by the philosophical outline of Bouterwek; its earlier manifestations had been lovingly brooded over by Clarus; the "blooming period" of its drama had been enthusiastically described by Schack, in a work which should have long since been translated into English as well as into Spanish; collections of ballads had been made by Böhl de Faber, Wolf, Depping, and others; and Goethe was able to criticise Calderon through the translations of Schlegel, Malsburg, and Gries.

When Mr. Ticknor's work appeared in 1849, it was not only well received wherever the English language was spoken, but was at once translated into German and Spanish; and it has thus become the standard and indispensable guide to the literature of Spain, not only to the most literary people in Europe, but even to the Spaniards themselves. We have before us the valuable Spanish translation of it,—principally by Don Pascual de Gayangos, the eminent Arabic scholar and historian,—which was published at Madrid, in 1851, in four volumes. These volumes contain notes and additions by the translators to the extent of about 300 pages. Mr. Ticknor³ very justifiably takes some credit to himself that, in this large mass of additional matter, so few omissions of his of any importance have been discovered. Whatever is valuable in these notes he has now incorporated into his text. But what he has done in this respect, as well as in others, we think our readers will prefer to learn from the modest and touching language of the Preface to this, we fear, the last edition of his *History* which we can hope for from his own hand.

"The sources of these additions and changes have been very various.

* iii. 6.

The most important and the most numerous are the results of a regular and large increase of my own collection of Spanish books, and especially of such as are become rare. After this, I owe much to the libraries in Europe, both public and private, which I visited anew in 1856 and 1857;—in England, the British Museum, where Mr. Panizzi has done so much to render that vast storehouse of knowledge accessible and useful; the library at Holland House, tapestried with recollections of its accomplished founder; the precious collection of the Duc d'Aumale, at Orleans House, on the Thames; that of Mr. Stirling, author of the faithful History of the Arts and Artists of Spain; and that of Mr. Ford, always to be remembered for his Handbook; Lord Taunton's, at Gray's Stoke-Pogis, small in number, but, I suppose, the most complete in the world on Lope de Vega's plays; Lord Stanhope's, at Chevening, begun above a century and a half ago by his great ancestor, whose career in Spain he has so well illustrated; Mr. Chorley's, in Chester Square, London; and Mr. Turner's, in Regent's Park,—all of which were opened to me with a kindness which sometimes made me feel as if I might use them as my own.

On the Continent, too,—in Germany, Italy, and France,—I found resources, not unfrequently, where I least looked for them. The Royal Library at Berlin, admirably administered by Dr. Pertz, the historian; the Royal Library at Dresden, where Dr. Klemm seemed to know the place of every book it contained; the Imperial Library at Vienna, with its two principal curators, Baron Bellinghausen and Dr. Ferdinand Wolf, who have done so much for Spanish literature, and who found in this very library the means for doing it; St. Mark's, at Venice; the Ambrosian and the Institute's, at Milan; the public libraries of Modena, Parma, and Bologna; the Magliabecchi and the Grand Duke's, at Florence; the Sapienza, at Rome, and, above all, the Vatican, for which the Cardinal Secretary of State gave me especial indulgences: all and each of these libraries contained something for my purpose, and the last two what can hardly be found elsewhere. And, finally, in Paris I resorted to the Imperial Library and to the libraries of the Arsenal and St.-Geneviève, with less profit, indeed, than I had hoped, though still, by the kind aid of M. Tascheran, M. Montaiglon, and M. de Bretonne, not without advantage."

After lamenting the fact that nowhere in the world is there a truly rich and satisfactory collection of books in elegant Spanish literature, not even excepting that at Vienna, which he considers to be the best, Mr. Ticknor thus continues, in reference to the duties of a conscientious scholar who is in earnest pursuit of whatever is best in the literature of Spain :

"He must therefore, after having visited the rest of Europe, go to Spain. Perhaps, like Schack, who has so thoroughly investigated the Spanish drama, he must go there twice. At any rate, he must examine the Royal Library at Madrid, which, though it dates only from 1711, and was long after that of little consequence, has lately made important additions to its collections in the polite literature of the country. He must

go to the Escorial, dark as it always was, and now decaying, but where, from the days of Mendoza, the statesman, historian, and poet, precious treasures have been hidden away. He must visit the library which the scholar-like son of Columbus left, marked with his own learning, to the Cathedral of Seville. And he must get access to the private collections of the house of Ossuna, of the Marquis de Pidal, of Don Pascual de Gayangos, of the venerable Duran, and perhaps others. All but three of these that I have enumerated, whether in Spain or out of it, I have seen in the course of different visits to Europe during the last five-and-forty years,—many of them twice, and some three times. I hope, therefore, that much has not escaped me which I ought to have discovered and used."

Having referred again to his own collection of books, and to the labours of his Spanish and German translators, of whose learned assistance he availed himself in every thing that, as it seemed to him, could add value, interest, or completeness to the present revised edition, he thus concludes :

"Its preparation has been a pleasant task, scattered lightly over the years that have elapsed since the first edition of this work was published, and that have been passed, like the rest of my life, almost entirely among my own books. That I shall ever recur to this task again for the purpose of further changes or additions is not at all probable. My accumulated years forbid any such anticipation; and therefore, with whatever of regret I may part from what has entered into the happiness of so considerable a portion of my life, I feel that I now part from it for the last time. *Extremum hoc munus habeto.*"

It would be unjust to approach a subject which has been dealt with in Mr. Ticknor's volumes without distinctly acknowledging the obligation he has conferred on all students of Spanish literature; and we have been anxious to bear testimony to the value of the innumerable additions and corrections which render this new edition of his book emphatically the one to which all future reference must be made. When Señor Amador de los Rios has advanced further in filling up the great outline he has traced for his *Historia Crítica de la Literatura Española*, a comparison between his work and that of Mr. Ticknor will become an interesting labour of scholarship. Our present object, however, is not to discuss the development of the literature of Spain, or to follow in the track of either of its great historians, but merely to lay before our readers some of the results of an independent search among the old ballads of the country, and to illustrate our subject by a few translations in verse which have not hitherto been published. The originals from which these translations will be taken are all in the *Romancero General* of Duran, which issued from the press of Rivadeneyra after the first publication of Mr. Ticknor's History, and to which

he himself gives the preference even over the *Primavera y Flor de Romances* of Wolf, which has since appeared.

Although the popular belief in magical arts, and their affiliation on some particular individual, was very general in Spain, as in other countries, Spanish ballad-poetry is singularly free from those tales of enchantment and those chronicles of fairy-land which form so agreeable and so considerable a portion of the early poetry of most other nations. In the ballads of chivalry there are but two or three in which the machinery of magic, or the agency of those supernatural beings who play such a conspicuous part in the more northern and western literatures of Europe, is introduced. The first, though not the oldest, specimen in Duran's collection in which there is any direct allusion to the subject of enchantments is a long poem of about 500 lines, narrating the history of a faithful knight called Floriseo and the Queen of Bohemia. It is copied from a broadsheet, in which it is ascribed to a certain Andres Ortiz, who, as usual, may have amplified, but not improved, a more ancient composition. The poem, which does not possess any particular merit, describes the departure of the knight from the queen, to whom he had been recently married, for the purpose of suppressing a rebellion which had been excited against her by one of her subjects. After succeeding in this expedition, he is found suddenly in an enchanted island in the midst of India. He is received there with great rejoicings; festivals and banquets are given in his honour; the amusements of the chase are provided for him; and all goes well until upon a certain occasion a magic boat wreathed with garlands of myrtle is seen approaching the island. In the boat is seated a damsel of extraordinary beauty. The most delicious music issues from it; and as the maiden approaches the shore upon a dolphin's back, such results follow from her singing as Tennyson attributes to the poet himself, when

“He chanted a melody loud and sweet
That made the wild swan pause in her cloud,
And the lark drop down at his feet.”

The fair mariner states the purpose of her visit, which is to bring an invitation from the queen of the enchanted region (who is but a second Armida) to Floriseo to present himself at her court. The knight, however, who is mindful of Bohemia and his own queen, respectfully declines the honour, stating that he has particular business with the Emperor of Constantinople, whither he is proceeding. The ambassadress affects great sorrow, but is not so easily balked in her mission. She takes out her magic lute to console herself, and plays on it until every body falls asleep. No sooner has our hero measured his length along the ground than he is placed, still asleep, in the boat, and thus

carried off to the castle of the fairy queen, with whom he lives for a long period, completely forgetful of his former condition, his name, and his wife. His father, the Duke Perineus, goes to seek him, and at length discovers the enchanted region in the heart of India where his son still lives. Floriseo fights with this strange knight, whom he cannot recognise as his father, subdues him, and carries him a prisoner to the castle of the fairy queen. This lady, who appears to have resembled Calypso in more than one respect, seems to be as well pleased with the father as the son, and disenchanting the latter out of regard for the former. Floriseo returns to Bohemia just in time to prevent his wife being married to the Duke of Macedonia; and the ballad ends happily, with a request from the author that the reader will pardon its defects,—an appeal which is seldom resorted to in the ballads, but which it is very usual to find affixed, like a brief epilogue, to the romantic dramas of Spain.³

Orlando, or Roland, the French Paladin, so famous in Italian song, is the hero of many of these early romances. His temporary disgrace at court; his quarrel with the Emperor for believing the treacherous misrepresentations of Galalon respecting his friend and cousin Rinaldo; his vow of vengeance and withdrawal from Paris; his going into Spain, where he finds a certain bridge defended by a Moor, who forbids his crossing it in armour; the subsequent fight and death of the Moor; the deception practised by Orlando in sending the dead body of the Moor, clothed in his (Orlando's) dress and armour, to Paris, as if it were his own; the consternation felt in that city thereupon; Orlando's presenting himself before the Moorish king in the dress of the Moor who defended the bridge, and his boast of having slain Orlando; the entrusting of the Moorish army to his command, and the consequent siege of Paris; the defeat of the Christian army, and the dismay of Charlemagne, who is compelled to send for Rinaldo, concerning whom the original quarrel arose; the discovery by Rinaldo, through the aid of magic, that the general of the besieging army was not a Moor, but his friend Orlando who was supposed to be dead; their meeting on the battle-field, where, to the surprise of both armies, they lowered their lances, and rushed amicably into each other's arms; the raising of the siege, and the discontent and subsequent rout of the Moors;—all these events supply the materials of numerous ballads, of which two are given by Duran. The first is extremely rude and inartistic both in language and style. Duran considers it an undoubted specimen of the barbarous improvisations of the illiterate ballad-singers.

³ *Floriseo y la Reina de Bohemia. Romance nuevamente hecho por Andres Ortiz. Duran, t. i. p. 153, no. 287.*

The same Rinaldo, or Reinaldos, of Montalván, is the hero of the next romance in the collection of Duran. The commencement of this ballad is very beautiful, the charms of external nature being painted with a warmth of appreciation that is rare in these old poems. There is a tender plaintiveness also in some portions of it, which, though more frequently to be met with, is seldom expressed with equal simplicity and truth. We have translated about forty lines at the beginning of the poem (which consists of about five hundred) as evidence of this peculiarity; and we have endeavoured to preserve the one single rhyme which runs through the original, as being characteristic of the class and epoch to which it belongs.

*The Complaint of Rinaldo.**

“Cuando aquel claro lucero.” (*Duran*, vol. i. p. 232.)

When the glorious day-star rising
Woke the world to life and glee,
Scattering beams of golden splendour
O'er the laughing land and sea,
I arose and sought the meadows,
Sought the flower-enamell'd lea,
Breath'd the dewy freshness wafted,
Odour-filled, from flower and tree;
Sought my garden-walks secluded,
Where alone, unseen, and free,
I might speak of all my sorrows,
And my heart's deep misery.
There I saw the roses growing,
Growing fair as fair could be;
There I twined an odorous garland,
Wreathing the roses daintily.
Ah! no brow was there to wear them,
None to take the wreath from me!
Through the woodland then I wander'd,
Wander'd on despondingly,
On until I reached a thicket
Spreading its cool shade temptingly.
'Twas in May's sweet month I wander'd,
Wander'd on thus wearily,
Through a grove whose shades were mingled
Of cypress and the red-rose tree.
There, too, the jasmine and the myrtle
Mingled their white flowers lovingly,
Mingled their flowers, amid whose clusters
Sang the sweet birds so tenderly,
That I was forced to stop and listen,
So potent was their harmony.
There was the merle and the linnet;
There was the lark's clear *lir-a-lee*;
There was the nightingale, whose ditty
Seem'd to be spoken unto me.

* From the ballad of “Reinaldos and the Infanta Celidonia.” See *Duran's Romancero General*, no. 368.

The Spanish editor praises with justifiable enthusiasm the original of the lines of which we have just given a translation. "How beautiful, how simple, how pastoral," he exclaims, "is the introductory portion of this old ballad, in which is easily perceived the sentiment of an inspired poet rather than the coarse and rustic genius of a mere ballad-singer!" Elsewhere in the composition reigns a wonderful harmony and an absence of those defects which so greatly disfigure most of the other old romances of this class. It breathes throughout a delightful spirit of noble and chivalrous sentiment.

The next ballad of which we shall speak refers to Orlando, and either is founded upon, or is itself, the original of a better known and more beautiful production which has had the good fortune of being translated by Lockhart, if not with more than his accustomed license, at least with more than his usual felicity and spirit. This latter ballad, though placed by Duran in another division of his *Romancero*, seems so intermingled with the one we have already mentioned, by a similarity of idea, and occasionally by the use of phrases almost identical, that the two may be considered as different versions of the same story. The first ballad, which we shall call the older, represents Orlando riding out to the chase with his mule, surrounded by lurchers and greyhounds. A storm of wind and rain arises, and the huntsman seeks shelter for himself and his hounds beneath the walls of a strong and ancient tower. A captive troubadour within this tower is singing his sorrows in a strain of tender melancholy, to which Orlando listens with close attention. "Ah, woe is me!" sings the captive; "here I lie in a darksome dungeon, not knowing whether it is day or even night, save by means of three little birds who visit me. One of them is a lark, and when I hear his clear joyous song I know that morning is come; another is a nightingale, whose solitary notes tell me that the sun has departed; and the third is a little turtle-dove, by whose soft cooing when it murmurs among the turrets over my head, or as it flies from olive to olive beneath my darkened window, or picks up the fallen seeds which the sower scatters, I know that it is noon-day. For three days they have not visited me: three days have passed, and I no longer hear the song of the nightingale, or the lark, or the cooing of the dove among the seed-plots. If an archer has killed them, he killed them like a villain and a traitor; if it was the work of God, who created them, then may He help me in my distress." When the captive has concluded this lament, he begins another strain, which causes the very woods to weep. This song is so plaintive and simple that we have been tempted to versify it:

Song of the Captive.

"Mes de Mayo, mes de Mayo."⁵

Month of May, month of May,
When the days are warm and bright,
When the steeds exulting neigh,
And the bulls are brave in fight,
When the barley bendeth down,
And the green wheat groweth brown :—
Month of May, month of May,
When the lover doth rejoice,
When he gives his love the choice
Of the buds that deck the bowers :
Some give lilies, some give roses,
Some give other pretty posies ;
And the swain who has no flowers—
(Ah ! so poor—so poor is he)—
Gives his heart at least instead :
Woe is me ! woe is me !
Vainly hath the winter fled—
Here to-day I sadly live—
Here a captive's anguish prove—
Without hope or power to give
Heart or flower to her I love !

Orlando, moved with grief to hear so melancholy a song, strikes violently at the door of the prison in which the unfortunate singer is detained, so that it flies open ; and, taking him by the hand, he leads him out of the tower, saying, " Now thou mayest go forth and visit thy love."

This is the old ballad on which the more artistic one translated by Lockhart and Bowring is probably founded. Instead of *three* birds, but *one* is mentioned,—or rather the two others are reserved to carry out the pretty idea in the latter part of the later poem, which is not introduced into the earlier. In this second ballad Orlando is not mentioned at all ; some king, whose name is not given, being the character that overhears the song of the minstrel. According to the French translator of some of these old ballads, M. Damas-Hinard,⁶ many Spanish editors have supposed that this poem refers to the history of Don Garcia, king of Galicia, who being conquered by his brother, Don Sancho of Castile, in the year 1065, was imprisoned in the castle of Luna. Nothing, however, in the ballad corroborates that opinion. Don Garcia is not mentioned in it at all ; while the liberation of the captive, which forms its *dénouement*, is totally at variance with the facts of history in this particular instance, as Don Garcia died in the prison to which he was condemned.

⁵ A portion of the ballad no. 372, called in Duran's Collection *Roldan y el Trovador*, t. i. p. 242. For the original of Lockhart's "'Tis now, they say, the month of May," see Duran, t. ii. p. 449, no. 1454.

⁶ *Romancero Español*, ii. 247.

M. Damas-Hinard does not mention the distinct, if not older, ballad from which we have translated the passage on the subject of May, in which Orlando is made to act the part of the liberator. It seems to us that the introduction of this half-mythical personage places the poem altogether out of the pale of chronology, and that it would be idle to attempt connecting it with the historical facts of the seventh or of any other century. Mr. Lockhart's beautiful version of this ballad, which he calls "The Captive Knight and the Blackbird," is too well known to be quoted here; but the reader would do well to refer to it. As Mr. Lockhart has presented it to us, it is a very pretty poem; but the effect of the translation, it must be confessed, is obtained by sinking a good deal of the original, and altering at least one-half of the remainder. The idea of the bird carrying the file in his beak to the prison-window is a very pleasing one; but it is not in the original at all. The captive no doubt asks for a file, but he asks for a pickaxe also, and asks for both in a way different from that described. Here was a difficulty for fastidious translators. Lockhart sinks the pickaxe altogether; but Bowring courageously introduces it, and represents the prisoned minstrel wishing that the bird would carry the file and pickaxe under his pinions. The ludicrous image of a lark, a thrush, or a nightingale flying with a pickaxe under his wing is more destructive to the serious appreciation of this charming little poem than its total suppression. The simple truth was too prosaic for either translator. The captive merely wishes for a bird who will bear a message to his wife Leonore, to this effect,—that she would send him a well-baked pie, beneath the crust of which, instead of trout or salmon, she might conceal the more useful but less savoury ingredients of a sharp pick and a silent file.⁷

The genius of Cervantes has invested another shadowy name among the Paladins with such celebrity, that some reference to his history and the ballads of which he is the hero may not be inappropriate here. This is Montesinos, whose cave in the heart of La Mancha forms the scene and suggests the incidents of what many persons consider to be the most exquisite of all the inventions in *Don Quixote*. The adventures of the knight in this cave—or rather his visions there, born at once of the preoccupation of his thoughts and the associations of the place—are

⁷ Que me lleve una embajada
A mi esposa Leonor,
Que me envie una empanada,
No de truchas ni salmon,
Sino de una lima sorda
Y de un pico tajador.

Romancero General. Duran, t. ii. p. 449.

detailed in the 22d and 23d chapters of the second part of his history. Though they are of course adapted to the popular legends connected with the story of Montesinos, Belerma, and Durandarte, still in the description of the place itself, in the dress and appearance of some of the visionary characters, and more particularly in the circumstance of the sudden and profound sleep which fell upon the explorer, we are reminded of many visits which are recorded to have been paid to the still more famous cave in the wilds of Donegal in Ireland, and particularly that one which is recorded by Froissart to have been made by Sir William Lisle during the visit of Richard II. to Ireland in 1399.⁸

"The singular appearance of nature," says a distinguished annotator on *Don Quixote*, "in the region where the river Guadiana takes its rise had, even so early as the time of the Roman conquests, been connected with many wild and wonderful superstitions. The dreams of which Pliny takes notice had, in the course of the middle ages, been gradually supplanted by those of which Cervantes so happily avails himself. In the recesses of the deep cave which still bears the name of Montesinos there is a great deal of water; whence the notion of its being the origin of the river Guadiana, and of that river having been called after an esquire of Montesinos. The seven lakes of Ruydera, which are represented in the narrative of the knight, after his return from the cave, as seven weeping damsels, compose in reality part of a chain of small lakes, in number eleven, the outlet of which is the river Guadiana. The flatness of the country round where that river flows yet feeble and narrow, the sandy character of the soil, and the luxuriant growth of rushes and other plants, had altogether been sufficient to establish a popular belief that the Guadiana (as Pliny expresses it, *sæpe nasci gaudens*) becomes here and there a subterraneous stream. The manner in which Cervantes has contrived to mould and blend to his own purpose all these marvels of nature and superstition can never be regarded with too great admiration."⁹

The story of Montesinos, says Mr. Lockhart in the course of the same note, is narrated at great length in Turpin, and is one of the most tedious of all the Spanish ballads. This damnatory epithet, which seems to be generally applied by Mr. Lockhart to any ballad he has not thought proper to translate, has not diverted us from the duty of reading the present one, —a duty which, we are inclined to believe, was not discharged by himself. "This knight," he says, speaking of Montesinos,

⁸ See Lord Berners' Translation, ed. 1525, fol. cc.xlixj.

⁹ Notes to Motteux's Translation of *Don Quixote*, Edinburgh, 1822, vol. iv, p. 299.

and as if he were giving the substance of the ballad, "having received some cause of offence at the French court, is said to have retired into Spain, where, from his fondness for wild and mountain scenery, he acquired, it seems, the name by which he afterwards became so celebrated." This is entirely inaccurate, and confounds the story of Grimaltos, the father of Montesinos, with his own. It is the *birth* of Montesinos in the wild district which his father had selected under the circumstances above mentioned, and whither his wife, the daughter of Charlemagne, accompanied him, that was the origin of this peculiar and appropriate name, a name which was given to him in baptism by a holy hermit, the only other dweller in this lonely place. The story presents many striking and interesting traits, true in a picturesque point of view, as a simple but well-defined outline of the manners of a remote period, and truer still with reference to the universal instincts of nature, which do not change. We shall endeavour to tell it as well as we can in mingled prose and verse, adhering closely in both to the original. The first ballad in the series describes the disgrace of Grimaltos and the birth of Montesinos:

*"Muchas veces oi decir
Y a los antiguos contar."* (Duran, i. p. 254.)

Many times have I heard it related by old people, that no one should boast of riches, nor despise the poverty which may be his portion, since both are exemplified by the story of the knight who is called in France the Count Grimaltos. He came to the court of the king when he was very little, and of a tender age; he was appointed one of the most confidential pages in attendance upon his royal master; and after a time, when he advanced somewhat in years, he was promoted to the rank of secretary and grand chamberlain; and soon after, in order to honour him the more, he had conferred on him the title and seignory of a count. And to confer upon him a dignity and a position till then almost unknown in France, he was elevated to the rank of a regal deputy, so that he could command in any part of the kingdom. He was so distinguished for virtue and nobility, and for a courage that had no equal, that the king desired to receive him as a son, and to marry him to his daughter. The festivities on this occasion were celebrated with joy and without sorrow; and after some days devoted to congratulations and rejoicings, the king commanded the count to go and rule over those lands of which he had been appointed governor. "Willingly," said the count; for he could not excuse himself. All was made ready for his departure; and the king gave orders that the knights and ladies of his court should bear him company. Already had the good

count departed with his countess, accompanied by the knights and ladies, who did not wish to leave him; on account of the great merit of the count, they did not wish to separate themselves from him. From Paris to Lyons they accompanied him, where, having spent some days in rest and relaxation, they returned to Paris. The news that they brought back to the king was pleasant to hear: how admirably the count ruled over Lyons, and kept it submissive and respectful to the power of his highness. In such news did the king take great pleasure.

But enough of the king in this place; let us leave him and return to Grimaltos, who commenced his government very successfully, giving great satisfaction to the nobles without refusing justice to the people, and treating all classes so well that all were content. Five years passed in this manner without his going to have an audience of the good king, or without the latter having received any complaint against the count, or even an appeal from any sentence he had pronounced. But fortune, which is ever fickle, and cannot rest, was pleased at this time to become hostile to him, and to deprive him of that position to which it had carried him. The means which it used on this occasion was the procuring of Don Tomillas to charge him with treason. This person began to disturb the mind of the king by insinuating that his son-in-law was disposed to throw off his allegiance; that he had procured his own arms to be emblazoned in the towns and cities of his government; that he had commanded himself to be styled absolute lord; and that he had garrisoned various towns and villages with the same object. The king, when he heard this, was in great grief, thinking of the many favours he had conferred upon the count. "It was for his good services," thought the king, "that I elevated him to his high position,—and then to be rewarded thus by his treason!" He determined to order his execution.

But let us once again take our leave of the court, and return to the count. One night as he lay asleep beside his countess, he awoke suddenly; and the words that he spoke were those of grief and sorrow. "What have I done, O inconstant fortune, that you wish at length to abandon me, and to tear me from the seat in which the king has placed me? To crown the perfidy of a traitor with success, will you cause me so much evil? for to no other cause can I assign the fatal presentiment which oppresses me." At the voice of the count the countess awoke. She awoke frightened at hearing him thus speak, which was not usual with him, as well as at perceiving the change in his appearance. "What is the matter, my lord count?" she asked; "of what can you be thinking?" "I am thinking of no other thing, señora," he answered,

"but of a cause of sorrow, namely, a sad and evil dream that has thus disturbed me; for although I do not generally place any confidence in dreams, I do not know in what category to place this one. It appeared to me as if it were reality, that I saw an eagle flying; seven falcons pursued it clamorously, and to protect itself it fled for refuge to my city. On the summit of a high tower it was then that it alighted. Fire darted from its beak and its wings appeared of flame. The fire which issued from it burned the city; it approached us both and wrapped us in its blaze, consuming my beard and your rich apparel. Surely a dream like this can only be the herald of misfortune. This is the reason, my countess, that you heard me complain." "My good count," replied the countess, "if any evil happens to us, you have, I fear, but too well merited it; for now five years have passed away since you appeared at court, and you know perfectly well who it is that there wishes you evil. I have little doubt that it is the traitor Tomillas, who can never remain in repose; I am by no means astonished that he has plotted some new mischief. But, my lord, if you take my advice, you will to-morrow, before dinner, command a herald to make proclamation throughout the city that all the knights who are under your command should repair hither. Cause the same proclamation to be made throughout all your lands, in order that they who are there may unite themselves with all the others, for a certain journey. When they shall have all assembled, tell them the truth,—that you wish to go to Paris to speak with the king; and that each should prepare to do honour to the occasion in the best manner he can. As they all love you, I believe they will not fail you in your need. Accompanied by them, you will go to Paris, that great city. You will kiss the hand of the king, as you have been in the habit of kissing it, and you will then learn, my lord, what his commands may be. If he entertains any anger against you, he will show it to you immediately; and the fact of your arrival may possibly remove it at once." "Lady," said the count, "I shall follow your advice, which pleases me much."

The Count Grimaltos has departed for Paris, that city, with all his cavaliers and with as many other knights as he could assemble. When he reached within about fifteen miles or more of Paris, he ordered his people to halt. He commanded them to pitch their tents, and to take up their residence there, each in his own proper place. He sent letters to the king, but received no answer. When the Count perceived this, he entered Paris, and went to the palace where the king was in the habit of residing. He saluted all the nobles, and went forward to kiss the king's hand. The king appearing very much displeased, declined

presenting it to him ; on the contrary, he threatened him with increasing violence for his unheard-of audacity, after having been guilty of treason, thus to have dared to enter Paris. He swore by his life that it was a wonder that, seeing him in his presence, he did not immediately order him to be beheaded ; and that, if it were not for the disgrace of his daughter, the day would not pass without his being condemned to death ; but that for his chastisement, and as a warning to others, he would sentence him to be banished from the kingdom, where he could no longer remain. Three days alone were given to him to quit France, and his banishment was to be in this manner : he was to bring with him none of his people ; neither his knights nor his servants could accompany him ; he was to have neither horse nor mule on which to ride ; and he was forbidden to carry with him money of gold, of silver, or even of copper.

When the count heard this sentence you may imagine his condition. With a loud and severe voice, but bowed with a great sorrow, and like to a man in despair, he made this reply : " Since your highness banishes me, I am content ; but whoever has spoken ill of me lies, and has no truth in him ; for I have never committed any treason, nor has any evil wish entered into my heart ; but if God grants me life, I will one day prove the truth." He then went forth from the palace, grieving very dolorously. He went to the house of Oliveros ; he went to the house of Don Orlando ; he related to them the conversation which he had had with the king. He then took his leave of them, swearing never to return to France except to chastise the person who was the author of his calamity. He proceeded thus through Paris, taking leave of all those with whom he was in the habit of conversing. He bade adieu to Baldwin, to the Roman Fincan, to Gaston Angeleros, to the old Don Bertram, to the Duke Don Estolpho, likewise to Malgesi, and to the only invincible Rinaldo of Montalván. And having thus taken his farewell of all, he prepared to depart upon his journey. The countess having heard of what had happened, did not delay to enter Paris. Without speaking to the count, she went straight to the king. She said that she could not help wondering at the conduct of his highness, and asking him how it was possible that he could thus treat the good Count Grimaltos ; that his services did not merit such a recompense, and that she supplicated his highness to examine into the matter more carefully, so that, if the count was not in fault, the same punishment might be inflicted upon the traitor that the count was to endure if the former had spoken the truth. In this way, she said, the author of all the evil would be punished.

The king, when he heard her speak thus, ordered her to be

silent; saying that if she renewed her petition, he would punish her as he had punished him; adding that it was useless to ask any favour for the count, and that those who interfered for traitors might be called traitors themselves. The countess, when she heard this, weeping very sorrowfully, descended from the palace and went to seek the count. Seeing herself near him, she advanced to embrace him. What they said one to the other was a sorrowful thing to hear. "Is this, then, the repose, count, that you promised to give me? I little thought that my days of enjoyment were to be so brief. But since I see that, without any reason, they give us sorrow instead of joy, I wish, my lord, that, before your departure, you would grant to me a favour, or rather a debt which I demand as a right. You cannot deny it to me, because on the day of our marriage you promised that it should be mine. I have yet to receive it; the time is now come, count, to demand it of you." "It is superfluous, countess, for you to ask any thing of me, because every thing that I have ever possessed was as much at your service as at my own; but, whatever may be your demand, I pledge you my faith that I will give it to you." "It is, my lord, that, wherever you may go, you will bear me with you." "On account of the promise I have given I cannot deny it to you," said the count; "but of all the pains that I endure this is the principal; for to peril my own life is no loss, it is in fact a gain; but to lose you is to endure a loss without remedy or alleviation. But since you will have it so, let us delay no longer, but depart. What affects me, my countess, is your inability to endure the fatigue of walking; for since you are young, and about to become a mother, it will be attended with the greatest peril. But since fortune wishes it, let us submit without repining; for it is in such circumstances that we should show ourselves strong and vigorous of heart."

Hand in hand from out the city thus the twain their way began;
 With them went brave Oliveros and the Paladin Roldán,
 Also Dardín Darduena, and the Roman Knight Fincán;
 There was Gaston Angeleros, and the strong Knight Meridan,
 And the valiant Don Rinaldo, Baldwin to the gallant man;
 Malgesi and Duke Estolpho rode amid the friendly van.
 Many a noble dame and damsel went along with them as well,
 Till at length, five miles from Paria, all were forced to say farewell.
 Then a sadness and a sorrow on the whole assembly fell;
 Of the sorrow of the countess and the count what tongue can tell!
 Tears bedew their sorrowing faces; tears from out their hot eyes well.
 There was no one to console them, for the hearts around them swell
 With such grief that words are wanting their afflicted thoughts to tell.
 Old and young alike are weeping, dames and damsels fair as well;
 And the wailings of the damsels all the other cries excel.
 I have not the heart to utter half the sorrow that befel,
 For it is a pain to think of,—think how great it were to tell!

Finally, the count and countess went on their way without

speaking a word ; and the others fell upon the ground disconsolate at the excess of their sorrow, and their grief increased at beholding the affliction in which the exiles departed.

Let us leave the cavaliers to return to Paris, and follow the fortunes of the count and countess, who wander all alone in wild and desert places, that are to this day untrodden by human foot. On the third day they came into a wild district covered with thickets, where the poor countess, being completely exhausted with fatigue, could go no further. Her shoes were all torn and worn away, and she had nothing wherewith to replace them. From the roughness of the road she could hardly raise her feet, and wherever she placed them she left a blood-stained mark upon the ground. When the count perceived this he redoubled his exertions to console her, speaking very affectionately to her in this manner :

“ Do not be dismayed, my countess ; my beloved, do not dread ;
For I see a fountain yonder trickling from its mossy bed.
To its cool refreshing waters let your weary feet be led,
Where your thirst may be assuaged, and refresh'd your aching head.”
When the countess heard him speaking cheerfully, her faintness fled,
And with pace a little quicken'd to the fountain's marge she sped.
When she reach'd it, downward kneeling, after tears of joy were shed,
After thanks to God were offered for the banquet He had spread
In a place so wild and lonely, long the lady quaffed, and said,
“ This were very pleasant water if we had a little bread.”

When she had spoken these words, she was seized with the pains of child-birth, and then brought forth a boy. It was lamentable to behold the wretched condition in which they were all placed, without hope or chance of remedy. The count, when he saw his son, began to regain his strength. With his coat he covered the child, and he took off his cloak also to protect the mother ; and the countess took the little baby and put it to her breast. The count was considering where help could be obtained, for they had neither bread nor wine on which to subsist. The countess, owing to the feebleness consequent on her condition, could not rise. The count lifted her up with her baby in her arms, and carried them to the top of a lofty sierra, in order to have a wider view. From the midst of a thick cop-pice he saw some smoke arise ; thither he carried his wife and son, and placed them at the outside. On entering the thick enclosure he met a holy hermit of a most venerable appearance. The hermit, as soon as he beheld him, began to speak thus : “ May heaven protect me ! stranger, what can have led you thither ? For in this region, so remote from the world, there is no dweller but myself, who, for penance, reside in this lonely valley.” With grief and anguish the count replied, “ For the love of God, I ask of you, holy hermit, to extend your charity

towards us, after which there will be time enough to tell you whence and how I came. Look with pity upon this poor lady, and give me something to assist her. For three days and three nights have now passed since she has eaten bread; and but now she has given birth to a child by the little fountain of fresh water yonder." The hermit, when he heard this, was moved to great pity, and led them to the hermitage in which he lived. He gave them whatever bread and water he possessed; for he had no wine. The countess in a little while recovered from her great weakness. Then the count requested the hermit to baptise the child. "Willingly," said he, "I consent; but by what name shall we call him?" "You can give him, my father, whatever name you please." "Then, since he was born upon a rough mountain, we will give him the name of Montesinos."

Days went by in rapid sequence, every day a quicker day;
 There in peace and holy converse sped the flying years away.
 Fifteen years the count continued with his wife and son to stay.
 Every day the good count laboured life's foundations so to lay
 That his boy might raise a structure which might last his soul away.
 Military art he taught him, how to rule and to obey,
 Taught him all the lore of knighthood, how to bear him in the fray,
 How to gain the wreaths that glory at the victor's feet doth lay.

He taught him also to avenge the wrongs which he, his father, had endured. He instructed him in reading and writing, as well as he was able, and how to play at chess, and to train a falcon. At length,

On the twenty-fourth of June, the day of good St. John,
 Son and father both together from the hermitage have gone,
 They have climbed a tall sierra than which higher there was none,
 From the top of which fair Paris on the far horizon shone;
 Then together there reclining the good count addressed his son:

"See France, my Montesinos, see Paris, that citie—
 "See the waters of the Douro," as they hurry to the sea;
 "See the palace of the monarch and Don Bertram's where they be.
 "And that which overlooketh all the others that you see
 "Is the palace of Tomillas, my mortalemie.
 "Through his false and lying slanders the good king he banished me.
 "Through him have I long suffered unheard of miserie—
 "Heat, and thirst, and horrid hunger, of my pains were only three,
 "With my nails and feet all bleeding and my members' agonie.
 "Thy poor mother of our sorrows a sad evidence can be,
 "For she bore thee by a fountain without aught to cover thee;
 "Full of grief, my cloak I folded round about thee tenderlie
 "When thy mother, sadly weeping, thus addressed me tremblinglie:
 "'Good count, take up the infant, take him instantly where he

¹⁰ To the troubadour, says Señor Duran, who doubtless composed this ballad on a tradition imported from France, the Douro and the Seine were pretty much the same. But for the people who heard him, the name of a river of their own country, with which they were familiar, was more pleasing than a foreign one more geographically correct.

“ ‘ May be made a blessed member of our holy Christendee ;
 “ ‘ And when his name they ask you, Montesinos let it be.’ ”

Montesinos when he heard of this sad story, bent the knee
 To his father, and up-gazing on his father's face spoke he.
 He prayed him for permission to depart immediatelie
 To Paris to enlist him in the royal soldierie,
 There to take the good king's bounty and to wear his liverie,
 If so it might be pleasing to his gracious majestie ;
 That thus he might the sooner get an opportunitie
 To take vengeance on Tomillas his mortal enemye ;
 That when in the royal service he could thus more easilie
 Avenge him for the sorrows of their injured familie.
 At the moment of his parting, he implored more ferventlie
 To his father to console his dear mother's miserie,
 And to tell her with his love, when she asked for him, that he
 Had gone to see Tomillas—just through curiositie.
 “ Since you wish it,” said his father, “ so, my brave son, let it be.”¹¹

Montesinos departed, and travelled to Paris.

When he entered through the portal, he enquired quite innocentlie
 Of some loiterers in what quarter the king's dwelling-place might be,
 As of all the sights of Paris that was what he wished to see.
 When they heard him thus enquiring, and beheld how raggedlie
 He was dressed, they laughed and mocked him, thinking surely he
 must be

Or a fool or else a vagrant in a fit of truancie ;
 But to humour him they led him where the palace he might see.
 When the royal hall he entered, he saw sitting separatelie
 The king and Don Tomillas taking dinner sociallie ;
 And so many there were waiting, and such gallant companie,
 That of him they took no notice, or enquired who he might be.
 After dinner was a chess-board of most beauteous marquetrie
 Placed betwixt the Count Tomillas and the king, who silentlie
 Played at chess ; and none addressed them, if indeed, it was not he,
 The gallant Montesinos who approached the game to see.
 But the false-souled Don Tomillas, always prone to perfidie,
 Played falsely with his castle or his knight as it might be,
 Which the noble Montesinos could by no means bear to see,
 But at once spoke out and published his false play and treacherie.
 Don Tomillas, when he heard him, rose from table angrilie,
 And his arm upraised to strike him for his great audacitie ;
 But with one hand Montesinos did ward off the blow, while he
 With the other seized the chess-board which was made so heavilie,
 And with it struck Don Tomillas on the head so dextrouslie,
 That he fell down dead that moment ; nor could all his villainie
 Help or aid his perverse spirit in its last extremitie.
 There was grief and consternation in the hall, and some grandee
 Had our hero doubtless ordered to be hung at gallows-tree,
 If the king had interposed not with extreme benignitie,
 Commanding none should do him the slightest injurie,
 Until he had discovered what the hidden cause could be
 Of such boldness and such courage and such fearless braverie.

¹¹ In the *Romancero General* of Duran, the original of the ballad is printed down to this line from the *Cancionero de Romances*; the remainder is taken from the *Silva de varios Romances*, in which it is completed.

When he asked him, thus he answered with all veracitie:
 "May it please your grace, your grandson you behold to-day in me.
 "I am son of your own daughter, whom you banished cruellie,
 "With my father Don Grimaltos, who long served you loyallie,
 "Believing a false traitor and his base malignitie.
 "But now, so please your highness, sift the truth twixt him and me.
 "If Tomillas truth has spoken, then punished let me be;
 "But if his tongue spoke falsely, then, good king, quick set me free,
 "And let me seek my father and the countess instantlie,
 "And lead them to their lands again, where of old they used to be."
 When the king had heard his story, which he told so artlesslie,
 No longer would he listen, though he felt indeed that he
 Told the truth and was his grandson; but he wished himself to see
 The hidden cause and motive of Tomillas' perfidie.
 He soon learned, on enquiry, that the great prosperitie
 Of Grimaltos was the secret of Tomillas' jealousy.
 So he sent a guard of honour both of foot and cavalrie
 To lead the noble exile back again to his countrie.
 And he sent, too, for the countess a most beauteous companie
 Of fair dames to wait upon her, as of old it used to be.
 When they reached the gates of Paris, there arose a difficultie;
 For of old, when they had left it, they had both sworn bitterlie
 Never, never to reënter through the gates of that citie.
 When the king had heard this scruple, quick he ordered there should be
 In the wall a breach laid open, so that they might enter free,
 Without breaking of the oath they had sworn so solemnlie.
 Then they led them to the palace with a great solemnitie.
 All the nobles, all the courtiers vied in friendly rivalrie,
 How each day the best to give them of some new festivitie.
 Dames, cavaliers, and ladies came to see them courtcouslie,
 And to do them greater honour, in the palace publiclie
 On a festival occasion did the king declare that he
 Had discovered the whole secret of Tomillas' perfidie,
 And how his tongue had libelled the good count maliciouslie;
 And to make the truth be taken with the greater certainie,
 He restored to him the patent of his princely seignorie,
 And added to his lordship a still newer dignitie.
 And when his death should happen, he declared his will to be,
 That the noble Montesinos should inherit lineallie
 His kingdom and his sceptre; and this royal legacie
 He ordered to be written in the best calligraphie,
 And he sealed it with his signet, and he signed it formallie.

There is another ballad connected with the after-story of Montesinos, which, though it contains but a few stanzas, is far more valuable in a poetical point of view than the one whose easy monorhythmical versification we have thus imitated in rhymes as careless as its own. The one we have just now given is supposed by Duran to be the work of a troubadour, founded upon a French tradition. Indeed, there is little Spanish colouring about it, except perhaps the curious geographical blunder of surveying from the top of a *sierra* the city of Paris bathed by the waters of the river Douro. But the one we are now about to present to the reader, which we have translated with

more freedom, is thoroughly national in sentiment, language, and versification. It is a genuine Spanish ballad, and is supposed by Duran to belong to the close of the earlier half of the fifteenth century. Lockhart makes no allusion to it. He merely says, speaking of the cave of Montesinos, that it is situated close to the castle of Rocafrida, which he is supposed to have inhabited.

*Montesinos and Rosafrida.*¹²

In Castile is a bonny castle, called Rocafrida, as ye may know :
The rock-built castle they called it Roca, and Frida the cold fount flowing
below.
Its doors and floors with the red gold glisten, its turrets and towers are of
silver white,
And between each turret and turret is shining a dazzling stone with a sap-
phire light.
Within the castle, which shines by night-time as bright as the sun in broad
noonday,
There dwelleth a beautiful damsel princess—a beautiful maid called Rosa
May.
Three dukes of Lombardy came to woo her, seven noble counts for her fair
hand sighed,
But Rosa May rejected their homage, and mocked their pains with her eyes
of pride.
For she was thinking of Montesinos, although he had never crossed her
sight,
But love came in at her ears as she listened and heard men speak of the
bold, brave knight ;
And so one night, when wearily waking, she uttered a cry so loud and
shrill,
That her chamberlain rose from his bed, exclaiming, “ Oh ! lady, say art
thou crazed or ill ? ”
“ Nor crazed nor ill am I, good chamberlain, but only wish you to bear for
me
“ These letters I write to France to-night—to beautiful France, that fair
countrie.
“ Give them to Montesinos’ hand, and tell him from me, from Rosa May,
“ That I wish he were here, my heart to cheer, when glad grows the year upon
Easter Day.
“ I will give him my heart, I will give him my hand, I will give him my
breast where my heart doth bound ;
“ None fairer, they say, can be seen to-day, if it is not my sister’s (whom
Heaven confound !).¹³
“ And if he doth ask for more, still more will I give to him who is loving
and leal,—
“ I will give him seven castles, with all their vassals, seven castles the
proudest in all Castile.”

¹² *Cancionero de Romances*.—Duran’s *Romancero General*, t. i. p. 259, no. 384.

¹³ This parenthetical allusion to her sister does not appear very amiable or sisterly. The admission, however, is very honest, if not judicious. In the original the passage is much stronger and warmer:

“ Daréle yo este mi cuerpo,
El mas lindo de Castilla,
Si no es el de mi hermana,
Que de fuego sea ardida.”

An affecting incident connected with the Battle of Roncesvalles, as recorded in the ballads, is the return of an aged knight to seek the body of his son who had been slain. It would appear that the Christian knights had bound themselves by oath that, whoever might be killed in battle on the Spanish soil, some one of his comrades would endeavour to recover his body in order to give it Christian burial in France. On the first halt of the retreating army, Don Bertram was found to be missing. Lots were immediately drawn among the surviving knights to find out on whom should devolve the duty of discovering his fate, and complying with the solemn obligation they had mutually pledged to each other. Seven times the lots were drawn; and, partly through chance and partly through collusion, in every case the knight selected was the father of Don Bertram himself. In the following translation of one of the ballads which tell this story, we have endeavoured to give a correct transcript of the original rather than to produce a flowing or melodious piece of versification. The difficulty of preserving in this, as in a former instance, the one single rhyme throughout will, we trust, excuse any unusual constraint that may be observed in the language.

*Count Bertram.*¹⁴

"En los campos de Alventosa
Mataron á Don Beltran."

In the plains of Alventosa young Count Bertram has been slain;
Never have his comrades missed him till the mountain clefts they gain;
Then by lot the knight is chosen who his body shall regain.
Seven times doth it name his father for this pilgrimage of pain;
Thrice the lot is drawn by malice, four times by collusion plain;
But the old man, little heeding, turns at once his bridle-rein,
And returns to seek his Bertram on the fatal fields of Spain.
All the night along the highway, all the day along the lane,
Does the gallant old man hurry—hurry on with might and main.
Ah! his hands are very weary turning round the prostrate slain;
But the dear face he is seeking still he seeks and seeks in vain.
In the fields the French are lying in the red and rotting grain,
But no trace of Bertram meets him on the corse-strewn crimson plain.
On he went, the white bread cursing, cursing too the vine's red rain,
Cursing what the Moors make use of, but not *that* the Christians drain.
On he went, the green tree cursing, which alone doth shade the plain,
For to it from every quarter comes at noon the feathered train,
Every branch and leaf concealing from the knight beneath it lain.
And the knight, too, he goes cursing, who no esquire doth retain,
To restore his spear when fallen, or his loosened spur to chain;
And the mother, too, he curseth, with one son who has not twain,
That one son may live for vengeance when the other son is slain.
Riding thus and swiftly spurring o'er a wide and sandy plain,
He a narrow pass approacheth which an Arab does maintain.
From the ramparts, looking downward, views the Moor his rude domain.
Him the knight in good Arabic thus addressed in courteous strain:

¹⁴ *Cancionero de Romances*,—Duran's *Romancero General*, t. i. p. 263, no. 395.

"For the love of God I ask thee, gallant Moor, and do not feign,
 "Hast thou seen in snow-white armour any knight ride o'er the plain?
 "If a captive thou dost keep him, thou his weight in gold mayst gain
 "For his freedom, or permit me to inter him if he's slain,—
 "Since a corse is scarcely value for the smallest coin of Spain."
 "Friend, this knight whom thou art seeking by some sign to me make
 plain."
 "White like silver is his armour, red the steed that he doth rein,
 "And his right cheek bears the impress of a wound which he did gain
 "From a hawk which in his boyhood he in idle hour did train."
 "Friend, that knight in yonder meadow by the streamlet lieth slain;
 "On the sand his body lieth, in the stream his feet are lain.
 "From his heel unto his shoulder lances seven have left their stain;
 "And his steed doth bear as many 'twixt his girth and poitrel-chain.
 "Do not blame his steed, sir stranger, for it were unjust and vain;
 "From the field he seven times bore him, bore him safely, sound, and sane,
 "But seven times his rider turned him back—seven times to fight again."

The whimsical burst of malediction in which the old knight indulges in this ballad, and from the evil effects of which, being solely intended for the Moors (the bard characteristically forgetting all the while that he was a French and not a Spanish knight) the Christians are exempted by an express reservation, is almost identical with that in the more celebrated ballad of *Gayferos*, a full translation of which in verse would be too long for insertion in this paper. There is another ballad on the subject of *Don Bertram's* death, which, though less circumstantial, is perhaps more spirited than the above. In the one we refer to the old man scornfully reproaches the French knights with the artifice they have used in so arranging the selection that the lot should fall upon him. He tells them they might have spared themselves the trouble, as his love would have led him to do by choice what they contrived through treachery. He rides forth on his expedition, saying that they had better at once select some knight to look after *his* body, as he returned to Spain not so much to recover that of his son as to avenge him and to die.

But a more illustrious champion than *Bertram* perished in the pass of *Roncesvalles*. This was *Orlando* himself, the most famous name in all the annals of chivalry. Different accounts are given of his death. In the chronicle of *Turpin* it is stated that, after having defeated and slain *Marsir*, the Moorish king, he was himself wounded mortally, and, in the effort to summon the retreating French army to his assistance, blew such a blast upon his enchanted horn that he burst the veins and nerves of his neck, of which he died. It is said that the sound reached the ears of *Charlemagne* eight miles off, as he was marching in the direction of *Gascony*, and that he would have immediately flown to his rescue but for the suggestion of the traitor *Galalon*, who attributed the terrible sound to some less important cause. The general belief, however, as to *Orlando* was that, even to a

greater degree than Achilles, he was invulnerable in every point, and could not be wounded in any part of his body by any earthly weapon whatever. And so we find in the ballads relating to the story of Bernardo del Carpio (that thoroughly Spanish creation and hero) that he, as if recollecting the charmed nature of Orlando's body, which principally made the Paladin invincible, seized him boldly in his arms, and in this position crushed him to death, as of old Hercules had crushed Antæus. In the following little ballad, perhaps, a more striking and a more sublime catastrophe occurs. In the narrative of Turpin, Charlemagne is represented as not having been in the battle of Roncesvalles at all; but in this ballad he is represented flying wounded and bleeding from the fight. The sudden appearance of his great master in this condition, and the sight of his brave companions lying dead around him, are too much for Orlando; and the heroic heart that no human sword could reach bursts with its own pain and anguish. We have here attempted to reproduce the *asonante* rhyme of the original.

*The Death of Orlando.*¹⁵

"Por muchas partes herida
Sale el viejo Carlo Magno."

Lo! the aged Carlo Magno,
With his wounds all covered over,
Cometh, flying from the Spaniards,
Who in battle had o'erthrown him.
Of THE TWELVE, eleven had perished;
One survived, Orlando only,
Since no human warrior ever
Could his charmed courage conquer,
Neither could his breast be wounded,
Nor his blood be shed in combat.
At a cross's foot the hero
On the ground was kneeling lowly,
With his eyes to heaven uplifted;
In this way his thoughts were spoken:
"Ah! my once proud burning heart,
"Has such craven chill crept o'er thee,
"As to go from Roncesvalles
"Unavenged, or not dead wholly?—
"Ah! my friends and brave companions,
"With what truth can ye reproach me,
"That in life I was your comrade,
"And in death refused to know ye!"
Speaking thus in bitter anguish,
Carlo Magno stands before him,
Solitary, sad, and crownless,
With his face defiled and gory.—
When he saw this sight, heart-broken,
Dead the hero fell before him.

¹⁵ *Flor de nuevos y varios Romances*, 3^a part. (Duran, t. i. p. 264, no. 398.)

CLASSICAL MYTHS IN RELATION TO THE ANTIQUITY OF MAN.

[COMMUNICATED.]

FROM a purely scientific point of view the question is an open one, whether mankind has existed on the earth for a longer period than the received chronologies allow. And if there are considerations which have led men of science to incline towards an affirmative solution of it, there are still stronger reasons for believing that, under those circumstances, and assuming man to have been from the first, as now, possessed of his distinctive faculties of reason, speech, and memory, all record of the past, up to the comparatively recent era when written history commences, could not have been utterly obliterated. At the period when written history does commence, and, we are quite justified in saying, very long before it, man was a highly civilised being. He had already spread over every habitable part of the globe; he had languages widely different, and not the less structurally perfect because they had not been, so far as we can judge, written languages. He knew and practised nearly all the arts with which we are now acquainted; and, if he was conscious of the same sentiments of patriotism, and had the same love of enquiry, he must also be supposed to have taken much the same interest in the traditional accounts of his own race.

Now it seems impossible for us, without the most arbitrary and unwarrantable assumptions, to assign any other limit to such traditions than the capability of the human memory to perpetuate them, and of human speech to communicate them to others. The very invention, so to say, of history implies the long accumulation of matter to record; in fact, it is difficult to conceive any given period in the existence of rational man when he was not cognisant of some events antecedent to himself, and pertaining either to his ancestors or to the clan or country to which he belonged.

It does not, indeed, invariably follow that, because man has been for a great many centuries the occupant of a country, he therefore has a history, in any proper sense of the word. It is not generally the case with utterly barbarous and unintellectual tribes, so far as we are aware. The African, Australian, or Red Indian savages probably know little or nothing of their own antecedents. Yet even these generally have religious rites and usages, which, like their languages, indicate a very remote origin. They are perhaps rather indifferent to than incapable of the peculiar exercise

of memory, by which higher races of men have certainly been distinguished as far back as we have any knowledge of them, and probably were so in yet earlier ages.

The question, then, is, when and how could all this unwritten history, supposing such to have existed, have passed utterly away; and that not from any one nation of antiquity, but from all of them together? How could the thousands of years during which man acted pretty nearly as man now acts have been as it were expunged, and have left an absolute blank, to be filled up partly from imagination, partly by poetical fiction,—in a word, with any thing rather than truth?

Such, we conceive, is the common view; in opposition to which we venture to contend that it is more probable *à priori* that portions of this primeval history of man have found a place—it may be in a very perverted form—in the earliest written records we now possess. Now, apart from the early but very limited history of a small family of mankind which is presented to us in Scripture, and excluding also such knowledge of the old world as can be collected from the most ancient monuments of Egypt and Assyria, we have no sources of information so early or so circumstantial as what is popularly called “ancient mythology.” And there is no positive line which can be drawn between this and real history. We cannot certainly say, for instance, whether Romulus and Remus, Theseus and Codrus, Agamemnon and Ajax, were real or fictitious characters. Thoughtful minds, indeed, are often not a little perplexed at finding so considerable a portion of this so-called mythology to be in effect but another rendering, and often a remarkably close one, of the Scripture accounts. Again, it is hardly less startling to find that so much is common to Greek and Roman, and to Hindu and perhaps generally to Oriental, traditions. The inference seems inevitable, and we believe it to be quite sound,—mythology is not mere fiction, but a large portion of it is veritable, though disguised, primeval history.

That classical mythology may contain germs of truth, is certainly no new idea. The possibility of its referring to a much earlier period of man’s existence than has been supposed, is the point we would insist upon. Of course, it is a matter quite incapable of proof. It is a mere speculation at best. But it does not appear to us, on that account, to be wholly undeserving of such an impartial criticism as reason and science can bring to bear upon it. Such a treatment of the question is supplementary to other and wholly independent arguments which have been adduced in favour of the antiquity of the human race.

Let us not be understood to say that we can always, or

often, disentangle what is really historical from what is merely fiction. Man's imagination and invention are as active as his memory; and these faculties are sure to combine, wherever exact truth is less an object than national or religious predilections. One argument in favour of a great antiquity for many of the legends of mythology is their remarkable uniformity in different countries and systems. They seem rather to have come directly from a common centre and source than to have been imparted by intercommunication from one race to another. We can scarcely hesitate to say that some doctrines, which we have all been taught to cherish as true, and which are nearly or quite universal in every age and in every part of the world, must have been imparted to man in some such way as language itself, viz. by an unconscious but irresistible process of inherent growth, overruled or imparted by God himself. They are too ancient and too universal to be referred to the Mosaic writings, alone. Such are, the necessity of sacrifices to atone for sin; the rewards or punishments of a future state; the fall of man; the existence of powers of good and evil. We might even reason that they are not only universal because true, but true because universal. It is more easy to say than to prove, or to accept as probable, that these views grew out of a natural materialism, or were the result of speculation. Science must, nay ought to, follow the guidance of reason, when a pure and simple love of truth is the motive; and science, we have said, will take a larger view than the above, and claim a much greater antiquity for man than the commonly received Adamic chronology. Should it turn out, as it may yet do, to be absolutely capable of proof, that at an immensely remote period a great part of Europe was overrun by rude hordes of men using cracked flints for weapons of war and the chase, perhaps even living under a different conformation of islands and continent, and contemporary with animals long ago extinct,—are we to be disturbed at the fact, or to ignore it? It seems to us, that the theory we are enunciating is not only in itself interesting, but is becoming almost necessary to contemplate,—viz. that we may have many records of the primeval human race in the legendary histories of antiquity.

We go yet further; and we say that, when many of the statements of Scripture are found in other and wholly independent sources, the fact, instead of invalidating them, is a marvellous confirmation of them. It shows, at least, that they were the rooted convictions of peoples who had no known relations with Hebrew books or teachers—the creed, so to say, of the old world, and of those we have been wont to regard as

placed without the pale of divine revelation. We find in classical mythology distinct and explicit traditions of a flood;¹ a wide-spread conviction that there would be a day of doom,² in which the stars would fall, and the earth be destroyed by fire; the doctrines of a final judgment,³ of propitiatory sacrifices, and the remission of human guilt; of the immortality of the soul; of the incarnation of the deity; of good and bad angels or spirits, exercising their agency on man; of the happy state of man in Paradise, and the introduction of death⁴ by the fall; of the longer lifetime of primeval man;⁵ of the rebellion of a primeval race of men against the Creator; of earth and heaven being formed out of chaotic matter. In all this we feel that the two stand or fall together. It is not easy utterly to ridicule mythology, and literally to accept Scripture. Those who literally accept Scripture have therefore a real interest in believing that the old-world mythology does contain something more solid than idle fiction.

It is true that the history of man in a very primitive state might be little more than a sort of rude record of wars, migrations, the gradual introduction of useful arts, and perhaps occasionally of startling geological phenomena. If, however, we find in our earliest records some statements, especially of the last kind, which are very unlike mere invention, but very analogous to facts with which we are ourselves acquainted, we are certainly entitled to examine them fairly; not, of course, assuming their entire or even partial truth, but neither, on the other hand, assuming their falsehood merely because they seem to be too remote to be reconciled with our ordinary chronology.

The very fact of so many scriptural traditions having been preserved, and not inaccurately preserved, in mythology, appears to establish the position that there is *some* truth in it, and the high probability that there is still more truth, which, though it does not happen to be contained in Scripture history, may nevertheless refer to ages quite as remote as the dates of Scripture, and even more so. And certainly such a view imparts a new interest, and even some additional importance, to the study of mythology. It may be a supplemental account of primitive man, even to the remotest periods at which he had a history at all.

¹ Plato, *Timæus*, p. 22 D.

² Lucretius, v. 95:

"Maria ac terras, cælumque . . .

Una dies dabit exitio, multosque per annos

Sustentata ruet moles et machina mundi."

Compare Cic. *De Divin.* i. 49; *De Nat. Deor.* ii. 46; Propert. iv. 5, 31.

³ Æsch. *Suppl.* 230; Pind. *Ol.* ii. 58.

⁴ Hesiod, *Op.* 116.

⁵ Ibid. 130.

Though we propose principally to confine ourselves to a consideration of some remarkable geological facts recorded in classical mythology, we cannot help noticing generally the circumstantiality and naturalness that often characterise the accounts of those whom we are accustomed to regard as wholly ideal persons. No thinking man, for instance, can reasonably doubt the actual existence of a Hercules. There are many, indeed, who allow almost a historical character and a fixed chronology to the Heraclidæ, but inconsistently disbelieve in a real Hercules. But there are the fairest reasons for supposing that he was not an allegorical hero, typical of ideal prowess, endurance, and physical strength, but a real man, who, living in very remote times, and in some part of the world where the land was infested with savage beasts, and perhaps the sea with pirates, earned the gratitude of a defenceless people by "clearing earth and sea of monsters," as a remarkably uniform tradition ascribes to him.⁶ Most of his so-called "twelve labours" turn on a specification of the animals he slew. And the constant tradition of the Nemæan lion is not lightly to be ridiculed: it may indicate a period when animals existed in Europe which have long been utterly extinct. If there is one of these labours that might seem wholly fabulous, it is the story of the Lernæan hydra; yet it has been lately shown that even this is founded on fact.⁷ But how very remote must have been the period when he lived, may be inferred from the fact that Egyptians, Phœnicians, Greeks, Romans, Lydians, and Etrurians, had all a Hercules.⁸ Herodotus saw nothing absurd in the positive statement, made by the Egyptians, that *seventeen thousand years* had elapsed, up to the time when King Amasis lived, since Hercules was enrolled in the number of the twelve gods. That one legend about Hercules coincides with the scriptural account of Samson is well known.⁹ But it is probable that the exploits of this hero were anterior to the separation of those very early peoples into their respective settlements, or, at least, that they derived their knowledge of Hercules from some common source. The date of the foundation of the Phœnician Tyre given in the time of Herodotus was not less than 2300 years¹⁰—a date in itself by no means incredible. The story, too, of Hercules being burned alive on Mount Cæta is likely enough in itself. This is one of the remarkable doctrines that the early world undoubtedly held respecting

⁶ e. g. Pindar, *Isthm.* iii. 73; Soph. *Trach.* 1011; Eurip. *Herc. Fur.* 402, &c.

⁷ Clark's *Peloponnesus*, p. 98.

⁸ See Herod. ii. 43.

⁹ *Id.* ii. 45.

¹⁰ *Id.* ii. 44.

the atoning nature of suffering, and its necessity for fitting humanity for heaven. The Indians, we know, have ever held it.¹¹ The infant Triptolemus, in order that he might have immortality conferred upon him, was thrown alive into the fire by Ceres; but he was rescued by his mother, and the object of the goddess was thus defeated.¹²

It seems even probable in itself, and that on many independent considerations, that the Homeric and Hesiodic polytheism, or family of anthropomorphic gods, with all their relationships, intermarriages, and numerous offspring, really represents traditions of patriarchal families who had come to settle as immigrants among much simpler and more savage hordes. Herodotus was struck by the identity in many points between the Egyptian and the Hellenic polytheism;¹³ but he thinks, and apparently rightly, that the names of many of the Hellenic gods are Pelasgic. It is not a little remarkable that the uniform tradition which places the family of the gods on Mount Olympus in Thessaly is quite consistent with all that we know of that being the earliest Hellenic settlement in Greece.¹⁴ The fact, too, that the gods were in very early times divided into *dii majorum* and *dii minorum gentium*¹⁵ looks very like a tradition of successive arrivals of the same Pelasgic people, whose superiority in intellect, physical appearance, and knowledge of the arts, would naturally induce their apotheosis among a simple and credulous native race. We must remember, as an *à priori* argument, the strong tendency in the human mind to the *deification* of mortal men. Hero-worship and demon-worship are only intermediate forms of it; and the Greek mythology contains many characters which, under different aspects, are both human and divine (as Helen, Hercules, the Dioscuri, Medea, Io, Isis); so that this exaltation of a primitive race to be Jupiter, Juno, Venus, and the rest, is perfectly natural, and consistent with known analogies.

This view alone affords a rational explanation of what Herodotus learned from the Egyptians (ii. 144), that "anciently those who ruled in Egypt were *gods*, living together with mortal men." The dates he assigns to these "gods"

¹¹ Cic. *De Divin.* i. 23: "Calanus Indus, quum inscenderet in rogam ardentem, () præclarum discessum, inquit, e vita, quum, ut Herculi contigit, mortali corpore cremato in lucem animus excesserit." *Suttees* were practised by the Indians 2000 years ago. See Propert. iv. 13, 15.

¹² Homer, *Hymn. in Cer.* 239-262; Ovid, *Fast.* iv. 552.

¹³ Herod. ii. 50.

¹⁴ Herod. i. 56. The same territory, or that closely adjoining, the Per-rhæbi, was Pelasgic. *Æsch. Suppl.* 256. Here, therefore, would be a direct collision or union of Pelasgic and Hellenic peoples.

¹⁵ Pind. *Ol.* xi. 49; Plat. *Phædr.* p. 247 A.

(ii. 145) are specified with great precision; and we are told that the Egyptians themselves were certain of their accuracy from regular calculations and records. All these cases show, not that the Egyptians were right, but that they really had most ancient traditions and most carefully-preserved annals of the past.

Some of the ancients themselves appear to have held this view. "Quid? qui aut fortes aut claros aut potentes viros tradunt post mortem ad deos pervenisse, eosque esse ipsos, quos nos colere, precari, venerarique soleamus, nonne expertes sunt religionum omnium? Quæ ratio maxime tractata ab Euhemero est, quem noster et interpretatus et secutus est præter cæteros Ennius."¹⁶

The polytheistic worship of these deities is really distinct from, though it has some points of contact with, the genuine ancient forms of pantheism, *e.g.* elemental worship, or that of the productive powers of nature under coarse and grotesque symbols, and the devil-worship, represented by the Greek sacrifices to the infernal powers, the heroes, demons, and departed spirits. The points of contact (naturally resulting from a union of two religions) are, the sun-god in the character of Apollo; the phallic rites connected with the worship of Pan, Hermes, and Dionysus; and the fetish-worship of Hecate, the Artemis of Tauri and Brauron, and of Diana of Aricia, to whom human sacrifices were offered. It has been suggested by philologists that several passages in Homer¹⁷ and Hesiod, where we are told that "mortals give one name and the gods another," must be explained on the supposition that both Hellenic and Pelasgic terms were in vogue among the same people. These *theoi*, therefore, are simply Pelasgi. If we reason out this view still further, we seem to see, in the dim obscure of a vast antiquity, some glimpse of a history, when we read of Zeus and the Cronidæ fighting against and conquering the Titans;¹⁸ of the older dynasty of Uranus, and of the cruel mutilation of him by Cronus.¹⁹ Conflicts with a fierce and giant race, and the barbarous cruelties inflicted on the conquered, will readily explain statements which, as pure inventions, are utterly absurd, degrading, and impossible to conceive of immortal beings. And this the intelligent Greeks themselves felt,²⁰ though they had their

¹⁶ Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* i. 42. See also Diodor. *Sic.* i. 13.

¹⁷ *e.g.* *Il.* xiv. 291, χαλκίδα κυκλήσκουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ κύμηνδιν.

¹⁸ Hes. *Theog.* 629.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 180; Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* ii. 24.

²⁰ See Eurip. *Herc. Fur.* 1340. Even Socrates expressed his reluctance to explain away mythology by rationalising, σοφισόμενος (*Phædr.* p. 229 c), when he was asked *point blank* if he really believed it.

mythology by tradition, and did not know how to explain it away.

The same must be said of the very various and remarkable traditions of the wars of the giants against the gods. We have one account of giants fighting against the gods on Olympus from the neighbouring mountains of Ossa and Pelion.²¹ This may be explained by the ancient occupation of an acropolis near, and antagonistic to, a principal Pelasgic settlement. This way of fighting from two adjacent strongholds on hills was a very early one.²² Besides the separate legend of the battle of the Titans, we have the Gigantomachia on the Phlegrean plains, or Campanian Solfatara. These are both associated with very ancient volcanic outbreaks.²³ We have a third instance of the same kind in the defeat of the monster Typhœus, who was laid under Ætna, and whom other accounts seem to have placed in a volcanic region (a cave) of Cilicia.²⁴ We have also stories of Otus and Ephialtes,²⁵ of Briareus, Cottus, and Gyes; of Orion, Enceladus, Porphyrion, &c.; while the same constant tradition of an ancient human *giant* race is preserved in the stories of Polyphemus and Antiphates the Læstrygonian, both of whom were cannibals.²⁶ Cannibalism, we may notice, is no exclusive feature of "degraded savages" of recent times.²⁷ We find remarkable instances of it in the stories of Atreus serving up his brother Thyestes' children at table, of Tereus eating Itys, and of the boiled flesh of Pelops being served up to the gods; in narrating which, Pindar says²⁸ he feels difficulty in calling any of the gods a cannibal.

But the legends about the giants are not easily explained. Science will not for a moment allow us to suppose that (after the analogy of the larger mammalia now extinct) there really did exist a race of human beings of greater stature and strength.²⁹ Yet it is certain that the ancients themselves held this belief. Those remotely ancient and mysteriously built piles of masonry called *Cycloplan*, still to be seen in Greece, Asia Minor, and the Greek Islands, were attributed to the giant Cyclopes.³⁰ The stones of these are often very vast, and

²¹ Hom. *Od.* xi. 314; Virg. *Georg.* i. 280.

²² Æsch. *Eumen.* 658.

²³ See Diodor. Sic. iv. 21; Apollodor. i. 6; Hes. *Theog.* 830-867, where a pre-historic eruption of Ætna or some other volcano is probably described.

²⁴ Pind. *Pyth.* i. 17; Æsch. *Prom.* 359.

²⁵ Hom. *Od.* xi. 308.

²⁶ Hom. *Od.* x. 114, 120; ix. 190.

²⁷ See Diodor. Sic. i. 14.

²⁸ *Ol.* i. 52.

²⁹ No weight can be attached to the story told in Herod. i. 68, that the body of Orestes, son of Agamemnon, measured, when disinterred, ten feet.

³⁰ Eurip. *Herc. Fur.* 944.

severally weigh many tons.³¹ Like Stonehenge, every thing concerning them is now, and ever has been since history commenced, simply inexplicable. They must have been built in the "bronze" or the "iron" age; for the stones are hewn.³² If so, how vast an antiquity does this indicate for the "stone" and the "flint" ages!

The Cyclopes were probably a race of pastoral and metal-working people from the east, characterised by their *rounder* faces, whence arose the story of their one eye.³³ Polyphemus, the shepherd in the *Odyssey*, and Vulcan or Hephæstus, the blacksmith god in Pelasgian Lemnos, as well as the Cyclopes who forged the bolts of Jupiter, all point to these attributes. That they were not wholly fabulous beings was held by the best-informed of the Greeks. Thucydides,³⁴ speaking of the earliest settlement of Sicily, says: "The oldest inhabitants of a part of the country are said to have been Cyclopes and Læstrygonians; of whom I can neither tell the race, nor whence they came in, nor whither they went: we must be content with the account of the poets, and with the opinions every man may hold about them for himself."

Superiority in any thing, mental or physical, might naturally be represented by the idea of a gigantic size. Thus we talk of a man of gigantic intellect, giant powers, &c. And the notion that they were *earth-born*³⁵ is equally susceptible of explanation. The Greeks were in the habit of calling all *αὐτόχθονες*, "indigenous," of whose history or advent in a country they knew absolutely nothing.

But the words of Scripture,³⁶ "Now giants were upon the earth in those days," has certainly a remarkable analogy to the classic legends. The same must be remarked of Prometheus, who introduced the first woman;³⁷ and of Atlas, the huge giant who, placed in a penal abode in the far west, was fabled to bear up the heaven, which the ancients regarded as a vast metallic vault or dome, turning on a pivot (*πύλος*). Both these are corrupted traditions of the man Adam. *Atlas* symbolises the endurance of labour. He is placed by Hesiod close to the garden of the Hesperides;³⁸ and it is impossible

³¹ Some of them, we are assured by one who has measured them, weigh nearly twenty tons. It is obvious that, as a mere question of stature, men ten or even twenty feet high could not move such blocks much more easily than men of the known height.

³² *τύκοις ἡρμοσμένα*, Eurip. ut sup. ³³ Hes. *Theog.* 145. ³⁴ vi. 2.

³⁵ Apollodor. i. 6. The term *γίγας* is only another form of *γίγαντες*, though Euripides combines them in *Phæn.* 1131.

³⁶ Gen. vi. 4.

³⁷ He was said to have obtained her from Hephæstus, made of *wet clay*; an evident allusion to the early practice of the plastic art. See Hesiod, *Op.* 61.

³⁸ *Theog.* 518.

to doubt that here we have a tradition of the garden of Eden, the golden apples guarded by a dragon³⁹ being the apple which the Serpent tempted Eve to gather, or the garden kept by an angel with a flaming sword.

The Trojan war is an equally interesting and fertile subject for speculation. This event, partly to avoid clashing with preconceived theories of human chronology, partly from dates assigned by the Parian Marble⁴⁰ and the Alexandrine chronologers, is usually placed about twelve centuries before the Christian era. We are thus driven into many difficulties, the solution of which has perplexed the learned for ages. First, the geography of the Troad does not at all suit the Homeric accounts, especially as regards the rivers and the Trojan acropolis. Secondly, the authors of the various poems composing the *Iliad* appear to have believed they were describing an event even then very ancient; for they speak of heroes doing deeds that their degenerate race could not do, *οἱοι νῦν βροτοὶ εἶσι*, as they express it.⁴¹ Thirdly, when we regard the polished epic versification of the *Iliad*, and its very highly inflected language, we must conclude that epic poetry had been long in existence before the *Iliad* was composed. It is more than probable that the Trojan war had long been the prevailing theme of bards, as the principal and most engrossing event of the old world, and as the first that brought into direct collision the then inhabitants of the European and Asiatic continents. The wide-spread fame of that conflict between Hellenic and Pelasgic hordes must be inferred from the fact that the Trojan heroes, their exploits and even their names, are painted on Etrurian vases and sculptured on Lycian monuments of very early date. The former of these at least indicate sources of information quite distinct from, and probably earlier than, the alleged date of Homer. The Etrurian language, it is well known, is a very peculiar one, not, indeed, as yet fully deciphered, but probably combined of early Pelasgic and Scandinavian elements. Of its antiquity nothing is known but that it must be very remote. All agree that Etruria was a flourishing people when Rome was founded, *i. e.* not long after the supposed date of Homer. "We talk," says Dr. Donaldson, "of dead languages; but this variety of human speech should seem to be not only dead, but buried; and not only buried, but sunk beneath the earth in some necropolis, into which none can dig their way."⁴² The fact that on many of the

³⁹ Soph. *Trach.* 1100.

⁴⁰ Compiled, be it observed, at a late period, when attempts were made to reduce early events to a fixed chronology.

⁴¹ Thucydides (i. 3) says Homer lived "long after" (*πολλὰ ὕστερον*) the Trojan war.

⁴² *Varronianus*, p. 191.

beautifully painted Etruscan vases various scenes from Homer are represented, has been explained by the supposition that such vases were the work of Greek artists. How, then, did they so often give Etruscan and not Greek names? For we find *Adrastus*, *Tydeus*, *Odysseus*, *Meleagrus*, *Polydeuces*, written *Atresthe*, *Tute*, *Utuze*, *Melakre*, *Pultuke*; and similarly *Agamemnon*, *Thetis*, *Perseus*, *Polynices*, *Telephus*, represented by *Achmiem*, *Thethis*, *Pherse*, *Phulnike*, *Thelaphe*. So *Apollo* is *Apulu*, *Hercules* is *Ercule*, *Alexander* is *Elchsntre*.⁴³ How is it possible to reconcile the theory of the great antiquity of Etrurian art with the theory that these names are but corruptions of the Homeric nomenclature, and were elaborated in Central Europe by a nation that spoke a tongue quite different from Greek? Is it likely they could read and understand those poems in Greek, if they had them? Moreover, there are very many scenes on Etruscan vases, which pertain to Trojan affairs, but are not found in Homer. The truth seems to be that the Homeric poems are only one version of a very widely known and very celebrated legend,—a pre-historical event of profound antiquity. Virgil seems fully to have realised this in an interesting passage.⁴⁴ The Etruscan vases probably represent another and an independent, perhaps a much more ancient, version of the same. That event was, we may plausibly suppose, the collision of the immigrant Pelasgic hordes⁴⁵ from the East with the peoples of various but unknown descent who then peopled Europe. The scene of this conflict or collision was placed at Troy, simply because the Troad is, as it were, the key of the passage of Eastern tribes over the Hellespont. For recent researches have made it more than probable that much of the narrative of events in the Troad is confused with other legends and names that properly belonged to the south of Asia Minor rather than to the north. The Xanthus, which no one can find in the Troad, is a Lycian river; and the Troes themselves are really a Lycian people.⁴⁶ Throughout Lycia monuments representing Homeric scenes and incidents, especially the exploits of Sarpedon, Bellerophon, Pandarus, with Pegasus and the Chimæra, are common. That was the stock in trade of the Lycian people, and the theme of Lycian mythology six centuries before the Christian era. Are we to believe, in this

⁴³ *Varronianus*, pp. 140, 1.

⁴⁴ *Æn.* vii. 222-227.

⁴⁵ *ἱαίον* is probably a diminutive of the Pelasgic word for a horde, *ἱαίον*. The eponym king of Troy *Ilus*, and even *Oileus* the reputed father of Ajax, are from the same root, the *o* in the latter being a well-known corruption of the digamma. The expression *μῆποιες ἑσπεροί* in Homer seems to refer to the mixed patois of the people.

⁴⁶ *Fellows' Travels in Asia Minor*, pp. 398, 416.

case also, that it was all borrowed from Homer? We may be sure the Lycians themselves believed they were illustrating by these monuments their own national history, and not the fictions of an alien poet. And what shall we say of the very remarkable fact that even in Egypt Herodotus found legends, differing too from the Homeric, about Helen and Menelaus?⁴⁷ Let us not hesitate to entertain a more reasonable view on this subject. The Trojan war was the most notable event of the old world as far back as Pelasgic traditions went. It was one widely known and widely celebrated wherever in after-times the Pelasgic people gained a footing in the western world. At a very early period ballads on the subject were current in the Greek language. Few now doubt that the *Iliad* is a collection of such ballads united into one poem, so as to present a general, though very far from a complete, consistency and uniformity. A family of itinerant reciters called *Homerids* used to repeat them to admiring audiences in the various Greek cities; and it seems, on the whole, more likely that *Homerus* was an imaginary head or *eponym* of the clan than that the Homerids were named after a real Homer. Many other poems were current in the fifth and sixth centuries before Christ, which even then were popularly ascribed to Homer. These have long been all lost, and are only known to the learned by the name of the *Cyclic poems*, from some scant information that has come down to us concerning them. They appear to have been a genuine part of the same ballad-literature respecting the heroes of the Trojan war.⁴⁸

It is no mere speculation that Greek poets existed before the time of Homer. Most ancient writers place Hesiod before Homer, and Orpheus and Musæus still earlier. Aristophanes,⁴⁹ for instance, enumerates the oldest poets in this order: Orpheus, Musæus, Hesiod, Homer. Plato too speaks of poets "yet older" than Homer.⁵⁰ We have no more reason to question the fact than that Acusilaus, Hecataeus, and Hellanicus were older Greek historians than Herodotus. Nor can we reasonably doubt that those poets, like Hesiod,—and especially as they were *religious* poets, and treated of a subject which of all human things is longest and most accurately preserved,—handed down a great many of the early traditions of the human race.

⁴⁷ Herod. ii. 118.

⁴⁸ Herodotus (ii. 117 and iv. 32) ventures to question if the *Κύρεια ἔπη* and the *Ἐπὶ γόμοι* were really the works of Homer. This proves that it was commonly thought so in his time (B.C. 450). Even Pindar often quotes as from Homer, deeds and sayings not found in the present Homeric poems.

⁴⁹ *Ran.* 1032. So also Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.* i. 15. ⁵⁰ *Theætet.* p. 179 E.

The very ancient legend that the Phœnician Cadmus founded Thebes in Bœotia is to a certain extent confirmed, both by the fact that the early Greek alphabet was undoubtedly of Semitic origin, and also by the remarkable coincidence, in the minutest details, between the farming operations described by the Bœotian Hesiod and the numerous pictured representations which have been discovered in Egyptian tombs. The connection between Egypt or Phœnicia and Hellas is further confirmed by the story of Danaus and his daughters arriving at Argos as suppliants from "the land bordering on Syria,"⁵¹ and also by that of the wanderings of Io from Egypt and Cyprus into Greece.⁵²

It is important to our purpose to establish at least the high probability that the old Greek myths contain the elements of a true history. No satisfactory theory has ever been propounded as to the real sources of pagan mythology. If it was a pure invention, when and where did it arise? And how comes it that so much of it is common, not only to the Scriptural accounts, but to the Indian, Asiatic, and even Egyptian systems? It is difficult, no doubt, to contemplate as real history alleged events which, if true at all, must claim a profoundly remote antiquity; yet it is difficult, on the other hand, to acquiesce in the only alternative, that they are mere fiction. If stories invented could be perpetuated through thousands of years, why should not stories that are true, or founded in truth?

It must have been a very old tradition that copper or bronze tools were in use before iron.⁵³ But here we happen to be able to prove the fact by researches made in early tumuli. When we read of an army of Amazons composed entirely of women, and as ancient as the time of Hercules, we may pause before we ridicule an account given by so many writers, when we find that even at the present day the barbarous African king of Dahomey actually maintains a similar army of women.

We pass to the consideration of certain alleged geological phenomena which, if they happened at all, must have happened at a very early period. Of course, their credibility will depend partly on their own internal probability, partly on the same kind of reasoning which we have applied to mythology generally.

Herodotus was informed,⁵⁴ probably by the priests at Heliopolis, that in the reign of the first king of Egypt, Men or Menes, "all Egypt was a marsh, except the Thebaic district;

⁵¹ *Æschylus, Suppl.* 6.

⁵² *Hea. Opp.* 151; *Lucretius*, v. 1286-8.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 555, 560.

⁵⁴ *ii.* 4.

and that no part of what was then Egypt was above the sea-level below (i. e. nearer the sea than) the lake Mœris." Herodotus, who is fairly entitled to be called the father of geology as well as the father of history, reasons on this tradition with great sagacity, and shows the probability that the valley of the Nile was once a sea-gulf that had been gradually silted up; and he even speculates on the deposit of mud from that river, had it flowed that way, filling up the Red Sea in twenty, or even in ten, thousand years.⁵⁵ That he is right as to the general fact, no geologist now doubts; but was this statement a guess or a real tradition? The priests alleged further, in proof of their position, that in the reign of King Mœris a rise of the Nile-waters to *eight* cubits covered the face of the low land between lake Mœris and the sea; whereas, in their own time (which they estimated at nine hundred years after Mœris), the water did not cover the land unless it rose fifteen or sixteen cubits.⁵⁶ All this looks like real information and carefully-kept records of facts. That the alluvial soil of Egypt has, from the earliest times, been gradually rising and extending itself, is as certain as that the Lincolnshire fens were once sea, and that the present Wash is but the remnant, now in process of disappearing, of a much greater inland gulf. In Homer's time the outlying island of Pharos is described⁵⁷ as a day's *rapid* voyage from Egypt. It is now united (artificially) to the coast. We are inclined, on the whole, to believe that there are not sufficient grounds for doubting the statements made by the Greek historian as to the very early condition of Egypt.

It is clear that the ancients themselves, who have recorded these old traditions, did not believe man to be of that recent date on the earth which our chronologies presuppose. Cicero says, the Chaldæan astrologers (the Magi) had records⁵⁸ of 470,000 years. And Herodotus says,⁵⁹ the priests enumerated to him out of a papyrus the names of 330 kings; and also⁶⁰ that they reckoned 341 generations from the first king up to the time of Senacherib—a period which the historian esti-

⁵⁵ ii. 11.

⁵⁶ Mr. Blakesley's remarks on this do not seem to us sound. Slight upheavals or depressions of the surface of Egypt in some parts must be regarded as probable in more than 2000 years.

⁵⁷ *Od.* iv. 356. The statement is disputed by Wilkinson (*Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i. p. 303), chiefly on the ground that by *Αἰγύπτῳ* the poet probably meant the river Nile. The actual rates of accumulation of alluvial soil in Egypt have frequently been calculated: see, for instance, Mr. Blakesley's note on Herod. ii. 4, 13 (vol. i. pp. 171, 177).

⁵⁸ "ccccxx. milia annorum, ut ipsi dicunt, monumentis comprehensa continent." Cic. *de Divin.* i. 19.

⁵⁹ ii. 100.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 141, 142.

mates at 11,340 years. These dates, of course, are ordinarily treated with ridicule; and no one would build any other argument upon them than that the two oldest known nations *believed* in their own vast antiquity. The extraordinary statement that, during that period, the sun had risen four times out of his proper place, may be inexplicable to science; but to regard it as simply a fiction, and recording no real phenomenon, would be rash.

Undoubtedly, one of the most curious and consistent of human traditions is the voyage of Jason and the Minyæ of Orchomenus in Thessaly to the Pontus in quest of the Golden Fleece. It is very ancient, because it manifestly and professedly refers to the time when the first ship or boat that ever navigated a sea was constructed. The Persian historians knew of it, but apparently with some variations; and they dated the event two generations earlier than the Trojan war.⁶¹ Perhaps, indeed, it ought rather to be interpreted according to a well-known analogy of early Greek legends, and like the story of Io's wanderings from Argos into India, of a converse migration of a very primitive family of mankind, situated on the east of the Pontus, in a westward direction. But this matters not. The adventurers appear to have been gold-seekers; and gold was then collected by putting fleeces in running streams, and thus intercepting and collecting the minute particles. An entrance, we are told by Apollonius Rhodius, was effected into the Pontus; but here the crew were met by a strange and startling phenomenon, of which they had been forewarned by the blind old prophet Phineus.⁶² Two *blue rocks*, πέτραι κυανέαι, are seen in the "narrowing of the sea."⁶³ They are not fixed by roots to the bottom like ordinary rocks, but they often come together and close up; whence they are also termed Συμπληγάδες, "the clashers." On either side, the iron-bound coast roars with breakers, and the spray dashes constantly above the rocks themselves. The navigators are warned that they must not attempt to pass the perilous strait till a dove has been sent through it. If it escapes unscathed, they are to follow; if it is crushed between the moving masses, then they must not attempt the passage.

The account proceeds to say⁶⁴ that, on nearing the dreaded rocks through a crooked and narrow passage closed in on both sides by a rough and craggy shore, the adventurers heard the grinding and clashing noise of these *Symplegades*. The dove, however, is let loose, and barely escapes with the loss of its

⁶¹ Herod. i. 2, 3.

⁶² ἄλλος δὲ ξυνοχῆσιν.

⁶³ ii. 310.

⁶⁴ Apoll. Rhod. ii. 550.

tail-feathers. The dreadful roaring of the breakers and the splashing of the surge at the collision fill them with horror; but they pull through with their oars, and are cheered by the sight of the open Pontus beyond. In the graphic account that follows, Apollonius describes the critical moment of passing, which was effected with no further damage to the vessel than the loss of an ornament on the stern, caught and carried away by the meeting of the rocks. From that time forth, says the legend, the rocks stood still,⁶⁵ and were never again seen to stir, as had been decreed by the immortal gods, so soon as any ship should have safely passed through them.

This romantic story, which is given with no material variation by several other writers, is usually supposed to represent, in a very exaggerated and poetical guise, the perspective effect of two distant objects, which seem to open as you near them, and again to close as you retire. But so obvious a fact, which is seen alike on land and on sea, and whether the objects be men, trees, cattle, or hills, can hardly have suggested so circumstantial a story. The name given to these rocks, *Kyanéai*, or "The Blues," is very remarkable. For this is precisely the colour of icebergs under certain circumstances of clear sky and open sea. The whole account most forcibly suggests some ancient conflict with icebergs; and the danger of being crushed is precisely what has often been incurred by voyagers in the arctic and antarctic seas.

This account, therefore, may contain a record of a real voyage made not long after the Pontus had been opened, and before the accumulation of ice brought down by the great northern rivers that flow into it had been cleared away through the "narrow and crooked outlet"⁶⁶ into the Propontis and the Mediterranean. It was a remnant of what had hitherto been a vast inland glacial lake of fresh water. That such was really the case within the period of man's existence, is no mere conjecture. It was an express tradition, preserved by the very ancient Pelasgic inhabitants of Samothrace. Diodorus Siculus⁶⁷ writes thus: "Now the Samothracians state that, previous to the great cataclysms (floods) which have occurred in other nations, there was one vast one in their neighbourhood, first, on the *rupture of the mouth* (of the Pontus) *near the Cyaneæ*, and afterwards, of the Hellespont itself; for the sea in the Pontus up to that time was a sort of lake, which became filled by the rivers that flowed into it, till at length the accumulated waters made a way for themselves and passed

⁶⁵ Apoll. Rhod. ii. 604; Theocr. xiii. 24; Pind. *Pyth.* iv. 210.

⁶⁶ *σκολιαία πύρου στενωπόν*, Ap. Rhod. ii. 549.

⁶⁷ v. 47.

into the Hellespont." Commenting on this, Humboldt⁶⁸ remarks: "The probability of this remarkable tradition renders it in the eyes of the geologist almost equivalent to a *historical certainty*."

It is remarkable too that Pindar⁶⁹ speaks of these rocks as "plunging and rolling (*κυλινδόμεναι*) like living things." This is just what icebergs do, when by the breaking off of large fragments the centre of gravity is altered. And we may further suggest that the perplexing Homeric epithet of the Hellespont, *πλατύς*, which some render "broad," but which the ancients seem to have interpreted "brackish" or "salt," may have described a state of the liberated waters of the Pontus intermediate between fresh and briny.

The story of the dove being let to fly through the rocks is easily explained by birds having been seen to come in and out of the crevices. It occurs in another version of the story, given by a much more ancient writer,⁷⁰ who, speaking of seas then quite unknown, has assigned to the "Clashers" a different locality. This discrepancy, while it really indicates that the legend itself is not wholly a fiction, suggests perhaps the application of it to a different phenomenon, the upheaval of some basaltic rock in the neighbourhood of Stromboli, to which Humboldt⁷¹ thinks there is an allusion. Homer calls his two rocks *Πλαγκταί*, not *Συμπληγάδες* or *Κνανέαι*, though he speaks of the *κνανέη νεφέλη*, possibly a sulphurous smoke, which ever envelopes the summit.⁷² The following is Mr. Norgate's version of the passage:

"On the one side are rocks
O'erhanging; and against them dash and roar
The mighty waves of blue-eyed Amphintrité.
These are the rocks the happy gods call Rovers.
Past *There* indeed come never winged fowls,
Not e'en those timorous doves that carry ambrosia
To father Zeus, but that the smooth rock ever
Takes of them one away; but other one
The father adds as oft to make the number.
Neither has any ship, whose-e'er it were,
Venturing thither, ever yet escaped;
But the ships' planks and bodies of their men
Are all at once borne off by surfy breakers
And hurricanes of deadly fire. Yes, once,
Past *There* but once has e'er sailed seaborne vessel,
That ship of universal care, the Argo,
Sailing from king *Ætès*' coast: and she
Doubtless had there been cast all hurriedly
Against the mighty rocks, had not safe passage
Been given by *Hèrè* from her love of Jason."

⁶⁸ *Aspects of Nature*, vol. ii. pp. 11 and 78.

⁷⁰ Hom. *Od.* xii. 60.

⁷¹ *Od.* xii. 76. Compare Virg. *Æn.* viii. 417.

⁶⁹ *Pyth.* iv. 209.

⁷² *Cosmos*, vol. i. p. lxxiii.

The poet goes on to connect these rocks with the strange story of Scylla and Charybdis; where Scylla is but a huge cuttle-fish with its tentacles,—a monster that still infests the Straits of Messina. Here the death of the dove in passing is perhaps attributable to volcanic gases, like the story of Avernus.⁷³

In Homer's time, Scylla and Charybdis would seem to have been very formidable to navigators, partly from the close proximity of two rocks on the Italian and Sicilian shores, partly from the rapid eddy or whirlpool between them. Homer says the rocks were so close that you might shoot an arrow from one to the other.⁷⁴ There is some eddy, we believe, at present in the Straits of Messina; but not to any dangerous extent. May not the channel have been very much narrower some three thousand years ago than it is now? For this is not in itself incredible, if we take into account the ancient tradition that Sicily was disrupted from Italy by an earthquake,—a tradition preserved in the name *Rhegium* (*Ῥήγιον*), or "Break." Virgil expressly records it in the following verses:⁷⁵

"Hæc loca vi quondam et vasta convolsa ruina
(Tantum sevi longinqua valet mutare vetustas)
Dissiluisse ferunt, cum protenus utraque tellus
Una foret; venit medio vi pontus et undis
Hesperium Siculo latus abscidit, arvaque et urbes
Litore diductas angusto interluit æstu."

The continuity of the mountain-chain which forms the backbone, as it were, of Italy, and extends nearly parallel along the northern coast of Sicily, is broken in this part, not by the mere removal or depression of a portion where the sea now runs, but by a slight distortion, as if the broken ends had been forced respectively in a northern and a southern direction. Situated between the two violently volcanic centres of Ætna and the Liparean Islands, such a convulsion, though a tremendous one, may be conceived as possible even within the human period.

Not less interesting, and not less naturally and circumstantially described, is the ancient legend of Delos, the "floating island." This appears to record the upheaval of that island, its subsequent disappearance, and its second and final elevation above the sea-level. The name *Δῆλος*, i. e. "the visible," may indeed be thought to have given rise to an idle story to account for the name. In this easy sort of way all traditions are ridiculed by some. We, however, hold a contrary opinion, that the facts of the case suggested the name.

⁷³ Virg. *Æn.* vi. 239.

⁷⁴ *Od.* xii. 102.

⁷⁵ *Æn.* iii. 414.

It is probable that all local names had a meaning at first, though we cannot always interpret them now. It will be allowed that "visible" is not very applicable as a distinctive epithet to any one of a group of islands like the Cyclades. We find, indeed, the word *εὐδαίελος*, which may, and we believe does, mean the same, applied to the island of Ithaca;⁷⁶ but this refers to the greater clearness with which this is seen from the continent than the adjacent and larger Cephallenia. The antiquity of the legend itself might perhaps be questioned on the ground that Homer does not allude to it, and indeed only mentions Delos once by name.⁷⁷ But we have an ancient Homeric hymn, quoted as Homeric even by Thucydides,⁷⁸ in which there is no express mention of the upheaval of the island, but the following allusion to it: "I fear," says the island itself, addressing Latona, who was about to bring forth Apollo thereon, "lest the god, when born, despising me because my soil is barren, should overturn me with his feet and thrust me into the deep sea, where the wave shall ever dash over my head."⁷⁹ But Callimachus, in his remarkably beautiful hymn to Delos, has given a very full account. The Alexandrine writers were fond of collecting the most learned and rare legends from the most recondite sources; and therefore the lateness of this author (about B.C. 260) is no valid objection to the genuineness of the tradition. That Delos was very famous as a "sacred" island in quite early times is certain. But why should it have been so more than the many other islands in the Ægean sea, unless a peculiar sanctity had attached to it on this very account, that it was supposed to have been upheaved as a birthplace for the god Apollo? On this principle, meteoric stones were held in the most reverential awe;⁸⁰ indeed, one of the old names of Delos, *Asteria*,⁸¹ was given by those who imagined the new island had dropped from the stars, rather than risen from the depths below.

The legend, as told by Callimachus, states that, when Latona was pregnant with Apollo, she wandered over many lands in order to find a fit spot for giving him birth. But as access to every place was denied by the vigilance of the jealous goddess Juno, the island of Delos straightway rose out of the sea for that purpose. As such events are known to have oc-

⁷⁶ Hom. *Od.* ii. 167. *δῆλος* is *δέλος*, with the intervening digamma changed to λ. We do not agree with Buttmann, who refers it to *εἰλη*, in the sense of "sunny."

⁷⁷ *Od.* vi. 162.

⁷⁸ iii. 104.

⁷⁹ Hom. *Hymn.* in *Apoll. Del.* 70.

⁸⁰ Like the Roman *ancilia* (Ovid. *Fast.* iii. 373), and the image of Artemis reported to have fallen from heaven (Eur. *Iph. in Taur.* 88).

⁸¹ Callim. *H. in Del.* 38.

curred in quite modern times, the thing itself is very possible, and may have taken place within the range of human tradition. An unsettled state of the sea-bottom, with the occasional disappearance and re-appearance of the new island, is also credible: islands have risen and again vanished in modern times.⁸² The account of Callimachus is curious. "Often," he says,⁸³ "sailors, in returning from Trœzen towards Corinth, got sight of Delos within the Saronic gulf; and on returning from Corinth saw it no longer, for it had run off to the straits of the Euripus, or to Sunium the promontory of Athens, or to Chios or Samos." There is nothing very far-fetched in this: sailors, not over exact in their reckoning, would give very different reports about the place where the new phenomenon had occurred; and hence would easily arise the report that the island "floated about."⁸⁴

The river Inopus, the circular or wheel-like lake, and the mountain Cynthus, all described by the ancient poets as characteristics of Delos, may have undergone changes in an island liable to earthquakes.⁸⁵ It would be interesting to ascertain its present elevation above the sea. It must have been low in the time of Æschylus, who calls it *χοιπᾶς*, "a reef," or "hog's back." So sacred was the island, that no dead body might be burned or buried in it, no woman near childbirth, no war-horse, nor even dog, might set foot on it.⁸⁶ There must have been, we venture to think, some special reason for this extraordinary religious reverence, and for that remarkable mission of a remote northern people to Delos, described at some length by Herodotus.⁸⁷ Such a reason is at once suggested by the explanation given above. A mere poetical fiction would be insufficient to account for it.

But further: the story says that the small out-lying island of Rhenea, being equally unstable, was "tied by a chain to Delos," and thus made an appanage of that sacred soil.⁸⁸ The upheaval of this, only half a mile⁸⁹ from Delos, would be analogous to the volcanic rocks called the Dezertas and Porto Santo, a short distance from Madeira. It undoubtedly gives additional probability to the tradition, rather than the contrary.

But, supposing it true, was this event so very ancient? This also may fairly be assumed; for Thucydides tells us⁹⁰ that,

⁸² e.g. Sabrina and Ferdinandea.

⁸³ *Hymn. in Del.* 41.

⁸⁴ *πλωτή* and *φορητή νῆσος*. See a fine fragment of Pindar on this legend quoted by Strabo, x. ch. 5, § 2; also Virg. *Æn.* iii. 73-7.

⁸⁵ Herod. vi. 98.

⁸⁶ Strabo, x. 5, 5; Callimachus, in *Del.* 276; Thucyd. iii. 104.

⁸⁷ iv. 33-35.

⁸⁸ Thucyd. iii. 104.

⁸⁹ Strabo, ut sup.

⁹⁰ i. 8.

when Delos was *purified*, i. e. cleared of graves by order of the oracle, in the Peloponnesian war, 426 years B.C., it was even then full of ancient tombs (no doubt tumuli), part of which were recognised to belong to a Carian⁹¹ population by the form of the arms buried with them. The altar, constructed of bones of victims, also⁹² indicates a very remote and primitive custom.

A similar, and equally probable, tradition is preserved by Pindar respecting the upheaval of the island of Rhodes.⁹³ The statement, in a general way, is confirmed by the highly volcanic nature of the whole coast of Asia Minor, and the frequent and terrible earthquakes that have occurred since the historic period.

"Ancient reports⁹⁴ of men," says Pindar, writing B.C. 464, "relate, that when Zeus and the immortal gods were dividing among themselves the earth, Rhodes was not as yet visible in the open sea, but lay a hidden island in the briny depths. Now, in the absence of the Sun [i. e. at the distribution], no one had awarded him a share; and they had left him, a pure god, without an inheritance of territory.⁹⁵ And when he mentioned it, Zeus was going to cast lots over again; but the Sun allowed it not; for he said he himself saw a land growing up from below beneath the sea—a land that should maintain a host of people, and be kindly for cattle. And the words resulted in truth: an island did grow up from the watery sea, and it is possessed by the author of keen rays, the lord of fire-breathing steeds." Connected with this story is that of the herds sacred to the Sun, which were slain by the companions of Ulysses;⁹⁶ though the vague geography of Homer seems to place them in Sicily. But the far-famed Colossus of Rhodes, which had rays imitating the sun's disk,⁹⁷ perpetuated the tradition till comparatively recent times.⁹⁸ All that Pindar says, and gives on the authority of an "ancient tale," is probable as an account of a real phenomenon, but not very probable as a mere fiction. The great antiquity of the island must be inferred by the mention of a race who inhabited it, called the Telchines, who are recorded to have

⁹¹ On the traditional antiquity of this race, see Herod. i. 171.

⁹² Callim. in *Apoll.* 61.

⁹³ *Ol.* vii. 54.

⁹⁴ *ἀνθρώπων παλαιὰ ῥήσις*,—a sufficiently remarkable expression.

⁹⁵ It might be suggested that on this principle of appearing to the light of heaven, Delos was dedicated to Apollo as the sun-god. Some, indeed, consider that the two were not identified in the early mythology; yet Hesiod speaks of *Ἀπόλλων χρυσόσκιον*, "the god of the golden sword," i. e. rays of light, *Opp.* 771.

⁹⁶ *Od.* xii. 263, 355.

⁹⁷ Martial, i. 70, 7, "moles radiata colossi."

⁹⁸ It was overthrown by an earthquake, B.C. 224.

first invented the art (certainly a primitive one) of representing animals in sculpture.⁹⁹

It would not be difficult, and it certainly would be very instructive, to collect examples of geological changes which either were expressly recorded by antiquity, or can be proved to have occurred within the last two thousand years, from a comparison of present conditions with minute descriptions given at or about that limit of time. For instance, the account of the island of Minoa, near Megara,¹⁰⁰ when tested by recent surveys, shows the curious fact that what was then a gulf is now entirely silted up, and Minoa is no longer an island. To go still further back to mere tradition, the vale of the Peneus in Thessaly was once under water, till the river forced itself a channel into the sea.¹⁰¹ The mark of a trident was set up on the low marshy coast of Lerna in Argolis,¹⁰² indicating probably the traditional sea-line of ancient times.

There is a celebrated passage in the *Timæus* of Plato,¹⁰³ in which he describes, somewhat in poetic language indeed, the former existence of a great island or continent in the Atlantic sea, outside the Straits of Gibraltar (the "Pillars of Hercules"). "This island," he says, "was greater than both Libya and Asia; and there was access from it to the other islands, and from those islands to all the opposite continent that lay round that true sea (the Atlantic): for the sea within the aforesaid straits is evidently a lake, with a narrow entrance; but that is truly an open sea, and the land surrounding and enclosing it would be most rightly called *continent*." This is said, according to the old Greek notion that the outer ocean was a kind of broad stream encircling the flat earth. Strabo¹⁰⁴ speculates on the possibility of this tradition being true; and Humboldt inclines to connect it with another ancient tale in the Orphic poems, of the breaking up of a former continent called Lyktonia¹⁰⁵ into several islands. Plato himself professes that the tradition about the Atlantis was communicated to Solon by an aged Egyptian priest of Saïs.¹⁰⁶

The possible truth of the tale has been argued by Unger, a celebrated botanist¹⁰⁷ of Vienna, who has shown that, even if no legend of the vanished Atlantis were preserved, there

⁹⁹ Pind. *Ol.* vii. 52.

¹⁰⁰ Thucyd. iii. 51. See the maps of its present state given in Arnold's edition.

¹⁰¹ Diodor. Sic. iv. 18; Strabo, ix. 5, 2, τὸ πάλαιον καὶ ἐμπρόσθερον, ὅς τις ἄλγος, τὸ πρὸς αὐτόν.

¹⁰² Esch. *Suppl.* 214, compared with Pausan. ii. 22, 5.

¹⁰³ P. 24 B.

¹⁰⁴ ii. 3, p. 102.

¹⁰⁵ See *Aspects of Nature*, vol. ii. p. 82.

¹⁰⁶ *Timæus*, p. 22 B.

¹⁰⁷ *Die versunkene Insel Atlantis*, &c.: (zwei Vorträge gehalten im Ständehause im Winter des Jahres 1860 von Dr. F. Unger. Wein: Braumüller. We

would be grounds for assuming that a vast island had once occupied the middle of the Atlantic Ocean. He found that the remains of extinct plants preserved in the tertiary deposit of Western Europe resembled in many instances the existing flora of North America. Since that period, the vegetable character of North America has undergone no change, while that of Europe has been completely altered; and, as it would contradict the economy of nature to assume that the same plants originated independently of each other in the two hemispheres, Unger concludes that Europe received them from the region now composing the territory of the Confederate States. The number of corresponding species is too great, the general conformity of the vegetation too complete, to be attributed to birds of passage or to the currents of the sea. The connection can have been effected only by means of a great intervening continent, of a bridge across the Atlantic. Traces of the same flora are found in the volcanic islands of Iceland and Madeira; and the lost continent must have extended north and south over the whole of the intermediate space. During the convulsions of the glacial period the island sank almost entirely beneath the sea; and Unger hints, though he refrains from working out the idea, that it may still be traced along the bottom of the Atlantic.

Marvellously indeed does this discovery of recent science tally with the most ancient legend that has been recorded by the Greeks. While Unger refuses to believe that a story thus confirmed, in what was hitherto its most incredible particular, could be altogether imaginary, he abandons to the future enquiries of scientific men the light thus cast upon the problem of the existence of man before the conclusion of the glacial period.

But few of the old legends of mythology are more fertile, as subjects of speculation, than that of the "Battle of the Giants," in the Phlegræan plain of Campania, an old name for a solfatara in the neighbourhood of Cumæ,¹⁰⁸ close to Naples. The legend is, that Hercules there defeated some monstrous giants, aided in the fight by Athena and the other gods.¹⁰⁹ As the ancients habitually expressed volcanic out-

need hardly add, that modern science, so far from ridiculing such theories, is rather predisposed to accept them, as the most likely way of accounting for many apparent anomalies in the flora and fauna, as well as in the languages and varieties of the human race.

¹⁰⁸ Diodor. Sic. v. 71; see also iv. 21, where he derives the name from a tradition that Vesuvius had anciently erupted; though in the time of Diodorus it had not been known to do so within the historic period.

¹⁰⁹ Pind. *Nem.* i. 67; *Æsch. Eum.* 285; Apollodor. i. 6.

breaks by the figure of hostile giants, like Typhoeus, who was supposed to be laid under Ætna, it is likely that this also indicates a real eruption. What could better represent the cloud of ashes which quite darkens the scene¹¹⁰ than the legend given by Apollodorus, that Zeus "forbade the sun and moon to give light"? Hesiod too uses a similar figure,¹¹¹ in describing what is believed to have been an eruption of Ætna. This symbolical way of representing sights and sounds of a startling and unusual nature¹¹² would easily present itself to a primitive people at once imaginative and unscientific; and there is no reason whatever why, as traditions, especially associated with religious awe, they may not have been handed down from the remotest antiquity. The hissing of Typhoeus,¹¹³ and the barking of the dog Cerberus, which Hercules was said to have dragged from the infernal regions through a cave at Tænarus or Trœzen,¹¹⁴ may be so interpreted.

The actively volcanic period of the district near Cumæ may with great probability be connected with similar outbreaks in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome. Mount Albano has long been an extinct volcano; but it so happens that human remains (pottery) have been recovered from *under* an ancient lava-stream proceeding from that crater, now (we believe) forming the well-known lake or tarn.¹¹⁵ That the soil of Rome and the neighbourhood is more or less volcanic, is shown by the tufaceous deposits. There are two very interesting legends connected with this subject, which we cannot help thinking are records of real facts. Livy relates¹¹⁶ that a chasm opened in the forum at Rome; "seu motu terræ, seu qua vi alia, forum medium ferme specu vasto conlapsum in immensam altitudinem dicitur." Into this pit Marcus Curtius threw himself, horse and all, as an offering to the infernal gods for the benefit of his country. Immediately after the hero's descent, the gulf closed up, and the "lacus Curtius" arose in its place,—a phenomenon, by the way, perfectly in accordance with known facts. Livy, of course, is disposed to place this occurrence within the historic period. But he receives it expressly as a tale handed down from old times; and he ends

¹¹⁰ See Pliny's most interesting and detailed account of the great eruption of Vesuvius A.D. 79 (*Epist. lib. vi. 16*): "jam dies alibi, illic nox omnibus noctibus nigrior densiorque."

¹¹¹ *Theog.* 716, κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλίαν Βελίεσσιν Τηήνας.

¹¹² See the curious account of an eruption in the isle of Pithecusa off Cumæ, in Strabo, v. 4, 9.

¹¹³ *Æsch. Prom.* 363.

¹¹⁴ Apollodor. ii. 5, 12.

¹¹⁵ An engraving of a primitive human habitation from this pottery is given in Rich's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, art. "Casa."

¹¹⁶ vii. 6.

his account with this reflection: "Care would not be wanting, if any road existed to lead the enquirer to truth. As it is, we must abide by the tradition, where certainty is denied us by the antiquity of the event."

That the Campagna, now so unhealthy in many parts from its malaria, was once filled with extensive and flourishing cities,¹¹⁷ the decay of which was lamented even in the times of the earlier Roman emperors, is well known. The causes have often been enquired into, and remedies vainly attempted. May not the change be referred to some alteration in the subterranean area of volcanic action? A greater or more permanent evolution of carbonic acid gas might be presumed to have followed the closing up of the ancient vent in the crater of Mount Albano.

The other legend about old Rome is that of Hercules and Cacus. We are told¹¹⁸ that when Hercules had driven his Spanish herds (those taken from Geryon at Erythea) to the site afterwards occupied by Rome, some of the animals were stolen by a robber who infested the neighbourhood, named Cacus. He (like Typhoeus, already alluded to) was a *fire-breathing* monster, and vomited flames against those who attacked him:

"Quas quotiens proflat, spirare Typhoea credas,
Et rapidum *Ætneo fulgur ab igne jaci.*"¹¹⁹

We may interpret this very much as modern research has shown us we must explain the legend of the fire-breathing Chimæra,¹²⁰ viz. of an outbreak, in very ancient times, of slumbering volcanic action.

All the early legendary accounts of mythology, from whatever sources they come—and we believe they are many and various—are either true, or they are fiction, or they are mixed up of both. No one contends for the first; most contend, perhaps without much thought on the subject, for the second; we have not hesitated to contend for the third. The advocates of the second view ought to show, at least by some known analogies, how traditions which, if fictions, are perfectly baseless and utterly nonsensical in themselves, could ever have gained an acceptance so uniform, so consistent, so extensive, and that among a people so intellectual and so critical as the Greeks. Will it be alleged that ballad-poetry could have exercised such extraordinary influence? If so, we must

¹¹⁷ Veii, Gabii, Fidenæ, Ulubræ, &c. See Propert. v. 10, 27; Hor. *Epist.* i. 11, 7; Juv. *Sat.* x. 102; Virg. *Æn.* vii. 413.

¹¹⁸ Propert. v. 9, 10; Ovid. *Fast.* i. 551-574; Virg. *Æn.* viii. 193, &c.

¹¹⁹ *Fast.* i. 573.

¹²⁰ Hesiod, *Theog.* 319; Fellows' *Travels in Asia Minor*, pp. 348, 372.

be prepared to contemplate a literature vastly ancient, and composed by men of genius sufficient to win the assent of the ancient world to a series of childish fables. Whether such a theory will bear the test of reason, we leave the learned to determine.¹²¹

F. A. P.

¹²¹ We regard the well-known statement of Herodotus (ii. 52)—that "Hesiod and Homer made a theogony for the Greeks, and gave the gods their names, defined their prerogatives and professions, and indicated their forms"—as wholly and indeed manifestly false, and as resulting from the propensity we have already alluded to, of referring ancient events to known chronologies. Questionable, at least, is also the statement immediately following, that "the poets who are said to be more ancient than these men (he appears to mean, among others, Orpheus and Musæus) were born later than they." Thucydides (i. 5) speaks in the plural of *οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ποιητῶν*, after just before mentioning Homer specially.

CELTIC ETHNOLOGY.

ALTHOUGH critical analysis has resolved large portions of early history into a few facts and much fiction, and converted many of our substantial household heroes into shadowy myths, it has likewise shown that the investigation of the beginnings of nations is not a vain pursuit of mere curiosity, but that, on the contrary, it supplies us with the only serviceable key by which to determine the origin and the law of past growth and future evolution of institutions, legislation, and literature. This truth is now recognised more or less by all philosophic historians; and hence the care with which even the most dim traditions, and fragments of forgotten story, not only of those nations whose history is the foreground of all human history, but even of those whose shadows scarcely appear in its background, are collected and subjected to analysis. And this is done no longer with the sneering contempt and illogical scepticism with which the philosophic dogmatists of the eighteenth century treated mythological poems, lives of saints, and ancient chronicles, nor yet with the blind faith of ardent, but too credulous, enthusiasts, who mistook them for sober history.

Yet that scepticism still exists, although the blind faith in every thing that is old, because of its age, has been replaced by an enlightened belief. Else how could we explain the want of appreciation exhibited by the cultivated public for all that appertains to the history, mythology, poetry, and music of the Celtic race, which is proved by the indifference of the critical press? The names of many works on these subjects come to our mind which are full of new and curious matter, and upon which great learning and labour have been bestowed, but which have not received the attention they deserved. It is true that such books have been from time to time noticed by critics; but these reviews have been more frequently acts of friendship for an author, or of justice to the labours of a true scholar, than the result of a conviction of the intrinsic scientific literary or national importance of the matter itself.

Different causes have no doubt conspired to produce this result. Many persons, deceived by their speaking a Teutonic language, have not recognised how much of what they call Celtic blood flows in the veins of the people of this country, and have looked upon the subject as foreign to them, no matter how interesting it may be to the Irish, the Welsh, or the Highland Scotch, who are the conventional Celts. Dark prejudice too—the natural feeling which the conquest of one race by

another begets, and the feeling which curiously enough has been transmitted with the language from the conquerors to the conquered—has stood in the way. Again, philology and the critical history of literature generally have not been much cultivated among us recently, perhaps because, not being directly useful, they are not likely to gain much reward. Our aim is to do what in us lies to overcome this apathy, and to quicken the germs of a higher taste for these subjects, which is at length beginning to manifest itself.

The immediate inducement to undertake investigations into Celtic history, language, and literature depends a good deal upon the local circumstances of the scholars engaged in this kind of labour. In Ireland, Wales, and Scotland, where Celtic dialects are still spoken, and where, especially in Ireland, many historical documents written in those languages exist, the direct utility of Celtic studies is apparent. In England, on the other hand, the documents belonging to the most important periods of its history being in a different language, the advantages of such investigations are not readily understood, and are, so far as England itself is immediately concerned, more remote. Although a Celtic dialect is still spoken in a part of France which was the centre of European Celts, its traditions were almost wholly cut off by the Roman conquest, and the use of Latin or a Romance language in its intellectual centres ever since. The character and objects of Celtic studies must necessarily be the same there as in England. French scholars are only now beginning to recover from the effects of the teaching of the eighteenth century; and it is to be hoped that they will hasten to make up for their past inaction. In Germany every thing appertaining to the Celts can only have a scientific interest to scholars; yet science has there such an all-embracing meaning that we only do the German literary public bare justice when we say that a work on the history, language, or literature of a Celtic people would be more likely to be successful there than in the country of which it treated. In Ireland and Wales, as we may anticipate, the publication of documents has almost solely occupied the attention of scholars. In England and France attention has been chiefly given to the ethnology of the Celtic races; while German scholars have occupied themselves with the language, ethnology, and critical examination of parts of its literature.

The Irish and Welsh publications are usually pronounced to be provincial when not utterly worthless, and the German too abstract; so that it has come to pass that, in the opinion of many, Celtic investigations mean ethnological theories. It seems to us that the only way to remove the isolated and local character

which Irish and Welsh works have hitherto had, is to connect them with what has been done elsewhere; to make in fact a report upon the recent progress and present position of Celtic studies in Ireland, Great Britain, France, and Germany. Such an exposition, while doing justice to German and French scholars, would help to correct much of the current baseless ethnology, which is founded rather on prejudice than on the critical analysis of ancient traditions. As a contribution to this work, we propose in the present Paper to speak of the ethnology of the races which have peopled the countries subsequently occupied by the Celts. The ethnological part of the subject necessarily takes precedence of the rest, because it would not be possible to understand the genius of a literature, the joint product of a nation into which many streams of different peoples flowed, without knowing something of each of those streams; nor to discuss the character and affinities of a language which had become the medium of communicating the thoughts of races of different moulds, and must have been more or less modified by this use, without being able to form some idea of the idiom in exchange for which they had taken another language, the sounds of which must have modified that of the adopted language, and the vocabulary of which must have largely contributed to it. Our treatment of the subject must necessarily be brief, and in many cases we must rest content with merely enunciating a hypothesis without attempting to prove it; since proof will obviously be often incompatible with the limits of an Article such as this.

The original materials from which the ethnology of the Celtic nations must be framed, and upon which all the works on the subject are based, are of two kinds: notices found in Greek and Latin writers, especially the geographers, and the traditions or sagas of the Celtic nations themselves, orally transmitted from generation to generation, and at length committed to writing. The materials in the first category are very scanty and imperfect, and often confused. Geography, like all other branches of science, is the result of slow growth; and consequently Greek and Roman writers, even after having visited the countries they described, could only have confused notions of the relative positions of distant places, or of nations the strange names of which only reached their ears through the reports of traders. Greek and Roman writers were not linguists; in the majority of cases there existed no literature to reward them for their pains in learning a foreign tongue. The cosmopolitan spirit, which Christianity brought into existence, had not yet breathed upon the world, and awakened the "voices of the nations" which have given us the manifold literatures of

our days. How little the Romans, who came into contact with so many different peoples, cared for the study of the languages or institutions of those whom they conquered, is well shown by their not having noticed the wonderful analogy between the Gothic and Latin auxiliary verb, or the perhaps still closer analogy generally of the Gaulish language with their own and with the Umbrian and other Italic dialects. When writers are disposed to found ethnic distinctions upon *Cæsar's* statements about differences between the languages of nations he came in contact with, they should bear the fact just stated in mind. If in the nineteenth century it is difficult to find an Englishman who could classify the various tribes of the peninsula of Hindustan, and clearly distinguish between the great families of Aryan and Tamul languages, how much more difficult must it have been for a Roman to note the differences between the allied Germanic and Celtic tongues, or to distinguish between clans of the same race and tribes of different ones. Other difficulties beset us with regard to the materials in the second category. The chronology will always be found to have been modified at an early period, to suit it to the Scripture chronology; the pedigrees of races have sometimes been amalgamated, and the acts of two or more attributed to one. These old traditions are nevertheless of great value, and in general, if used with caution and impartiality, will be found to lead to truth. At all events, those who are merely in search of truth will always appreciate them; those, on the contrary, who are seeking for evidence to maintain a particular hypothesis will be generally found to reject them as useless.

The recent discoveries of the remains of man and of his works in the superficial deposits of the globe show that Europe was inhabited by man at a very remote period—at all events, at a period long anterior to the traditions of most European peoples, who are represented by them as emigrants from another region at a time not long anterior to the dawn of history. What was this primitive race, or what has become of it? May there not have been a succession of races? These and many other similar questions suggest themselves, and will give rise to any amount of speculation; but it would be premature as yet to say whether there is any probability of our being able to solve these questions. One fact, at all events, is certain,—Europe was peopled at a very early period, and other races have since come into it.

Two theories have been proposed concerning the primitive Europeans, which we may designate as the Finn and the Basque. According to the first, various tribes allied to the present Finlanders occupied Europe; or, in other words, the Turanian

family, to which the Turks, Mongols, Tungous, and other races, as well as the Finns, belong, extended to the shores of the Atlantic, and were dispossessed by the present European races. The only remains in Europe of this family of mankind, once continuous from the Pacific to the Atlantic, are the Finns and Laps, and, according to some, the Basques of the Pyrenees, who form a kind of outlier, which has withstood the waves of foreign people in which the rest of their race has disappeared. The objections to this theory are—first, that the traditions of the Finns and Estonians point to the eastward, and there is no proof that they ever extended further westward than they do now; secondly, that no true relationship has yet been established between Basque and Finnish—no relationship, we mean, which can stand the test of a serious analysis.¹

According to Wilhelm von Humboldt and the majority of writers, the present Basques, or more properly Euscaldunac (for they apply the former term, which some derive from *basacoa*, a dweller in a wood, to the Vascons or Gascons), are a pure race. M. de Belloguet thinks them a mixed race, but admits with Humboldt that they are the representatives of the ancient Iberians. Leibniz long ago suggested that they came from Africa, by the Straits of Gibraltar; a suggestion that would of course refer them to the Berber race, which is supposed to have been connected with the old Egyptian and the Semitic races, though the latter relationship has not yet been satisfactorily established. Some have made them elder brothers of the Celts; while others again have connected them with a race of a similar name in the Caucasus. Diefenbach seems favourable to the supposition of a relationship with the American races, and thinks the peopling of the South-Sea Islands affords as wonderful an example of a migration across the sea as would the

¹ M. de Belloguet thinks that some real affinity may be found between the Euscaldunac and the Finns—that is, with the great Finno-Tatarian or Turanian family. He says the Basque type should not be sought for in the Finns of brown complexion and short stature, but in the blond race of tall stature and with very bright blue eyes—a type which, according to M. de Quatrefages (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, 14 mars 1850, p. 1078), goes back to the earliest period of Finnish history, and anterior to their relations with the German race (*Ethnog. Gaul.* p. 219). The expression of M. de Quatrefages, and the references of M. de Belloguet himself, which are all to old authorities, show, as we think, that he refers not to Finns, but to a race which preceded them, which figures as a strange and mystic people in their saga, under the names of *Huidet*, *Hiisi*, *Wuorenwäki*, &c., and which M. Andreas Warelus identifies with the *Joten*, *Jätten*, *Thüßen*, &c. of Scandinavian saga, and with the people of Sweden during Professor Nilson's "bronze age" (that is, with the Canaanites!). This people has so completely disappeared, that a single trace of their descendants cannot now be detected, unless the comparatively high stature of the people of a few villages like Pyttis and Strömfors, in East Bothnia, be attributed to an intermixture with them. This people was certainly not Finn, whatever else they were. M. Warelus thinks they were Celts.

crossing of the Atlantic by red skins, whom he supposes to have been since bleached. Their language is peculiar, having apparently no affinity with the Indo-European languages. Whether further investigations will connect it with the Berber and Egyptian remains to be seen. It has many features in common with the American languages; and taking into account the recent discoveries about the antiquity of man, and the probable changes in the relations of land and water which may have taken place since his appearance on the globe, the American hypothesis assumes a new aspect, and deserves to be more carefully considered. If such a connection be established, it will be in a different sense from that of Diefenbach's suggestion, namely, an emigration from, instead of to, Europe. This would account for the race of the mound-builders of Ohio, for the early Mexicans, and the builders of Palenque, who were a totally different race from the Aztec and other red skins. Might not this also account for the analogy of the Palenque architecture with that of the Egyptians? All this is, however, foreign to our present subject.

Scylax, Strabo, and others speak of an extension of Iberians beyond the Spanish peninsula; and Avienus expressly tells us that the Rhone divided the Iberians from the Ligurians.² They must also have extended northward along the west coast of France, if we admit the present Gascons to be of Iberian descent, and of the same race as the Euscaldunac, which appears almost certain. It is right, however, to state that the late Mr. James Kennedy³ considered that the Gascons had no affinity with the Euscaldunac of Spain, but an unmistakable one with the Gaedhil, or Gael; and, further, that the Euscaldunac could scarcely be traced beyond the present limits of the Spanish provinces of Biscaya, Guipuzcoa, and Alava, and the sea-coast of France from the Pyrenees to Bayonne. If they extended further, it must have been along the sea-coast, and not in the interior. According to him one of the most certain Euscaric appellatives is Bayonne.⁴ Unfortunately for his view, this name occurs in the very heart of Spain, there being a village of that name not far from Aranjuez.

In the passage of Avienus above referred to another ancient race is mentioned, namely, the Ligurians, whose relationships are as difficult to establish as are those of the Iberians. That

² *Ora Maritima*, 608.

³ *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1855, p. 155. The investigations of J. Grimm on the incantations and plant-names in the work of Marcellus Burdigalensis confirm the view of Mr. Kennedy that the language of Aquitaine was Gaedhelic; but this would not affect the view that the population was of the same race as the present Basques.

⁴ From *ibaya*, a river, and *ona*, good.

they were distinct from the Iberians we know from Seneca.⁵ The myth of Hercules and the garden of the Hesperides shows us that at a very remote period they occupied the country where Avienus places them; for the district of the Crau near Arles is the scene of the rain of stones with which Zeus aided Hercules in his encounter with the Ligurians. They appear to have extended from the Rhone to the Tiber, along the Mediterranean shore; for Festus tells us that they were driven from the country of the Tiber by the Sacrani.⁶ Livy calls them, in reference to the Celtic invasion of Bellovesus "antiqua gens;" and Virgil mentions the Ligurians among the allies of Turnus.

We do not know how far the Ligurians extended to the north, but if we connect with them the name of the Loire (Liger, *Λείγερ*, *Λύγρος*) and the Lelygwrs, a people who inhabited the greater part of England, and whose name also appears in Ireland, we should extend them over the whole of Western Europe, an extension which a passage in Avienus⁸ supports. Herodotus⁹ mentions a people of exactly the same name in Colchis, in Asia Minor; and, as we shall see hereafter, it is very probable that the Western Ligurians came originally from the East. We shall see subsequently the importance of the Colchian relationship.

In contact with the Ligurians in Italy, and to the south of them, were a number of races who occupied the western parts of the peninsula, among whom were the Latins, the Volsci, Umbrians, Oscans, Samnites, and Sabines, all of whom appear to have belonged to the same race. Other races usually referred to a supposed Illyrian family occupied the eastern or Adriatic shore. Among them were the Liburni, the Siculi, and the ancestors of the Venetians. Again, there appear to have been other races different from and anterior to those enumerated, such as the CEnotri and Sicani, who are considered to have been Iberian. It is more probable that they were Ligurians, and that all the Italic races belonged to the same family as that people. Indeed, Dionysius of Halicarnassus makes the Ligurians a part of the ancient Italicots. If we connect the Liburni with the Ligurians, we must also connect with them the whole of the races of Epirus, Macedonia, and Thrace; a view which would extend the Ligurian race from Spain to Asia Minor. Colonies of Hellenes settled amidst those races in Southern Italy, and founded Magna Græcia. Perhaps the Hellenic character of the languages of Epirus and Macedonia may be due to similar colonies. In the north of Italy the highly civilised Etruscans, a people apparently from the Levant, dispossessed the Umbrians of the rich plains, and there developed

⁵ *Consol. ad Helviam*, viii.

⁶ *Ora Maritima*, 129 et seq.

⁷ v. Sacrani.

⁸ vii. 72.

⁹ v. 34 et seq.

a high state of civilisation, to which the remains of Campanian art bear witness.

Southern and western Europe, then, at the earliest period of which we have any tradition, appear to have been occupied by a single family of allied races (unless we make the Iberians a distinct family), among whom were settled here and there along the shores of the Mediterranean colonies of perhaps two or three other families. The races of this great family appear to have been white skinned, with brown or black hair; while the Celts and Germans, who next appear on the scene, were undoubtedly a fair or red-haired race and of high stature.

The Celts appear in history under three names: *Keltoi* or *Keltai*, *Galatai* or *Galatæ*, and *Galli* or *Galloi*. The first occurs in the writings of Hecataeus of Miletus, who died B.C. 486, and fragments of whose writings have come down to us through the Byzantine writer Stephanus. It is also mentioned by Herodotus as the name of a Western people. *Galatai* occurs in Timæus, Pausanias, Polybius, Strabo, and others, and was always applied to tribes in the east of Europe. *Galli* is the name used by the Romans for certain tribes in Gaul; but Ptolemy and Suidas among Greek writers use it also in the form *Galloi*. The first two names have been looked upon as the same word, *Keltai* being either a crippled form of the word as it first reached the Greek ear through Massilia, or *Galatai* an inflected form of *Keltai*. The existence of such proper names as *Galates* and *Celtillus* shows that although the words may be related, they are distinct. It would be a waste of time to discuss the many hypotheses which have been proposed about the meaning of these words; we may, however, admit that *Keltoi* was the native name of some tribe or clan, which was subsequently extended to the whole race.

The home or centre of this race when the name *Keltoi* first appears was Gaul, whence they had passed into Britain, Ireland, Spain, and Italy, subjugating and displacing to some extent the previous race, and ultimately mingling with it—at least wherever the primitive race had attained a certain degree of civilisation. In this way we can account for the close relationship of the Celts and Ligurians, of which Livy speaks,¹⁰ and of the origin of the compound names of Celto-Ligurians and Celt-Iberians. In the time of Cæsar Gaul was divided, as he tells us,¹¹ into three, or rather into four, parts: 1. the region between the Pyrenees and the Garonne, inhabited by the Aquitanians; 2. the region bounded by the Garonne, the Ocean, the Seine, and Marne, extending perhaps to the Rhine on the one hand and to the Rhone on the other, and inhabited by people

¹⁰ xxxvi. 39.

¹¹ De Bello Gal. i. 1.

who called themselves Celts, and whom the Romans called Gauls; and, 3. the country of the Belgæ, between the Seine, Marne, and Rhine, and extending northwards to the sea. The country of the Belgæ is made by some to extend along the right bank of the Rhine almost to Helvetia; an extension which would correspond with the subsequent territories of the Dukes of Burgundy. South of the Gauls was the fourth part, which is not mentioned by Cæsar, because it had been made a Roman province before his birth, and was then known as the Province, or *Gallia Narbonensis* or *braccata*. According to Cæsar the Aquitanians, Gauls, and Belgians differed from each other in language, customs, and laws. Strabo, however, expressly states that their languages only slightly diverged from each other, that is, were only dialects of the same language.

Many writers, but especially Herr Holtzmann, Professor Moke, and Mr. Ernest Adams, rely upon the expression of Cæsar just mentioned, and especially upon the statement of Tacitus that the Treveri and Nervii affected to be of German origin not only on account of the glory of that race, but also because they did not wish to be considered like the Gauls. Zeuss explains this as a desire on the part of the free and warlike Belgians to be supposed related to a similar race, the Germans, rather than to one like the Gauls, then subjected to the Roman yoke, and rendered effeminate by luxury and slavery. That the Celts and Germans were blond races of high stature, and that they were very closely allied in intellectual and moral qualities, there can now, from the study of the Celtic and Germanic languages, be no doubt; but it is equally certain that they were distinct branches of the same family. The language of all the Celts of Gaul was the same. Not a single Belgian name has come down to us which can be shown to be German. If Germans had crossed the Rhine before Cæsar's time, they must have completely adopted the Celtic language, and even Celtic names; for they have not left a vestige of their existence. Cæsar himself never speaks of a *lingua Belgica*, but always of a *lingua Celtica*.

The whole discussion has arisen from a forgetfulness of the fact that another race had occupied Gaul before the arrival of the Celts, and that the latter were slowly absorbed by the former in middle and southern Gaul, where they formed but a very small minority. In Belgium, on the other hand, where the invading Celts must have found a much less civilised and thinner population than farther south and west, the amalgamation of the races did not take place so rapidly; and consequently the intrusive warrior-caste maintained itself longer, and naturally disdained to be compared with the mixed Gaulish race. The

same argument may be extended to the Germans themselves. The blond German race was also a minority, which has been absorbed by Turanian or mixed Turanian and Sarmatian races in the eastern districts, and by Ligurian in the south and west.

Niebuhr appears to have been the first to direct attention to the gradual disappearance of the blond type in Germany; and he expressly states that the red or fair hair, blue eyes, and white skin, for which the ancient Germans were so celebrated, had become so rare in the greater part of Germany, that he had found the majority of the Germans were any thing but blond. In a crowd of individuals assembled one day at Frankfort-on-the-Maine he did not see one whose hair was not more or less brown. Dr. Beddoe¹² tries to explain this fact by suggesting that the difference between the Germans and Italians was never greater than now; that the Germans were fairer than the Gauls, and very strikingly fairer than the Romans; but that their hair was probably light brown or flaxen, and not always red or even yellow. M. Belloguet, however, correctly observes that Tacitus does not say *flavæ* but *rutilæ comæ*, both in his *Germania* and his *Life of Agricola*. Dr. Beddoe thinks that the use of soap as a cosmetic by both Gauls and Germans must have had some effect on the colour of the hair. But independent of Galen's expression of *pyrrhos*, or flame-coloured, the trade in German hair at Rome proves, as M. de Belloguet states, that the colour was natural. Another circumstance which proves this was the use of lime-water by the Gauls for reddening their hair, so as to maintain this physical mark of aristocracy after intermixture had made them more or less brown.

With the view of accurately determining the present physical character of the Germans, Dr. Beddoe made a series of observations in different parts of Germany, the results of which he has given in a tabulated form in the paper read to the British Association. These tables, while generally confirming the opinion of Niebuhr, Bunsen, and others, perfectly support the view above put forward, that where the ancient population was likely to have been densest, and civic institutions and the influence of civilisation were most active, the intermixture of races has been most complete; while between the Rhine and Elbe, a district of Germany which in ancient times must have been very thinly populated, and whose primitive inhabitants, being far removed from the civilising influence of the south of Europe, must have been comparatively barbarous, and therefore more likely to die out than to intermingle with the new race, blond hair of various

¹² *Physical Characters of the Ancient and Modern Germans*,—Report of the Brit. Assoc. for 1867, Transact. of Sect. p. 118.

shades, from flaxen to light-brown or yellow, and even pale golden verging on red, prevails.

The ethnology of Spain, Gaul, and Germany is the key of that of Britain and Ireland; for these are the countries from which geographically they were likely to have been colonised; and it is precisely from them that the ancient traditions of Wales and Ireland derive the populations of the two islands. We are now, therefore, in a position to discuss the origins of the Welsh and Irish peoples.

According to the Welsh Triads nine different races established permanent settlements in Britain, including the Saxons; and three effected conquests, which were temporary, but which must have exerted some permanent influence. The permanent settlers are classified into three groups of three each, in accordance with the idea of triads. The peoples of the first group are supposed to have occupied the country peaceably, and were: the Kymry, who inhabited Cambria, and who are considered to have been the first human inhabitants; the Lloegrians or Lloegwrys, who occupied Lloegria or Lloegr, that is, the open country east of the Severn, or England, and who came from the country of Gwasgwynn; and the Brython, who came from the country of Summer, and first settled in Llydaw, while another part crossed the sea and settled in Britain. Owen Pughe translates Gwasgwynn by Gascogne or Gascony. The name had also been previously applied to Aquitaine by the Welsh chronicle of Tyssyllo. M. de Belloguet has shown that the name Llydaw was applied not only to Armorica, but to the whole north coast of France as far as the Scheldt. The second group are called refuge-seeking tribes, who came with the consent of the Kymry, namely: first, the Celyddon or Caledonians in the north; secondly, the Gwyddyl or Irish, who inhabited Alban; and thirdly, the men of Galedin, who came in open boats to the Isle of Wight when their country was inundated. The third group were invaders. They were: the Coraniaidd, who came from the country of Pwyl; the Gwyddyl Ffichti or Picts, who arrived in Alban by the sea of Llychlynn, that is, by the North Sea, along which they settled, while the Coranians established themselves on the Humber; and lastly the Saxons. The three invading tribes, who only effected a temporary conquest, were the Llychlynnwys or Scandinavians, who, after three generations, were driven into Germany beyond the ocean by the Kymry; the army which was brought into the country of Gwynedd or North Wales by Ganfael the Gwyddelian or Irishman; and the Casairiaidd or Romans.

Of all these, the earliest inhabitants of Britain were obviously the Lloegrians, for they occupied the plains and rich lands

of England. The Kymry and Brythons are certainly the same people, and have nothing whatever to do with Cimmerians or Cimbri; at least there is not a particle of evidence to connect them with those tribes. The Venerable Bede makes no mention of Kymry.¹³ Again, in Owen Pughe's Dictionary, article "Coraniaidd," a tradition is cited from an ancient Ms. which gives the number of tribes forming the population of the island as only seven. Among these, the supremacy is assigned to the Coranians, who are brought from Asia by another tradition; while nothing whatever is said of the Kymry. In the Irish writings the people of Wales are always spoken of as Bretnach, or, as in the old Irish nominative plural, in *Bretain*, the Britons; and the Bretons, who are so intimately connected with Wales, repudiate the name Kymry altogether. M. de Belloguet looks upon the name in question as a later bardic invention. He is of opinion that it first appears in Ethelwerd in the tenth century; or, to adopt a supposition of Mr. Beale Poste, in the poem of "Cumbreis," attributed to Gildas Albanus, and certainly not older than the eighth century.¹⁴ The name came into Wales very probably with the descendants of Cunedda from the Strathclyde kingdom, which included Cumberland or Cumbra-land of the Anglo-Saxons, and which, according to Ritson,¹⁵ meant a land of valleys. *Coombe* is certainly an old word for valley, as the following use of it shows:

"No small delight the shepherds toke to see
A coombe so dight in Flora's livery."¹⁶

The word is apparently derived from the Welsh *cwm*, an opinion entertained by the late Mr. Garnett also. The same root appears, however, to exist in the names of two islands in the Firth of Clyde,—*Cimbraes Mor* and *Beg*, or big and little Cambray, near Ardrossan. These small islands are separated from the Ayrshire shore by channels which are comparatively narrow. Whatever be the meaning of the word Kymry, it is plain it has originated in the Strathclyde kingdom, and has nothing whatever to do with the Cimbri. M. Amédée Thierry's hypothesis of two Celtic races in Gaul, one of which was the great Kymric race, has therefore no foundation whatever.

The Caledonians and Picts spoke undoubtedly a Celtic dialect, as the few words which have come down to us show.¹⁷ It was perhaps somewhat different from Welsh, for the Venerable

¹³ In primis autem hæc insula Brittones solum, a quibus nomen accepit, incolas habuit, qui de tractu Armoricano, ut fertur, Britanniam advecti, australes sibi partes illius vindicarunt. *Hist. Angl.* ed. Hussey, Oxford, 1846, i. 1.

¹⁴ *Brit. Antiq.* p. 50.

¹⁵ *Annal. of the Caledonians*, vol. i. p. 16.

¹⁶ Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals*, vol. ii. p. 2.

¹⁷ See Cormac's *Glossary*, p. xxviii.

Bede says that there were four spoken languages in Britain and five written ones; the former being British, Pictish, Scottish (that is, Irish), and English or Anglo-Saxon; the written ones being the same, with the addition of Latin.¹⁸ St. Adamnan confirms the statement about the difference between the Scottish or Irish and the Pictish, for he tells us in his *Life of St. Columba*, in two places,¹⁹ that that saint was obliged to communicate with the Picts through an interpreter.

Edward Llyud thought he found in the names of rivers and other topographical designations in Britain, especially in South Britain, traces of an ancient Gaedhelic occupation anterior to that of the British. Mr. Garnett showed that such topographical terms as *pen*, *pant*, *nant*, *comb*, *chevin*, which occur in every county, are like Welsh; while the terms *cluain*, *sliabh*, &c. are the characteristic topographical terms in Irish names. Cornish was obviously the language of south-west England; and Giraldus Cambrensis tells us that in his time it was still spoken over a considerable portion of that region. According to Cæsar the Southern British were Belgæ, so that Cornish represents the language once spoken on both sides of the English Channel. Nevertheless there are abundant traces of a Gaedhelic occupation of parts of Britain anterior to the conquest of the Dalriadic Scots. Welsh writers formerly either altogether ignored or paid little attention to the unmistakable evidence of a Gaedhelic conquest of the west coast of Britain from the Clyde to the Severn. The Romans found three tribes in Wales, and Ptolemy clearly distinguishes them; they were the Ordovices in the north, the Demetæ in the south on the sea, and eastwards of them, towards the Severn, the Silures. The names of the last two appear after the establishment of the Roman power, and have been preserved in the Welsh names of Dyfed²⁰ and Essyllwg, while that of Ordovices disappears, and in place of it we have Venedotiæ, which corresponds to the Welsh Gwynedd, a name likewise given to the country of Vannes in Brittany. The cause of this change of name is obscure, and accordingly many theories have been proposed to account for it. Mr. Beale Poste,²¹ for instance, derives it from Genuunia, the population of which became the ruling power. Herr Walter, however, correctly points out²² that he commits an error in connecting the name Guntia, found on an inscription at Chester,²³ with this district. Mr. Basil Jones²⁴ connects

¹⁸ *Hist. Eccl.* vol. iii. p. 6.

¹⁹ Dr. Reeves' edition; b. i. c. xxxiii. p. 62, and b. ii. c. xxxii. p. 145.

²⁰ *m* is almost always represented by *f* in Welsh.

²¹ *Britannic Researches*, 7, 15, 18.

²² *Das alte Wales*, 83, note 7.

²³ *Orelli Inscript.* i. 2064.

²⁴ *Vestiges of the Gael in Gwynedd*,—*Archæol. Cambrens.* Suppl. 1850, pp. 1-85.

the change of name with the arrival of a new tribe, the Gwynidians, under Cunedda.²⁵ The Triads mention the name of the Irishman who led the conquering expedition, which was afterwards expelled by the descendants of this Cunedda, to be Ganwal or Ganfal. He has not been as yet identified in Irish history; but it seems to us nevertheless to be more probable that the change of name was connected with that expedition. According to the Triads, the duration of this conquest was only twenty-nine years. Mr. Basil Jones²⁶ makes the principal occupation (for it appears there were several), from other traditions, to have been from 129 to 329 years. The latter term, as M. de Belloguet remarks, would be sufficient to account for the impression which the Gaedhelic occupation has left on Britain. Mr. Basil Jones²⁷ places the invasion of Cunedda in the middle of the fifth century; Nennius and Rice Rees²⁸ assign an earlier date, in which M. de Belloguet agrees. Herr Walter²⁹ says it occurred in the fourth or fifth century, which we may perhaps interpret as the end of the fourth century.

This Gaedhelic occupation of North Wales appears to be one of the chief links between Irish and Welsh tradition. It is perhaps to this period that we should assign the beautiful legend of the Irish princess Iseult or Isolde and Tristan, upon which is based one of the most celebrated of the old French romances of chivalry, of which there have been many versions; as well as also one of the best middle High Dutch poems—the Tristan and Isolde of Master Godfrey of Strasburg. For we have Morhault, the brother of the Queen of Ireland, demanding tribute from Marc king of Cornwall, uncle of Tristan. This champion is encountered by Tristan, and forced to fly back to Ireland, mortally wounded. The whole myth of Aurthur evidently comes in here; and in this way we may perhaps account for his having no recognised place in Welsh annals. The historic kings of Wales are, in fact, of the race of Cunedda, all the old traditions of whom belong to the Pictish kingdoms of Scotland, or the British ones of Strathclyde or Bernicia—that is, to the north of England and south of Scotland; while the whole of the saga of Aurthur belongs to the south and south-west of England and South Wales.

It was Tacitus's opinion that the Silures of South Wales

²⁵ It is not worth while to notice the very peculiar view of Mr. Wright (*Trans. of the Hist. Soc. of Lancashire and Cheshire*, vol. viii. 1856). According to his usual rule of rejecting all so-called Celtic traditions or documents, he accounts for the change by supposing an invasion to have taken place after the Roman occupation from Brittany. Here he not only sets the Welsh and Breton traditions at naught, but also geography.

²⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 23.

²⁸ *Welsh Saints*, p. 110.

²⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 26-28.

²⁹ *Op. cit.* p. 75.

came from Spain;³⁰ and Dionysius Periegetes tells us that the Iberians held the islands of the coast of Cornwall known as the Estrymnides or Cassiterides.³¹ The traditions of the Welsh themselves point to an Iberian origin; and we shall see hereafter how completely they harmonise with the Irish traditions in this respect. It seems probable, therefore, that the Gaelic occupation of North Wales was primarily brought about through affinity of race, and that at one period the language of Wales was identical with that of Ireland. In the Triads an ancestor of the famous Silurian prince Caractacus is called *Llediaith*, or man of half language, or otherwise of foreign speech. The British speech was perhaps introduced first into North Wales by the descendants of Cunedda; and hence the purest Welsh has always been spoken there, because the power of the Cunedian princes only extended slowly, by conquest and marriage, over South Wales. Giraldus Cambrensis alludes, in fact, to this difference of language, when he tells us that the reason why the language of South Wales was not as pure as in Gwynedd was the existence of a mixed race, which implied that it had not been so thoroughly conquered as the northern country.

It would be curious if the influence of Irish traditions could be traced in the old Welsh poetry. Some Welsh poems founded upon events which occurred in Ireland certainly do exist; but we are unable to say when or how they got there. They may be only translations of Irish poems made in the eleventh century. One of these poems was published in the *Welsh Archaeology*, (vol. i. p. 168), under the name of *Marwnad Corroi Mab Dairy*, or the Death-Song of Curoi, son of Daire. It has been translated by Mr. Stephens in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*.³² He considers it to refer to Cuichelm, one of the West-Saxon kings, who died in 636. The name which he thus supposes to be Saxon occurs in the following lines:

“ Chwedlen amgwyddir o wir hyd law
Cyfranc Corroy a Chocholyn.”

“ Tales will be known to me from the sky to earth,
Of the encounter of Corroi and Chocholyn.”

³⁰ *Agricola*, 11.

³¹ αὐτὰρ ἐπ' ἄκρην
ἶρην ἦν ἐνέπουσι κάρην ἔμην Εὐρωπέης
νήσους Ἑσπερίδας τόθι κασιγέτροιο γενέθλη,
ἀφνειοὶ ναίουσιν ἀγαύων παῖδες Ἰβήρων. 561.

Or as given by Priscian:

Sed summam contra sacram cognomine, dicunt
Quam caput Europæ, sunt stanni pondere plenæ
Hesperides: populus tenuit quas fortis Iberi.

Prisciani Periegesis e Dionysio, 574.

³² New Series, vol. ii. p. 150.

But he knows nothing of Corroi. Mr. Skene³³ has, however, correctly connected the two names with Cuchulainn, a celebrated Ulster hero, and Cu Roi Mac Dairé, who was king of West Munster. But as the latter was traditionary head of the so-called Feinian Militia of Munster, and connected, according to Mr. Skene, with the Feinne of Breatan, which he considers not to be Wales, but the southern districts of Scotland, he believed the events of the poem to belong to the Strathclyde kingdom, of which Dunbreatan or Dunbarton was the capital. In an additional note, suggested perhaps by the notice of the original tale in the lectures of Professor O'Curry, he admits that it refers to the death of the West-Munster king, who is styled the Lord of the Southern Sea, and whose palace of Cathair Conroy, near the present Tralee, in the county of Kerry, was destroyed at the same time. This tale, which is mentioned in the Book of Leinster, and of which there is, according to the late Professor O'Curry,³⁴ an ancient copy preserved in a Ms. in the British Museum (Egerton, 88), is very interesting in connection with the subject we have been just discussing, for it opens with an account of an expedition to the Isle of Man.³⁵

To resume: Britain was first occupied by Ligurian or allied races, and perhaps by Iberians also, if that race was really distinct from the first named. These were succeeded by Celtic tribes, chiefly from the north coast of France and Belgium, who subjugated their predecessors and imposed their language upon them. The Celts of England were in turn conquered by the Romans, who founded cities or enlarged already existing ones, and introduced municipal institutions. The number of cities having the full privileges usually accorded to Roman cities, besides large towns and military stations, was considerable. Though the Roman legions, especially under the Empire, were recruited from every part of the then known world, still the officers and all the civic magistrates of the cities and towns must have spoken Latin. The superior classes of Britons too, especially in the neighbourhood of the large towns, must have learned that language and adopted Roman habits. There can be no doubt, therefore, that Latin must have generally supplanted the British language in the cities and large towns, and in the districts along the great highways, at the commencement of the fourth century. In the mountainous or remote districts,

³³ *The Dean of Lismore's Book*, introduction, lxxxiii., and additional note, p. 141.

³⁴ *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Irish History*, p. 587, note 158.

³⁵ The Isle of Man was called Monapia; there was a tribe in Ireland called Manapii; the present St. David's in South Wales was anciently Menevia and Menapia. Ledwich (p. 9) quotes Rowland's *Mona Ant.* p. 27, and says that Menapia was founded by Irishmen.

such as the provinces of *Britannia Secunda* or Wales, and *Maxima Cæsariensis*, which comprised the modern counties of York, Lancaster, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Durham, and reached to Hadrian's or Severus's wall, the Roman language and customs can have made very little progress. It is true the latter province contained one of the most important cities, Eburacum or York; but it was subject to frequent incursions of the British tribes first known as Caledonians, from the name of one of their most warlike clans, who, besides limiting the Roman influence to the cities which were walled and had garrisons, kept alive a spirit of resistance to Roman rule among the brave and free Brigantes, the tribe which chiefly occupied that part of Britain. This progress must have been still less in the unsettled province of *Valentia*, comprising Northumberland and the Scottish Lowlands, or the districts between the walls of Antoninus and Severus, in which the Romans never had more than fortified camps.

The spread of Christianity in the third and fourth centuries must have largely contributed to the spread of the Latin language. For that Christianity had made great progress up to the beginning of the fourth century is proved by the presence of three British bishops at the council of Arles in the year 314. Even Tertullian had already borne witness to the spread of it in Britain in his time.

In the third and beginning of the fourth century the relative positions of the Roman power, customs, and languages to the British must have been very similar to that which the English in Ireland held with respect to the Irish in the sixteenth century, after nearly four hundred years of occupation:—a large tract represented by the old pale, almost thoroughly anglicised; a number of towns through the country, where English was spoken by the burgesses or enfranchised citizens, in the midst of an Irish-speaking population scattered through the country; a number of strongholds belonging to English chieftains who spoke English and had English customs, but whose retainers were Irish; and lastly, a number of independent Irish princes, who were in relations alternately of peace and hostility with the English government, which claimed suzerainty over them, and in whose territories Irish laws, customs, and language exclusively prevailed.

As the Roman power declined, the northern parts of Roman Britain became a prey to the free Caledonians. British chiefs who had submitted to the Roman domination also, no doubt, threw off their allegiance to Rome, whenever they felt secure enough. In this way, a number of independent principalities arose, governed chiefly by Caledonians,—that is, Pictish chief-

tains. M. de Belloguet speaks of this change as a revolution by which the old names disappeared, and the new ones of Picts and Scots appear. "The Caledonians, until then dominant, amalgamated with the Picts, who were simply Britons freed from the Roman yoke. They divided themselves into southern Picts or Dicaledones, and northern Picts or Vecturiones; while Irish adventurers ravaged the coast from the Clyde to the Severn." These Irish adventurers were the Scots of the Roman writers of the period, who had evidently begun to settle along the whole coast of Britain, soon after the first conquest, by the Romans. The Scotie settlers north of the Solway were the Gwyddyl Ffichti, or Irish Picts of the Triads, a remnant of whom still held Galloway in the fifth century, unless, indeed, we look upon them as a still later immigration. Those who invaded the coasts south of the Solway, and founded the first kingdom of Gwynedd, were the Gwyddyls of Ganwall of the Triads.

After the withdrawal of the Roman garrisons from Britain by Stilicho, in the reign of Honorius, in order to provide means of resisting the invasion of the Vandals, Burgundians, and other tribes, the Britons appear to have elected two kings or emperors, whom they afterwards murdered. They then, induced perhaps by the lustre of his name, elected a common soldier named Constantine, who, spurred by the ambition, so common among Roman generals, of becoming emperor of the West, led an army into Gaul, which he held, with various fortune, for a considerable time. The ideas which prompted this expedition show how thoroughly romanised a considerable part of Britain must have been at that time. The expedition weakened still further the military power of the country, which appears to have gradually split up into a number of petty kingdoms, and to have become an easy prey to the unromanised tribes of the north. We know nothing of those of Lloegria, except as regards the Damnonian kingdom of Cornwall, which embraced the greater part of Devon. In Wales there were several principalities; and north of the Humber four kingdoms grew up—Deifyr or Deira, corresponding to Yorkshire; Bryneich or Bernicia, extending from the Forth to the frontiers of Deira; the Strathclyde kingdom, stretching from the Clyde to Cumberland; and Cumbria or Cambria, embracing the county just mentioned, and extending south to Wales. The two last kingdoms appear to have been subsequently united into one.

To the north of these lay the Celtic tribes which, under the collective names of Caledonians and Picts, had never been subdued by the Romans. Along the western side remnants of the Gwyddel Ffichti no doubt still remained, and may have had something to do with the second Scotie invasion, out of which

grew the kingdom of the Dalriadic Scots, and ultimately the kingdom of Scotland.

The kingdoms or principalities of Deira, Bryneich, Cumbria, and Strathclyde consisted, as we have seen, of the Roman provinces of Maxima Cæsariensis and Valentia. These provinces had not been much affected by the Roman occupation, and during and subsequent to the last Roman wars must have received a considerable accession of Pictish or northern adventurers, who seized upon the power. Many, nay most, of these were not Christians, as is shown by the conversion of Rhydderch Hael, the king of Strathclyde, so late as the middle of the sixth century; and of the Pictish king and his subjects by St. Columba about the same time.

The petty princes throughout the whole country appear to have perpetually quarrelled among themselves. The municipal institutions and higher material civilisation of the romanised part would naturally predispose the inhabitants to peace. There is no doubt, too, that the Roman intermixture had made the English people very different from their northern relatives. On the other hand, there was an aggressive spirit in the northern people, which was no doubt encouraged by the hope of plunder in the southern cities. Each party appears, notwithstanding the quarrels within it, to have combined against the other, under the direction of a *Gwledig* or *dux bellator*, who perhaps always possessed at least the semblance of supreme power, like the Irish monarchs. On the occasion of one of these combined attacks of the North, Vortigern, the king of Roman Britain, called in the aid of the Saxons, who used the opportunity to subdue the country.

The Triads tell us that the Coranians and Saxons united, and by violence and conquest brought the Lloegrians into confederacy with them, and subsequently took the crown of the monarchy from the tribe of the Cambrians, and there remained none of the Lloegrians that did not become Saxons, except those that are found in Cornwall, and in the commot of Carnoban in Deira and Bernicia. Elsewhere we are told that the Cæsarians, or descendants of the Romans, also aided the Saxons against the Kymry. From this it would appear that Vortigern, who was a native Briton, belonged to the tribe of the Coranians.

One of the incursions of the northern Britons, which took place apparently during the decline of the Roman power, and before the descent of Hengist and Horsa (*i. e.* before A.D. 449), was that of Cunedda into Gwenedd or North Wales. We have already referred to this event, and given the dates at which it occurred according to different writers. It was destined to be of very great importance subsequently; for it established the

British language in Wales, brought the poetry and traditions of the north into that country, and supplanted or confused those which were indigenous there. The chief Welsh poets of the sixth century, the founders of the so-called Kymric literature, are from the northern kingdoms of the Britons, Caledonians, and Picts. Taliesin was bard at the court of Urien, king of Rheged, which was not in Glamorgan, as Dr. Owen Pughe, without any authority, conjectures, but in the north, where he appears to have contended against Ida and the Angles. His brother was Llew, king of the Picts, and the reputed maternal grandfather of St. Kentigern.³⁶ Herr Walter³⁷ has, contrary to his usual sound judgment, unaccountably fallen into the same mistake. Aneurin, who is considered to be the author of the poem called *Gododin*,³⁸ was a Pictish prince from some part of the present Scottish lowlands. The subject of the poem is the battle of Cattraeth or Calatross in Linlithgow, fought between the Dalriadic Scots, under Domhnall Breacc, and the Picts. The different hypotheses put forward by Welsh writers about the locality and circumstances of this battle illustrate the confusion which has been created in Welsh traditions by not recognising the true ethnic relations of the people of Great Britain. Mr. E. Davies believed the poem to refer to a supposed massacre of three hundred Cambrian chiefs by Hengist and the Saxons, who had invited them to a feast at Stonehenge. Mr. Thomas Price dissents from this view, but cannot explain it. Mr. Stephens, who quotes these opinions,³⁹ thinks the subject of the poem is an expedition of the Ottadini, a tribe who occupied the shores of Northumberland from Flamborough Head to the Forth, against Cataracton, a Roman town in York (now Catterick), then most probably held by the Brigantes. He, however, admits that the whole scene and actions were in the north, and not in Wales or the neighbouring parts of England.⁴⁰

³⁶ See Mr. A. Herbert's notes to the Irish version of Nennius published by the Irish Archaeological Society, p. xxxvi.

³⁷ *Das alte Wales*, p. 301.

³⁸ *Y Gododin*; a poem on the battle of Caltraeth, by Aneurin, a Welsh bard of the sixth century: with an English translation, and numerous historical and critical annotations, by the Rev. John Williams ab Ithel. Llandovery, 1852. M. Th. Hersant de Villemarqué has also published the text and a French translation of this poem in his *Poèmes des Bardes Bretons du VIIe Siècle*, Paris, 1850. This work contains excellent notices of the lives of the poets; but he also appears to make the same mistake about Rheged.

³⁹ *The Literature of the Kymry; being a critical essay on the history of the Language and Literature of Wales, &c.*, by Thomas Stephens. Llandovery, 1849. p. 11.

⁴⁰ See Dr. Reeves's edition of the *Life of St. Columba*, by St. Adamnan, published by the Archaeological Society of Ireland, p. 202 note, and note d, p. 371. Mr. Williams commits a mistake as to the locality of Eiddyn, the siege of which is mentioned in the poem, which he thought to be Edinburgh: the latter was anciently Agned and Dunmonaidh; while the Eiddyn of the poem was Cair Edin, now Carriden on the Forth.

Llywarch Hen was also a northern prince. And lastly, the mysterious Merlin or Merddin ap Madog Morvyrn (Merddin son of Madog Morvyrn), was a Caledonian or Pict, although it has been sometimes stated that he was born at Caermarthen. Geoffroy of Monmouth made the mistake of confounding him with Myrddin Emrys or Merlin Ambrose. Herr Schulz⁴¹ and Mr. Stephens⁴² make the same mistake, which they endeavour to justify. The Merlin to whom the *Avallenau*, or apple-garden, and the *Hoianu* are usually attributed, and the Merlin of popular tradition, was a northern poet, brother to Gwenddydd, the wife of Rhydderch Hael or Rodarchus Largus, king of the Strathclyde Britons. He and Maelgwn, of the Cunedda line, king of Gwynedd or North Wales, appear to have waged war on the allied Scots and Picts under Aedhan, or Aidan, king of the Scots, and Gwenddoleu ap Keidiaw, king of the Picts; the latter was slain at the battle of Arderlydd, which was fought about 577.⁴³ Mr. Algernon Herbert⁴⁴ is of opinion that the origin of this battle was "connected with the highest points of bardic theosophy;" and Mr. Stephens⁴⁵ says that Rhydderch Hael, "having been converted by St. Columba [? St. Kentigern] from Druidism to Christianity, became the ardent advocate of the latter; and in its defence fought the battle of Arderlydd against Gwenddoleu ab Keidiaw, an upholder of the ancient faith. It is curious how this mysterious subject of Druidism has got hold of the minds of some men. We cannot see what Druidism had to do with the mutual quarrels of neighbouring princes, ambitious of grasping each other's territories when they were not engaged with some common enemy. It is true Rhydderch was called champion of the faith;⁴⁶ but the Scots were Christians, and

⁴¹ *Die Sagen von Merlin*, Halle, 1853.

⁴² Op. cit. p. 208. Herr Walter (*Das alte Wales*, note 15, p. 304) mentions some notices in the Jolo Mss. on the difference between the two Merlins, which, he says, Herr Schulz and Mr. Stephens do not appear to have taken into account. See on this subject Mr. A. Herbert's notes to the Irish Nennius, p. xxxiv.

⁴³ The Scots appear to have subsequently avenged this disaster by taking Alclut, the residence of Rhydderch; at least, this seems to be deducible from the Triads, 46, 52, *Myvyrian Archaeology*, ii. p. 11, 66, quoted by Dr. Reeves in his edition of St. Adamnan's Life of St. Columba, p. 44, note e. One of the "three expensive battles of the Isle of Britain was when Aeddan Vradog went to Alclut to the court of Rydderch Hael: he consumed all the meat and drink in the palace, leaving not as much as would feed a fly, and he left neither man nor beast alive, but destroyed all." The term *vradog*, applied to Aidan, means treacherous, because he is said to have joined the Saxons. The Triads say Aeddan, "the traitor of the north, who, with his men, made submission to the power of the Saxons, that they might be able to support themselves by confusion and pillage, under the Saxon protection." Nevertheless he went against King Edilfrid, in 603, with a large army; apparently, as Mr. Skene thinks (Dr. Reeves's Life of St. Columba by St. Adamnan, note p. 437), as Gwledig, or commander-in-chief of the confederate Scots and Britains, and was defeated.

⁴⁴ Irish version of Nennius, p. xxxv.

⁴⁵ Op. cit. p. 247.

⁴⁶ *Myvyr. Arch.* i. p. 135.

their king, Aidan, a relative of St. Columba, had been formally inaugurated as lord of Dalriada by him at his monastery of Hy, and had been accompanied by the saint to the convention of Druimceatt in Ireland, where, chiefly by his influence, the Irish king was forced to abandon his claims to the chief sovereignty of British Dalriada, whereby that province became thereafter an independent kingdom. So great, indeed, was the friendship between the saint and the king, that Irish writers style the former "soul's friend," or *confessarius*, of King Aidan.⁴⁷ The Picts too were gradually becoming Christians through the labours of St. Columba. Merddin took part in the battle of Arderydd on the Scottish and Pictish side; and in the *Hoianu*⁴⁸ Rhydderch Hael is satirised, and Gwenddoleu is thus described :⁴⁹

"I have seen Gwenddoleu, with the precious gifts of princes,
Gathering prey from every extremity of the land;
Beneath the red turf is he now resting, the most gentle
Of northern sovereigns."

The poem from which this passage is taken, as well as all the other poems usually attributed to Merddin, are now generally considered not to be genuine. Mr. Stephens has shown that they belong to the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century. The character of the language is a sufficient proof that the poems, in the form in which we have them, were certainly not written in the sixth century. But it does not follow that similar ones might not have been written by Merddin. An examination of the poems themselves shows that they are made up of old and new materials worked into a connected piece, to suit the circumstances of the time in which they were modified; and all that is old belongs to the north.

Owing to the perpetual feuds between the Celtic tribes, of which we have the results in such battles as those of Calatross and Arderydd, all the small principalities in the Scottish lowlands and Northumberland were one by one conquered by the Angles. This occurred, no doubt, much in the same way as in Ireland, by one prince invoking the aid of the Saxons to crush a rival, to be of necessity crushed in turn on some other occasion. The Scots, on their side, appear to have played a similar part to that of the Saxons; for although checked for a while by the rash folly of Domhnal Breacc, who weakened his power by engaging in war-

⁴⁷ Adamnan's Life of St. Columba, lxxvi., note *h*.

⁴⁸ *Hoianu*, neu *Borchellanau Merddin*, that is, "The Listeners, or the Piggings of Merddin," is the title given in the *Myvyrian Archæology* to a poem each stanza of which commences with *Oian a porchellan*, or "Listen, O little pig." Another poem attributed to Merddin, called the *Avellenau*, or *Apple-trees of Merddin*, consists of a number of stanzas, each of which commences with *Afallen beren*, "Sweet apple-tree."

⁴⁹ Stephens's *Literature of the Kymry*, p. 262.

fare in Ireland, where he was defeated at the battle of Magh Rath, they ultimately united into one kingdom of Scotland all the Pictish principalities, even those which had formed part of Anglian Bernicia, and had become completely anglicised. The Angles began to land on the coast in the beginning of the sixth century; but the establishment of the Anglican kingdom of Bernicia was only finally effected by Ida about 547, while that of Deira was established about 560. From Deira the invaders pushed westwards, and, about 586, founded the new kingdom of Mercia. To the wars of this period we should probably refer all the poems relating to Urien. At the commencement of the seventh century the Picts, using that term for all the Celts not Scots, only held the kingdom of Strathclyde, Wales, and Cornwall. Not long after, Cambria was conquered, and the Strathclyde principality passed to the Scots.

The poem of *Gododin* affords us, we think, evidence that the conquest of Bernicia and Deira was effected by the aid of some of the Britons who joined the Saxons in plundering their neighbours. The bard relates how the spears of the British heroes, who are in the present version Kymric, of course, have often broken the ranks of Lloegrian hordes and of the Gael; but the men of Bryneich [Bernicia] and Deivyr [Deira] are now on the Saxon side, and of these accordingly the son of Ysgyran makes great slaughter:

“Five battalions fell before his blades,
Even of the men of Deivyr and Bryneich, uttering groans.”

The wrath of the poet is greatest against the men of Bryneich, who are looked upon as traitors; and ever after among the Britons a man of Bryneich, or a Northumbrian, is a term of bitter scorn and hate, and synonymous with traitor.⁵⁰

There exists a common belief, that on the retirement of the Romans the whole people returned to their ancient habits and customs, forgot the Latin language, and rejected all the advantages of the material civilisation of the Romans. Another notion of the same kind is that, as the Saxons advanced, the Britons either were slaughtered or took refuge in Wales or Cornwall, and that consequently the inhabitants of both those districts, but especially of the former, are the remnants of the romanised Britons not slaughtered by the Saxons. We believe, on the contrary—and in the foregoing pages we think it has been satisfactorily shown—that the ruling race of Wales, which was a noble and a valorous one, was never romanised, and was not the remains of the retiring wave of Britons driven into their last home, the mountains, by the advancing Saxons, but was itself

⁵⁰ See notes to Mr. Williams's edition of *Y Gododin*, pp. 89, 94.

an invading race from the north, with all its traditions fresh, and its bards unaffected by Roman influence.

No doubt, many fugitive Britons found an asylum in Wales and Cornwall; and we have evidence that many emigrated to Armorica, taking with them the songs and traditions of their race, and mingling them inextricably with those of a kindred nation. The great mass of the people, however, remained upon the soil as its cultivators, subject to the rule of the Saxons, and finally accepting their language, and sowing amidst them the germs of civilisation and of municipal liberty. The rude Saxon warrior no doubt devastated the land, and murdered many of its inhabitants; but we know that even in the most savage wars the numbers which really perish bear but a small proportion to the total population. We may be sure that the Saxons looked upon the Britons themselves as one of the most valuable parts of their spoil. That it was so is abundantly proved by the laws of the Saxons. Camden quotes from some old record a sentence which epitomises all that we could say upon the subject: "Egfrid gave to St. Cuthbert the land called Carthmell, and all the Britons in it."⁵¹

All thoughtful writers are beginning to see, slowly no doubt, but not the less certainly, that although the English language is a pure descendant of a low German dialect, it does not follow that the race that speaks it is an equally pure descendant of a Saxon tribe.⁵² Those who talk of the pure Anglo-Saxon people of England forget that, though languages do not amalgamate, races do; and that amalgamation of races is greatest where industry and liberty flourish, purity of race being most frequently characteristic of barbarism. We commend this view of ethnology to the special attention of some of the Lowland Scots, who have more Celtic blood in their veins than the Welsh, but who are nevertheless the apostles of a very dogmatic ethnology, which wholly ignores tradition and history.

We come at length to the ethnology of Ireland. Irish records mention nine distinct immigrations into Ireland before the arrival of the Norsemen on the east coast: 1, Partholan and his followers; 2, the Fomorians or Fomharaigh, that is, men of the sea; 3, Nemedians; 4, Firbolgs or Belgæ; 5, Tuatha De Danann; 6, the Gaels or Milesians; 7, the Cruitne or Irish Picts; 8, the Britons called Tuatha Fidgha, or savage tribes; and 9, the Galli of Labhraidh Loingsiach.

Partholan and his people are stated to have come from Greig-

⁵¹ *Britannia*, vol. iii. p. 380.

⁵² See on this subject the observations of the late Mr. Kemble, in his paper *On the Names, Surnames, and Nicknames of the Anglo-Saxons*, read before the Archæological Institute, September 1846, pp. 5, 22.

Medbónach, a name which has been usually translated Greece, but which Mr. J. O'Mahoney does not know how to explain.⁵³ M. de Belloguet considers that it refers to Mygdonia or Mæonia, otherwise Lydia. According to tradition, Partholan and all his people perished of the plague. Mr. O'Mahoney suggests that they were killed by the Fomorians. We consider them to have been identical with the Fomorians, and both with the Gaedhil or Gael, as we hope to prove in the sequel.

The Fomorians have been the subject of much speculation. Even the Irish traditions do not agree as to what they were. At one time they are represented as pirates and sea-robbers who were descended from Cham, and who came to Ireland from Africa; at another, as the oldest inhabitants of the country; and at another, as giants⁵⁴ in perpetual war with the successive colonies who occupied the country. O'Flaherty believed them to have been Scandinavians from Denmark, Norway, Finland.⁵⁵ Dr. Latham makes them Pomeranians.⁵⁶ O'Flaherty has simply confounded them with the Norsemen of later times; and Dr. Latham has given us a specimen of the arbitrary speculation which constitutes so much of ethnology—a mere similarity of names, often in their most modern forms, being considered of more value than the deep-rooted traditions of a nation. The late Professor O'Curry, in a note to his edition of the Irish tale, *The Children of Tuireann*,⁵⁷ has thrown some very interesting light upon the subject by the publication of a curious pedigree of Balor Bailcheimnech, or Balor of the Stout Blows, a celebrated Fomorian chief. This unique pedigree is contained in a beautiful Irish Ms. of the first part of the twelfth century, which is preserved in the Bodleian Library (Rawlinson, 505). An examination, which is as yet very superficial, of this pedigree has convinced us that it affords a key to much that is obscure in Irish ethnology. We shall accordingly attempt a comparison of some of the names which it contains with those of ancient peoples. In doing so, however, we beg our readers to remember that our comparisons are only conjectures, though still they are legitimate inductions which accord most singularly with the whole body of Irish traditions, and with the results of the latest investigations of the ethnology of western Europe.

Like all Irish pedigrees, this one is carried up to Noe. This

⁵³ Keating's *History of Ireland*, edited by John O'Mahoney, p. 114.

⁵⁴ Giraldus Cambrensis calls them "gygantes (quibus tunc temporis abundabat insula)," and "pyrati qui Hiberniam graviter depopulari consueverant." *Annals of the Four Masters*, edited by John O'Donovan, LL.D., vol. i. p. 11, note f.

⁵⁵ *Ogygia*, part iii. c. 56, p. 303.

⁵⁶ Prichard's *Celtic Nations*, Dr. Latham's edition, p. 159.

⁵⁷ *Atlantis*, vol. iv. p. 234.

habit of engrafting pedigrees on the biblical trunk has brought a great deal of unjust contempt upon Irish and Welsh records. In reality, however, the value of the pedigrees has not suffered from the process; and we have merely to reject the biblical part, to find what the true national traditions were before they were subjected to the influence of Christianity. Rejecting, then, the Noachian part as unnecessary, we select the following names, which we consider to be eponyms, in the order of their antiquity: Silcat Plog, Liburnn, repeated once; Galach Mercill (in whom the Fomorian families meet); Leccdubh, Car, Hiphite, Philist. We may perhaps connect Silcat with Cilicia, the inhabitants of which, according to Gesenius, are not Semitic. In the pedigree it stands close to Liburn, and may on that account be connected with the Siculi. According to Pliny,⁵⁸ the Siculi and Liburnii were two ancient nations of Italy, apparently belonging to what is called the Illyrian family of peoples. Galach certainly suggests Gaelach Gaedhil, the Kallaikoi or Gallacci of the modern Galicia in the north of Spain, near to which was the city of Brigantium. Herodotus⁵⁹ mentions Galaica upon the frontiers of Thessaly, which oddly enough was called in his time Briantica. Mercill may perhaps be compared with Marici, a people of Liguria, Marucini, a people of Latium. Lecc (we omit *dubh*, which is Irish for black), Plog, and Car are too like Leleges, Pelasgians, and Carians to be accidental. These three peoples are frequently mentioned together,⁶⁰ and Herodotus⁶¹ tells us that under the government of Minos they occupied the islands of the Ægean Sea, whence they emigrated to the mainland. But he adds, the Carians themselves believe that they were the primitive inhabitants of the mainland where they dwelt, and have always had the same name; and in proof of this they pointed out an ancient temple of Carius in the country of the Mylasians, in which the Mysians and the Lydians have the right of worshipping as fraternal races of the Carians; for Lydus and Mysus were brothers of Car. And he further adds that those who are of a different race, although they may have come to speak the Carian tongue, are excluded from the temple. In Homer,⁶² another allied race, the Caucones, is mentioned. Herodotus⁶³ thought this people to have been indigenous; but they themselves, as he tells us, believed that they came from Crete. He also says that he considered the Lycians to have come from that island. Now the Caucones, according to the results of

⁵⁸ iii. c. 14, 15.⁵⁹ vii. 108.⁶⁰ Hom. *Il.* x. 428.⁶¹ i. 171; cf. also Strabo, vii. Thucydides (i. 8.) also mentions the occupation of the Cyclades by the Carians.⁶² *Il.* x. 428.⁶³ i. 172.

modern investigation, were Lycians, as their coins and architecture show.⁶⁴ And lastly, the Carians too were connected with Crete.⁶⁵ The relations of the Caucones to our immediate subject will become apparent in the sequel; but it may be useful to note here that, among the names of tribes inhabiting the east coast of Ireland mentioned by Ptolemy, is that of the Cauçi (*Καῦκοι*); while in the country of the Vaccæi, an Iberian tribe, of which Salmantica, the modern Salamanca, was the capital, we find mention of a city called Cauca (*Καύκα*, whose inhabitants were called *Καυκαῖοι*).

The Pelasgians form one of the mysteries of ethnologies; the ancient writers, as we have seen, associated them, however, with the Carians, Caunians, Lycians, and other races of Asia Minor, the Greek Islands, and Greece itself. Strabo⁶⁶ reckons the Caucones among the earliest inhabitants of Greece, and associates them with Pelasgi, Leleges, and Dryopes. The Leleges were certainly more nearly related to the Pelasgi than the Carians; but there can be no doubt, from other passages in the same author,⁶⁷ that the Carians, Pelasgians, and Leleges were of the same race. Philist may perhaps be connected with Philistus, son of Pasicles, mentioned by Herodotus⁶⁸ as going from Attica to Asia with Neleus, or Neileus, son of Codrus, when he founded Miletus. This Codrus was son of Melanthus, and is described by Herodotus⁶⁹ as of the race of the Caucones, to which we have referred to above. Hiphite may perhaps be connected with the Hittites, or Khatti, who formed a confederacy of petty chieftaincies between Damascus and the Euphrates. They were the Cheta of the Egyptians, and are represented on the monuments of the latter as defeated enemies. Sir G. Wilkinson and Mr. Stuart Poole⁷⁰ imagine the Khitta or Hittites to have been a tribe of Scythians who had advanced to, and settled on, the Euphrates.

All the races we have mentioned may be divided, therefore, into three categories: 1. Pelasgians, Leccians or Leleges, Carians, Caucones; 2. Hittites; 3. Silcat, Liburnians, and Mercill or Marucini. The geographical position and supposed origin of the Hittites, as well as some apparently non-Semitic characteristics, tempt us to connect them with the Carians, Lycians, and other kindred races of Western Asia; so that in reality we have but two categories—Pelasgian and Illyrian races. Are these races distinct? We think not. We believe that the Siculi,

⁶⁴ Fellows's *Lycian Coins*, pp. 5, 6; quoted also in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 307.

⁶⁵ Pomponius Mela, i. 16.

⁶⁶ vii.

⁶⁷ xii., xiv.

⁶⁸ ix. 97.

⁶⁹ i. 147.

⁷⁰ Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 184. The Hittites are frequently mentioned in Scripture.

the Liburnii, the Marici or Marucini, belong to the race which occupied Middle and South Italy, the Illyrian coast, Macedonia, Greece, and the Asiatic shores of the Levant. Further, we conceive that the same race had colonised the whole northern coast of Africa, and had formed the basis of the Egyptian population, as well as of that of Cyrenaica, and of the ancient colonies of Utica, Hippo, Carthage, and other Phœnician settlements along that coast. The Indo-European Hellenes and Latins, and the highly Semitic races of the ancient world, were subsequent elements added, out of which grew the civilisation of the Mediterranean nations, first commencing with the Egyptians.

Niebuhr tells us that "there are different traditions about the first settlement of Cyrene: according to one the town was founded by Aristæus and his mother Cyrene, and according to another by the Antenorids. This we learn from Pindar's epinician hymns and his scholiasts; and these statements clearly show, either that a Tyrrheno-Pelasgian settlement existed there before the arrival of the Greeks, or at least that there was a belief that the coast had previously been inhabited by Pelasgians."⁷¹ The Gætuli were no doubt part of this race, which had displaced the Æthiopians, and in part mingled with them, producing the mixed race of the Melano-Gætuli, as the Punians did afterwards with the last, producing the mixed race of Libyphœnices. When the Carthaginians and the still older Phœnician settlements sent out expeditions to the Atlantic coast of Europe, the majority of these colonists were not pure Phœnicians, but Gætuli or Libyans, or the allied Ligurians of Gaul and Italy, who were undoubtedly part of the same race. It is no doubt to this association of other races with the Phœnician colonies of Britain that Avienus alludes in the following lines:

"Tartessisque in terminos Æstryrnidum
Negotiandi mos erat: Carthaginiis
Etiam coloni, et vulgus, inter Herculis
Agitans columnas, hæc adibant æquora."⁷²

This, too, is the opinion M. de Belloguet, who, from a different point of view, has singularly enough arrived at precisely similar conclusions—namely, that the Fomorian were Phœnician colonies composed mainly of Libyan Gætuli.⁷³ He goes farther, however; for in connecting Gaedhil with Gætuli, he

⁷¹ *Lectures on Ancient Ethnography and Geography*, translated by Dr. Schmitz, vol. ii. p. 328.

⁷² *Ora Maritima*, 113.

⁷³ M. de Belloguet shows that Livy (xxiii. 18) actually enumerates Gætuli among Hannibal's soldiers in Italy. He also refers to Herodotus, vii. 165, as to the constitution of the Carthaginian army, which Thero, king of Agrigentum, brought into Sicily under Hamilcar. This army consisted of Phœnicians, Libyans, Iberians, Ligurians, Elisycians (a Ligurian tribe, according to Hecætæus), Sardinians, and Corsicans.

comes to the conclusion to which all that we have said upon the subject of the Fomorian pedigree inevitably leads. Our conclusion receives confirmation where at first sight we might have least expected to find it, namely, in the Irish traditions themselves. In a curious poem of Mælmura of Othna or Fahan, who, according to the Annals of the Four Masters, died in 884, which is preserved in the Book of Leinster, and which has been published by Dr. Todd in his edition of the Irish version of Nennius, under the name of the Duan Eireannach, there is an account of the origin of the Gaedhil, which agrees wonderfully with the comparisons we ventured to make with the eponyms of the Fomorian pedigree. Neil, son of Fenius of Scythia, goes to Egypt and marries a daughter of the King Forainn, or Pharaoh, named Scotu, who bears him a son, Gaedhil glas; from these come the names Feni, Gaedhil, Scot. The sons of Nel, dreading the Egyptians, lest they should enslave them, fly the country, over the Caspian sea, leaving Glas, son of Agnoman, buried at Coronis on the sea of Libis. Afterwards the descendants of Glas settled in fiery Gaethluighe, and there they dwell two hundred years. Thence Brath son of Deageth sailed to the northern islands by the sparkling Mediterranean, by Crete, by Sicily, by the Columns of the mighty Hercules to Spain, where Bregond son of Brath ruled in Brigantia, and from the tower of Breogan could be seen the land of Eri. According to another poem, preserved in the *Leabhar Gabhála*, or "Book of Invasions of the O'Clerys," written by Gilla Caemhain, who died A.D. 1072, the descendants of Nel or Niul, after they left Egypt, remained for a considerable time in Scythia, which they attempted to conquer; but they were at length driven out. They then settled for a year on the Caspian Sea, where Agnoman, seventh in descent from Niul, died; setting out thence, they went on until

"They reached the full Libyan sea.
They sailed six full summer days.
Glas son of Agnoman the Wise
Died at Coronis."⁷¹

Dr. Todd has shown that Coronis is most probably Cyrene. A good deal of discussion has arisen about Gaethluighe, chiefly because of its having been written in one place Golgotha, and in another Gaethligh. Gilla Coemhain, above alluded to, makes it, however, Gaethluighe, which is the name adopted by O'Flaherty in his *Ogygia*, who makes it out to be Getulia, while others, in consequence of the blunder just referred to, make it Gothia, and others Galatia. We shall only add to this curious confirmation, that if Cyrenaica and Libya were the countries of the

⁷¹ See Dr. Todd's note in Irish version of Nennius, p. 234.

Gaedhil, the modern Berbers would be a kindred race. M. de Belloguet directs attention to the curious circumstance that the Berbers still call themselves *Djedalah*; and we may add that a comparison of the older Irish of the tales with Berber vocabularies shows that there are common elements. It must remain for future investigations to determine to which language they originally belonged.

The next immigration into Ireland was that of Nemedh or Neimhidh, who, according to one account, is supposed to have come from Scythia, by the northern seas, which would correspond with the perfectly Celtic form of the name Neimhidh. According to another account he came from Spain; and this would accord with the form Nemedh, which, as M. de Belloguet remarks, is perfectly Greek. The Celtic form is probably the more correct one. And they were apparently not of the same race as the Fomorians, by whom they were driven out of the country. The remnant expelled divided itself into three parts. Some, we are told, went into Greece, and became the ancestors of the Firbolgs; others went into the northern islands of Greece, and became the ancestors of the Tuatha De Danann; while the third party, under the leadership of Britan Mael, or the Bold, went into Anglesey, and were the ancestors of the Britons. The name itself is very important, as it connects this colony with names which abounded in Gaul and Spain, such as Nemeta, Nemetobriga, Nemetacum, &c.

Of the three branches into which the descendants of Neimhidh split, the first which made its appearance in Ireland was that of the Firbolgs. They were accompanied by two other tribes, who were probably allied to them—the Fir-Domnann and the Fir-Gaileoin. The former were probably part of the Domnii, who occupied the lowlands of Scotland, and appeared afterwards as southern Picts; and both were no doubt related to the Daomnonii of Cornwall. The Firbolgs were conquered by the second branch of the Nemedians, or mysterious people called the Tuatha De Danann. It is very curious that Breas, the herald sent by the Tuatha De Danann to the Firbolgs on their arrival in Ireland, was a Fomorian by his father, and was subsequently regent for the Tuatha De Danann, and ultimately the cause of a war between them, in which war the Fomorians were defeated, and their leader, the Balor whose pedigree we discussed above, was killed.

According to the usual arrangement of the Irish annals, the Tuatha De Danann were conquered by the Gaedhil, who are also called Scots. Now we have attempted to show that the original inhabitants were Gaedhil; and we are inclined to think with M. de Belloguet that the Scots are a different and

a much later immigration. The writer just quoted even suggests that their appearance may be connected with the famous Fenian militia, which was afterwards suppressed. This view corresponds with the first appearance of the name Scot in the wars of the Britains and Romans. The Scots certainly came from Spain, and appear to have been composed of several tribes—Celts, Gaedhil, Iberians or Basques, and Picts. The association of the Gaedhil naturally led to a fusion of traditions with the preëxisting Gaedhils, and, in fact, to the revival of the name which henceforward continued to be the collective appellative of all Irish races. The Cruithneans, or Irish Picts, whom we assume to have formed part of the Scotie invasion, were said to have emigrated from Thrace, and to have settled first in Gaul, where they founded Pictavium, now Poitiers.⁷⁵ Thus the whole immigration in question must have taken place from Aquitaine and Cantabria. We might, did space permit, show that a number of geographical names in Ireland and in West Britain are similar to those in the region just mentioned; but we must rest content with the mere statement of the fact. M. de Belloguet has mentioned several; but he has not fully seized, as we think, the true relations of the Scotie immigration, and he is not so instructive on this point, therefore, as he might otherwise have been.

We have included Basques among the tribes that formed the Scotie immigration; because, in the first place, the tradition existed in the twelfth century,—being expressly mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis and Radulphus de Diceto,—and such a tradition is said to exist among the Basques themselves; and in the second place, because certain names occur which seem to point to an origin of this kind. For example, the famous hero Finn Mac Cumhaill was descended of a Baiseni, from whom were the Clann Baiseni of Leinster and of Munster, of the latter of which Oscar son of Ossian was chief; moreover, the ancient principality of the Mac Mahons is called Corca-Baiscinn. It is true, the pedigree of Finn Mac Cumhaill, preserved in the Book of Leinster, makes him a descendant of the Heremonian line; but this rather proves the fusion of traditions.⁷⁶ M. de Bel-

⁷⁵ Diefenbach suggests that the Cruithneans, or Crutheni, may be the Rutheni of Aquitaine (*Celtica*, ii. 332).

⁷⁶ In the reign of Conn of the Hundred Battles,—who, according to the Annals of the Four Masters, was slain A.D. 157,—Mogh Nuadhah, better known as Eugene the Great, who was king of Munster, forced him to divide the kingdom with him. Subsequently, on the pretence that more ships resorted to the northern side of Dublin, which was in Conn's half, he declared war against him. In this war he was aided by an army of Spaniards, commanded by his brother-in-law, a Spanish prince named Fréjus. The battle was fought at Magh Leana, in the present parish of Moylana or Kilbride, near Tullamore, in the King's County. Eugene and his ally were both slain by Goll the son of Morna,

loguet, who also mentions these names, would have made the Scots and Basques one race, that is, he would have substantially adopted the view we have just put forward, if the Scots were not a decidedly fair or blond race. But this is just the question. In the preface to *Duald Mac Firbis*, as translated by Professor O'Curry, the following passage occurs:⁷⁷

"Every one who is white [of skin], brown [of hair], bold, honourable, daring, prosperous, bountiful in the bestowal of property, wealth, and rings, and who is not afraid of battle or combat; they are the descendants of Milesius in Erin."

"Every one who is fair-haired, vengeful, large; and every plunderer;⁷⁸ every musical person; the professors of musical and entertaining performances who are adepts in all druidical and magical arts; they are the descendants of the Tuatha De Danann in Erin."

"Every one who is black-haired, who is a tattler, guileful, tale-telling, noisy, contemptible; every wretched, mean, strolling, unsteady, and inhospitable person; every slave, every mean thief, every churl, every one who loves not to listen to music and entertainment, the disturbers of every council, and every assembly, and the promoters of discord among people; these are the descendants of the Firbolgs, of the Gailiuns, of Liogarne,

a Firbolg, or Celtic, as distinguished from Scotie, chief. A curious tract, containing an account of this battle, edited by the late Professor O'Curry, has been published by the Archaeological and Celtic Society of Ireland. On the death of Conn we have evidently a new dynasty in Conaire, who, eight years after, was killed by Neimhidh son of Sroibheinn. This Conary is stated to have had three sons—Cairbre (or Coirpre) Musc, from whom the Muscraige are called; Cairbre Baschaen, from whom are the Baiscigh in Corca-Baiscinn; and Cairbre Riadal, from whom are the Dal-Riada. After the death of Conaire the regular line was again restored in Art the son of Conn. In the twenty-first year of his reign, according to the Annals of the Four Masters, a battle was fought between the three Cairbres and Dadera the Druid of the Dairinni, Neimhidh son of Sroibheinn, who had slain the father of the Cairbres, and who is described as king of the Ernai. This battle is referred to the year 186. Again, in the year 195 another battle is fought,—a kind of domestic quarrel,—in which Art was killed, and in which foreigners were largely engaged; among whom are mentioned Beinne Brit, king of Britain, and Lioghairne, or, as O'Flaherty calls him, Ligurnus. Again we find that the Clanna Baisgne, or military tribe of Finn Mac Cumhaill, always aided the kings of Munster against the Clanna Morna, or military tribe of the Firbolgs, until, on the death of Finn Cairbre, the monarch of the time outlawed the Clanna Baisgne, and retained the services of the Clanna Morna only. The former retired to Munster, where they were retained in the service of their kinsman Maghcorb, contrary to the orders of the monarch of Ireland. This it was which led to the battle of Gabhra, in which the two clans almost exterminated each other, and in which Oscar the son of Oisín was killed. All this indicates the presence of a recent foreign element in the country.

⁷⁷ *Lectures on the Ms. Materials of Irish History*, p. 223.

⁷⁸ In the poetical version it is, "Every fair great cow-keeper on the plain, every artist, musical, harmonious, the workers of all secret necromancy," &c. *Ibid.* p. 580.

and of the Fir-Domhnanns in Erinn. But, however, the descendants of the Firbolgs are the most numerous of all these."

In the last passage we have again this name Liogarne; here, however, not as the name of a chief, but as that of a tribe. It is evident, both from its form and from the other names with which it is associated, that the Lloegrians are referred to. In this passage the four most important races of Britain—the Belgæ, Britons, Lloegrians, and Cornish are associated together, and represented as a black-haired people. They are harshly painted, with all the vices of an oppressed race, by one of the dominant military caste, or Scots, or of the sacerdotal and literary one of the Tuatha De Danann. It appears from this that the original race of Ireland, like that of Britain and Gaul, was dark-haired, and was conquered by a blond Celtic one. On the arrival of the second Celtic race—the Tuatha De Danann—the aristocracy formed by the first race was dispossessed, and must have been gradually absorbed by the plebeian race. As the Firbolgs were not every where subjugated by the Tuatha De Danann, or even by the Scots, it is probable that they were already to some extent a mixed race before they came from Britain; they must also have mingled to a large extent with the superior classes of the Fomorians, or original Gaedhil, with whom they carried on fierce war. Irish records afford abundant evidence of the existence of a slave class. In the first place, we are informed that Tighearnmas, or, according to the Annals of the Four Masters, his successor, Eochaidh, passed a sumptuary law regulating the colours of the dress to be worn by each class; and among the classes slaves are expressly named. Again, there is frequent mention of revolts of the tax-payers, or "Aithech Tuath," which are known in the latinised form of Atticotti, and erroneously supposed to be a particular people. They were in fact simply plebeians, tenants composed of the original inhabitants, and of such of the succeeding conquering races as had been absorbed by the people, or by becoming poor had fallen into the power of the wealthy. In their first and chief revolt, they are said to have treacherously murdered all the nobility, and to have elected as their king Cairbre Cenncait, an exiled son of the king of Lochlann,—a term which is always supposed to refer to Scandinavia, but simply means a country to the north-east, and, when used in Ireland of events before the foundation of the Dalriadic kingdom, means Scotland. This term Cenncait is usually translated "Cathead;" but this must surely be wrong, for the root occurs frequently in tribe names, and is preserved, among other geographical names, in that of Caithness.

The early Irish annalists, who appear to have all been of the

dominant race, picture in the gloomiest colours the state of the country during the reign of Cairbre, and of the other rulers who succeeded to power by popular revolts; even nature, they tell us, refused her accustomed gifts as a punishment for the sins of a rebellious people. Tighearnach, the head of the ancient annalists of Ireland, whose very name implies his aristocratic origin, even omits the name of Cairbre altogether from his list of sovereigns. Throughout the Irish annals we have evidence of this struggle of races or of classes, which although often composed of the most heterogenous constituents, still represented original ethnic conquests. One king of the legitimate succession, Tuathal, surnamed from that circumstance Teachmhar, is said to have fought one hundred and thirty-three battles against the rebels; and one of his successors, we are told, fought against the Martini, the Ernai, the Fomorians, the Cruithneans, the Firbolgs, and the Tuatha De Danann. Some tribes appear to have maintained a sort of semi-independence in forests and inaccessible places, such as the Tuatha Fidga, or forest people, whom we have mentioned among the different tribes that immigrated into Ireland, but who were evidently an unsubdued remnant of one of the primitive races. The *Hiberni Sylvestres*, mentioned by the Bollandists in their commentary upon the life of St. Patrick,⁷⁹ were most likely a similar remnant.

There can be no doubt that the condition of the actual occupiers of the soil under every succeeding nobility was wretched. In Britain the introduction of Roman civic institutions must have influenced their position, and paved the way for that rapid amalgamation of the conquered race by the Saxons which the most superficial examination of the present population of England would show to have taken place, even had we no further evidence. In Ireland one military nobility succeeded another even to the 17th century, each one pressing down into the plebeian ranks a portion of its predecessors, and absorbing a portion into its own ranks; but no one with sufficient power to end the strife once for all. The geographical position of Ireland prevented it at those periods from having such an amount of trade as would support a large population, which would have concentrated itself in towns, and developed the germs of civic institutions; for cities are the nurseries of liberty. Whatever of genius or enlightenment blossomed amidst this perpetual war of races, finding no secure asylum at home, sought it by immigrating elsewhere. From the sixth century to the present day there has been an uninterrupted stream of emigration from the shores of Ireland, every race in turn contributing to it. Some unreflecting persons have looked upon this emigration in

⁷⁹ *Mars*, t. ii. p. 589.

its recent form as a means of getting rid of the Celts—whoever they are. But the census returns show us that all races and religions are alike subject to the dynamic effects of ethnic conquests, so long as the force of those conquests is allowed to operate.

We have heard too that the climate of Ireland has become of late unpropitious, and that this is a chief cause of the stream of emigration having become a flood; but the following passage of Pomponius Mela proves that its physical state has been as unchangeable as its political condition: “Super Britanniam Iuerna est, pæne per spatium, sed utrinque æquali tractu litorum oblonga: cœli ad maturanda semina iniqui, verum adeo luxuriosa herbis, non lætis modo, sed etiam dulcibus, ut se exigua parte diei pecora impleant, et nisi pabulo prohibeantur, diutius pasta dissiliant. Cultores ejus inconditi sunt, et omnium virtutum ignari magis, quam aliæ gentes; pietatis admodum expertes.”⁸⁰

We may say a few words before we conclude about one of the conquering races—the mysterious Tuatha De Danann, who are absurdly confounded with Danes by some writers. After their conquest by the Milesians they disappear almost entirely from the annals of the country, though occasionally some events are mentioned concerning one of the race. In time they appear in tradition as mystic beings, who had become immortal, and resided, in invisible palaces or *sidhes*: hence the *bensidhe* or banshee, that is, woman of the *sidhe* of modern fairy mythology. They were evidently a comparatively highly civilised race, acquainted with many arts, as we find by the references to *goibniu* the smith, *luchtine* the carpenter, *creidné* the goldsmith, *diancecht* the physician. They appear also to have had an extensive pantheon, and several of the divinities are mentioned in Cormac’s Glossary.⁸¹ From the latter circumstance, as well as from the magical and prophetic gifts assigned to them by popular tradition, we may perhaps conclude that they formed the class of priests in ancient times—that is, that they were Druids. That there were Druids in Ireland there can be no doubt; and that Druids formed a sacerdotal order is equally certain. For at the time of the arrival of St. Patrick the monarch of Ireland had “scivos et magos et aruspices et incantatores et omnis malæ artis inventores” in his service. Perhaps the domination of the Gaedhil may account for the comparatively slight power attained by the Druids in Ireland.

⁸⁰ *De Situ Orbis*, lib. iii. c. 6.

⁸¹ *Three Irish Glossaries* (Lond., Williams & Norgate). Mr. Whitley Stokes, the distinguished Celtic scholar, who has edited these glossaries, has compared in his introduction (p. xxxiii.) several of the names of the Tuatha De Danann divinities with Gaulish and Scandinavian ones, with some success.

The groves of the latter are, we suspect, creations of the imagination; at all events there is just as little authority for them as for the shamrock growing in them having been used as a symbol of the Trinity. This beautiful tradition rests, in fact, on no ancient authority whatever; on the contrary, the trefoil appears to have been a sacred plant in pagan times. Even the etymology of "Druid," which is given by Pliny from *δρῦς*, a tree, and from which the groves apparently grew, with much imaginative mythology besides, notwithstanding its respectable antiquity, does not appear to be correct. Dr. Reeves⁸² thinks the word *drai*, which occurs in a poem published in the *Miscellany of the Irish Archæological Society*,⁸³ is the proper origin of the word Druid. We think so too; for it is obviously connected with the Sanskrit root *dri*, Zend *dere*, to venerate; a much more probable etymology for the name of a priest than an oak-tree.

We may deduce one important conclusion from the results of modern ethnological investigation, namely, that all middle, southern, and western Europe have a common basis of population, over which has passed one or more waves of closely related Indo-European tribes, which first conquered and then began to be slowly absorbed, the process being still in operation, but destined to be completed as civilisation and liberty advance. In southern Europe these tribes were Hellenes and Latins chiefly; in middle and western Europe, Germans and Celts. A moment's reflection will show how incorrect such terms as Anglo-Saxon and Celt are when applied to a whole people. They have been productive of much mischief, by affording to unthinking fanaticism a convenient term to which each person might attach his idea. Like other similar terms, they once designated ethnic varieties; their use is now only philological; and they could never have been the permanent basis of political distinctions.

⁸² St. Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, p. 74.

⁸³ Vol. i. p. 6.

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE ENGLISH MONASTERIES.

THE great interest of the change of faith that took place in England during the sixteenth century has tended to obscure, or at least throw into the shade, the economical and legal aspects of the Dissolution of the Monasteries. Most people are aware that the great transfer of property then made created a new gentry, and occasioned much temporary suffering among the peasantry; but few get beyond this broad view. Moreover, the very greatness of the blow gives it the appearance of an abnormal catastrophe, unconnected in itself with previous history, and due only to the king's change of faith. We are apt to think that for five centuries at least the monasteries had grown up in an even tenour of quiet prosperity, adding field to field in spite of obnoxious mortmain laws, and spending their revenues, where they were well administered, in books, and buildings, and almsgiving, and stately hospitality. Dean Milman, one of the fairest English writers, and one also of the widest, if not always the most accurate, information, appears to accept a calculation that the Church under Henry IV. owned more than half the knights' fees in the realm, —28,000 out of 53,225. A general agreement taxes Wolsey with having first set the precedent of confiscation for the uses of learning, which was speedily followed for very different purposes. Henry VIII.'s commissions of 1536 and 1538 are defended as measures of state necessity, or as justified by the corruption prevalent among the orders; but are regarded almost uniformly by his apologists as unprecedented and arbitrary. Our object in the following pages is to show that the wealth of our great religious corporations was much less than is commonly supposed, and did not increase proportionately to the rental of the country; that they had been the frequent subject of legislation; that their moral condition did not call for any trenchant remedies; but that there were grave economical reasons why their wealth should be redistributed; and lastly that, though Henry's measures, from their sweeping character, might be called revolutionary, and were carried out by most unscrupulous agents, the forms of legal procedure were never wholly disregarded.

In the first place, we reject utterly the fiction of the 28,000 knights' fees. It occurs first, we believe, in Sprot's Chronicle, compiled under Edward I., and is there given in connection with the statements that William the Conqueror divided England into 60,215 altogether, and that there were then 45,011 churches in the country. The statement about the churches we can correct to a certain extent from Domesday, where the numbers for

several counties are given fully (Norfolk, 317; Suffolk, 364; Lincolnshire, 222); and we may say pretty certainly that 10,000, including chapels and every place in which service was performed, would be a high estimate. To correct the list of knights' fees, we must go to the Black Book compiled under Henry II.; and this, on an average of fifteen counties, would give rather more than 8000 for the kingdom, including several that had been created since the Conquest, but not allowing for those who held immediately of the king, and who numbered some 539 under the Conqueror. This estimate is borne out by all we know of the number of heavy-armed men in the great battles of the time. The knights' fees held by monasteries at this time, by the same calculation, would amount to about two thirty-fifths of the whole. Nor will this proportion appear incredible to those who remember that Church property in general would be held preferably by frank-almoigne or by socage tenures, and that the obligation to supply soldiers was one which every ecclesiastical corporation would try if possible to be quit of. We do not therefore assert that monasteries even at this time had only this proportion of the national wealth. Our object is simply to explode a mythical estimate which ought never to have been accepted by historians.

Passing into the domain of actual history, we come to the Taxation of Pope Nicholas under Edward I., when a census was made of all Church property. The gross rental was returned at 206,000*l.*; and the estates of the monasteries, excluding, however, a most important item, the benefices they held, were estimated at 51,197*l.* It is of course possible, as Dean Milman supposes, that the Pope's commissioners favoured their countrymen to a certain extent at the expense of their employers. But the margin they allowed cannot have been very wide; for Henry VIII.'s valuation in 1534 only reckons the whole Church revenues at 320,150*l.* 10*s.* (Speed). The share of the monasteries in this is put by Tanner at 140,785*l.*; and though this omits the minor houses, of whose income we have no precise details, the omission is not important enough to deserve much attention. We may safely say that 10,000*l.* a year would more than cover it. It is difficult fully to explain the significance of these figures. But if we consider that, in this second calculation, an unfriendly one, the benefices held by the monasteries are included in their rentals, that 200 fresh foundations had been endowed since the times of Pope Nicholas, and that benefactions had been made more or less freely to the older establishments, we shall hardly consider that the monastic estates had increased proportionably with the wealth of the country. With these deductions, we doubt if they can be said to have doubled their nominal rentals.

But the value of money had changed during the same time. A labourer now received sixpence a day at least where he had before earned threepence. The quarter of corn had more than doubled in value. The household expenditure of Henry IV. had been 10,333*l.*; that of Henry VIII. was over 20,000*l.* The revenue under Edward I. had probably averaged about 40,000*l.* a year; already under Henry VII. an Italian diplomatist of singular accuracy estimates it at over 200,000*l.*; and the few particulars we can glean on the subject go far to prove that this was not the measure of Henry VIII.'s expenditure. What proportion the wealth of the monasteries bore to that of the kingdom is beyond all computation. Hume, indeed, estimates the total rental of England from lands and possessions at 3,000,000*l.*; but he has not given the grounds of his calculation, and there is no reason for supposing that it has any value. We prefer silence to conjecture. But considering the growth of the wool-trade, and the natural tendency of wealth to accumulate during two centuries, in spite of wars and bad laws, we think it certain that the monastic corporations had not held their own in the race of money-making.

The reasons of this decline, if it be a fact, will well repay enquiry. The common belief is that the monasteries were slowly but surely absorbing England. They, it is said, were eternal, while generations of squires and yeomen died out from their lands or lost them. They only were safe amid the ravages of war. They absorbed the whole energies and affections of their brethren, so that mitred abbot and janitor vied with one another in bequeathing money, or vestments, or books, or broad acres to their foundation. They gathered in constantly, without cost to themselves, from the piety of the faithful. The very charges brought against them, of using their foreign connections to trade successfully, and of absorbing benefices, are such as imply money-making. It is true that English legislation as early as the great Charter forbade fees to be transferred to them without the consent of the superior lords, and not a century later devised a more deadly restraint in the mortmain laws. But the mortmain laws were a mere paper creation. The abbey of Coventry received thirty-one licenses under the first three Edwards to acquire land in despite of them. Where they were not evaded by fictitious recoveries, there were devices, like that of Abbot Whethamstede at St. Alban's, who encouraged his friends to make the invalid bequests, suffered them to escheat to the crown, and then begged them back of it. A more plausible reason may seem to be that the spread of Lollard opinions was restraining the liberality of the upper classes. It is undoubtedly true that the number of new foundations declined pretty steadily during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; and the small num-

ber of four assignable to the reign of Henry V. is, perhaps, partial evidence to the influence of Wyckliffe's opinions. But a glance at the wills of prelates, nobles, and gentlemen during this period will show that the landed proprietors of the country were not less zealous for the faith than their fathers had been. Fewer monasteries—in the strict sense—were founded, because it was simpler to enrich old foundations, and because public opinion had come to favour colleges and chantries by preference. The richest colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, and such schools as Eton and Winchester, were the work of these generations. As for Lollardism, after its one thinker Wyckliffe, and its one genuine martyr Sawtre, it degenerated into a mere faction in the Church, and was even ostentatiously orthodox that it might persecute the better.

The first true reason why the monasteries had not increased in wealth may be gathered from a glance at their history. Theirs had been no even tenour of peaceful possession. The spoiler never failed out of the land. Rufus was said to meditate turning most of the Church lands into military fiefs; and he claimed to succeed to all military tenants on Church property who died without heirs. Under John eighty-one alien priories were sequestered, to be restored and increased by fifteen more under his successor, to be sequestered again with every fresh French war, and at last, under Henry V., to be formally appropriated to public uses. Some went to cathedral chapters, a few to monasteries and schools, and some were given or sold, mostly for a term only, it is true, to the laity; but if Archbishop Arundel's complaint was true, that the crown had profited little by former sequestrations in consequence of private rapacity, we may be sure sturdy beggars were not wanting on this occasion either. Looking back to Edward II.'s time, we find twenty-three preceptories of the Templars dissolved and their land seized. The intention at first was to restore them to the families of the original donors, or, where no representatives of these could be found, to keep them for the crown. A bull from the Pope directed that they should be handed over to the Knights Hospitaller, and Edward complied on paper under protest. In fact, the spoils were divided; the Knights of St. John consenting, as in the case of the Temple at London, to grant away a portion of their property that they might preserve the rest. In the "unlearned parliament" a formal proposal was made by the Commons to confiscate all Church property; but Henry IV. was not disposed to provoke a third civil war while his crown was still insecure. The more eminent of the clergy, however, were well inclined to divert some portion of conventual revenues to the furtherance of a sound education. William of Wykeham, Chichele, Waynflete, Fisher, Bishops Alcock of Ely and Smith of Lincoln, preceded Wolsey

in this judicious reform; and Henry VI., Edward IV., and the pious Countess of Richmond aided the movement. How gigantic Wolsey's schemes were may be gathered from the fact that even in their incomplete state they embraced twenty-four monasteries, that sixty-nine benefices were appropriated to Christ Church alone, and that he received authority to annex altogether to the value of 11,000 ducats a year. But besides this there had been a tendency for the last two centuries to incorporate the smaller with the larger houses. Wolsey procured a bull for this purpose also. Of course, in this latter case there was no intention of diverting Church property from Church uses. Doubtless the new beneficiaries would have been saddled with a few pensions to court favourites, but the loss would not have been great altogether. Still, what we have said will show that monastic property experienced many vicissitudes between the Conquest and the Reformation. In fact, out of more than 1200 individual corporations known to history, less than 700 survived, to be suppressed or transformed.

The same facts meet us when we look to the private history of the separate establishments. The Abbey of Evesham lost twenty-eight villages under William the Conqueror, through the foolish rapacity of Abbot Walter, who would not accept the homage of his tenants, that he might keep them more in his power. In this case the spoiler was Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and then viceroy; and the lands soon afterwards, on the occasion of his fall, escheated to the crown. Giraldus Cambrensis, in the *Speculum Ecclesiæ*, which Professor Brewer lately discovered and is now editing, gives an instance of a monastery in the north, which was almost ruined by the confiscation of its lands and a heavy fine for criminally removing its neighbour's landmarks. The misconduct or negligence of one generation was as frequent an occasion of decline to convents as to families. Again, it was very difficult to avoid debt. Ready money was not always at hand to defray the expenses of an election or a law-suit, and liabilities once incurred had a terrible power of increase when the interest of money was 50 per cent or more. At Bury St. Edmunds we know that the Jews at one time were so much masters of the position, that they came and lived in the abbey, with their wives and children. In one case recorded by Giraldus a dishonest "cellerar" or steward all but extinguished his monastery by paying the Jew off, and continuing the debt for his own profit. A house thus ruined might be sold to a private purchaser. John Fray, chief-baron of the Exchequer under Henry VI., bought the nunnery of Roweney in Hertfordshire, the prioress and nuns having no longer enough to live upon, and transferred the property to a chantry of his own foundation. But, above all, the

greater monasteries bought up the smaller, and converted them into cells, or demolished them. The Cistercians were especially active in this way, and had no scruple, it was said, about turning convents and churches into barns. The object, of course, was twofold—to remove a rival, and to hold the lands thus acquired without encumbrances. A new method of plundering the abbeys came into fashion in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as we know from the history of St. Alban's. The neighbouring nobles and gentry, men who probably left large sums at their death for masses or benefactions, were accustomed to claim as copyhold the lands which they held on long leases, and constantly carried their point by court favour, in the absence of proper title-deeds and under shadow of the mortmain acts. Later on, when a strong feeling had set in against monastic bodies generally, it became difficult for them to keep even their recognised possessions, and impossible to increase them. Thus in 1509 the prioress and nuns of St. Mary Wilberfosse apply to the crown for protection against annoyance in the tenure of their possession by the people of Wilberfosse and Newton. Fifteen years later, the bull permitting Wolsey to suppress sundry small foundations for his college at Oxford assigned, as the reason, that it would be impossible to buy lands for an endowment "without great murmuring and indignation of the people of the aforesaid kingdom." When Cromwell once became minister, there is evidence that the monasteries would submit to any thing sooner than risk a trial before a jury. The times realised the vow of Walter Map, churchman and justice in eyre, who swore that he would do right to all men except to Jews and Cistercians. Henry's sweeping measure only anticipated a thousand petty injustices.

Let us take now the case of two counties, and observe the actual history of the foundations known to us. Hampshire and Lincolnshire are, perhaps, as good instances as any of what had gone on every where. In Hampshire, out of fifty-one monastic foundations whose existence at some time or other can be proved, twenty-two had passed away before 1536—seven by noiseless extinction, nine for the endowment of schools and colleges, and six to enrich more fortunate foundations. In Lincolnshire the proportion is much smaller. There, out of 110, only twenty-nine had died out or been absorbed. Of these, eighteen had been impropriated by more fortunate bodies, four had been taken to endow chapters, and three for schools and colleges; while concerning the four others, we only know that they had been. All points, therefore, to the same fact—the concentration of monastic property in a few hands comparatively.

Now to this change, however necessary and natural, we may confidently refer one great cause of the decline of monasteries.

The secret of their early success had been in their universality. They had been colleges from which a missionary clergy went its rounds in the dioceses: they had been libraries and schools, model farms, banks of deposit for plate and title-deeds, police stations, inns for travellers, and poor-houses. The more special functions of prayer and fasting for Christendom had been overlaid by this manifold activity. Gradually the work of analysis began, and the complex body was superseded by the many simple ones. The priest claimed the parish; special cities, like Oxford and Cambridge, began to assert a monopoly of learning; the baron with men-at-arms gave place to the squire, who pastured sheep for the wool-trade; society made the house and road comparatively safe; and an inn was to be found in every village. It might seem natural that the monasteries should consolidate their foundations; and the rulers of the Church deserve all praise if they diverted some of the temporalities to learning. But, as monasteries became fewer and wealthier, they were less palpably useful, more the objects of jealousy, and perhaps less economically managed from the proprietary point of view. Let any man take the map of a single county,—such as Hampshire, for instance,—and mark out on it the spots where a monastery or convent once stood; and he will find that, naturally enough, they abound most in the great cities, and in the parts most anciently peopled. They have evidently grown up without order or plan. In the whole area between the east boundary of the county and Hyde Abbey, near Winchester, between Basing and Porchester, a district of thirty miles at least by twenty, there was not a single foundation at the time of the dissolution, and there had been none for seventy years,—unless we accept the local and unsupported tradition of a priory at Coldre, where Waverley Abbey had property. It is needless to say that the poor of those villages were without any provision from the monastic system. On the other hand, there were eight religious houses in the little island of Wight. Facts of this sort meet us every where. It is said that the smaller houses were the worse managed: no doubt they were a little less under the control of public opinion, and gave the superior of the order rather more difficulty proportionably; but we suspect the morals depended very much on the spirit of the times. The facts we shall hereafter examine do not warrant any sweeping conclusions against the poorer houses. Any how, they had one great advantage—that they were resident landowners. It is difficult to suppose that the village of Selburne was not better cared for when its abbey still stood there, than after the lands had been sequestered to the use of Magdalen College. It is difficult also to suppose that the lands were better farmed by Oxford Fellows than by men on the

spot. Only those who remember what distances and roads were in the Middle Ages can appreciate the evil of properties scattered over several counties. Battle Abbey, as one of the most popular foundations, had lands and benefices in ten counties between Devonshire and Suffolk. We know, in one instance, that the ecclesiastic who farmed its Suffolk livings appropriated the whole proceeds, and endowed his son out of them. Farms can scarcely have been more easy to manage. We may add, that the visits of inspection which such property involved were among the most frequent occasions of breaches of discipline.

But there were other causes why the monasteries should decline in wealth. General experience shows that a corporation, other circumstances being equal, cannot compete with individuals in any business where there are many small details, and where much oversight is required. Circumstances in early times—as, for instance, in the twelfth century—were, on the whole, for the monastery and against the baron. There was a disposition to exempt Church lands from military service, the great waster of wealth. Again, the nobles' first object was to raise men: the monks', economically, to raise corn and cattle. Lastly, though private war was never legalised in England, it broke out at fitful intervals of civil strife; and though the religious foundations did not pass scatheless through every storm, they enjoyed a partial immunity. In spite of an abbot of St. Albans besieged in his abbey by a Fitz-Walter, or insurgents living in free quarters in a priory of Barwell, religious houses in general were the safe depositories of title-deeds and family plate. Lastly, the monks in many places competed, as residents, with non-resident proprietors. All these circumstances explain the general fact why the orders, whom common tradition has freely taxed with avarice, have yet generally been regarded as easy landlords; and why statistics, wherever we can obtain them,—as, for instance, in the case of the alien estates confiscated under John,—appear to show that their lands were the best stocked, and had the best rentals. But as the clumsiness of the feudal system became evident, the landowner found it his interest to have a large income rather than a numerous tenantry; and the wool-trade offering the shortest way to wealth, he settled down on his estates, evicted his serfs, and turned his corn-land into pasturage. Already, under Henry III., it became necessary to legislate for the large class who were enclosing wastes. The process went on during three centuries, till all serviceable land had been occupied; while the peasantry, driven out into landlessness and liberty, were compelled, by a series of stringent Statutes of Labourers, to offer themselves for market at the employer's price. We have good reason to believe that the monasteries—partly, no doubt, from the conservative

instincts of corporate bodies, and partly, we may hope, from some finer instinct of humanity—were slow to carry out this profitable change. When Sir Thomas More declared in his secular days that sheep were devouring England, he accused the nobles and gentry indiscriminately; but he adds, as if wonderingly, “and even some abbots, holy men!” The reports of Cromwell’s commissioners repeatedly state that the conventual lands might be leased out at higher rentals. In the Pilgrimage of Grace the rebels complained of being oppressed by “gentlemen,” and “many merchant adventurers;” but their first demand was that the religious houses should be restored. The insurgents under Edward VI. demanded that two abbeys at least in every county should be restored. Altogether, it is difficult to doubt that the monks did not get the full value out of their property. They are not to be blamed for it, for it was not their peculiar province to create wealth; and it should not be denied that they may have served usefully to soften the intensity of the social change which was coming upon England. But, in the long-run, a race of easy landlords can scarcely be regarded as a national good. The monastic properties were in danger of becoming the home of a pauper population and an extravagant proprietary, by the side of the thriftily ordered lands of the squires.

The term “extravagant” does not here imply any broad charge of reckless personal expenditure. In many cases, the monks, like numbers of the parish clergy, had only just enough to support life. The nine marks fixed in an Act of Henry V. as the parish priest’s income at its maximum, would not correspond to more than 72*l.* a year of our value in Henry VIII.’s time; and this income was far from being attained in many monastic houses. But men who live steadily beyond their income are extravagant, even though they may not be clothed in purple and fine linen, or fare sumptuously every day. The worthy monks of St. Swithin’s, who fell down on their knees in the mud of Winchester before Henry II., and implored him, with tears and groans, to let their dinner consist again of thirteen dishes instead of ten, to which their bishop had reduced it, were only exaggerated types of an evil incident to all houses where the rule was at all relaxed. The banquets in Christ Church, Canterbury, were even more elaborate; and 3000 guests were once entertained at the installation of an abbot of Thorning. Great or small, the houses were expected to show hospitality; and their honour was involved if it were not shown well. The traveller across country, the hunter belated or uncertain of his road, the baron going to court, were all entitled to claim entertainment. Peter of Blois complains bitterly that his servants were discourteously received by the Abbot of Wallingford, whose stables and

outhouses they seem to have appropriated before they asked leave; and he adds significant words, that "the liberality of the nobles had stopped and ceased altogether, since liberal hospitality has begun to fail in the monasteries." There is no doubt that this was, in fact, a great snare to the religious orders. They constantly needed friends at court; and no man could say what interest might not do for or against a brotherhood. Giraldus Cambrensis tells a curious story of an abbot who entertained a benighted sportsman, and, finding that he was habitually at court, plied him with the best wine of the monastery, that he might obtain his aid in a suit before the king. The stranger turned out to be Henry II. himself, who gave his decision accordingly in favour of his host. Naturally, the poor suffered in consequence;

"For if there come to an abbey two poor men or three,
And ask of them help *par sainte charité*,
Uneath [*i. e.* scarcely] will any do his errand, either young or old,
But let him cower there all day, in hunger and in cold,
And starve.

Look, what love there is to God, whom they say that they serve!

But there come another, and bring a little letter
In a box upon his heap, he shall speed the better;
And if he be with any man that may do the abbot harm,
He shall be led into the hall, and be imade full warm
About the maw;

And God's man stand there out: sorry is that law!"

We do not share the feeling of the popular ballad, that strolling beggars were a class to be encouraged by the monasteries, who had their own poor, and who, as the returns to Cromwell show, often kept regular pensioners on their roll: but we cannot doubt that it was a great misfortune that the rich had to be propitiated by pensions for nominal offices, or by lavish entertainments, but especially by the latter. The practice demoralised giver and receiver, encouraged a large amount of decorous sensuality in houses set apart for God's service, and entailed expenses which it was difficult ever to retrench, and which told with peculiar force on declining revenues.

Accordingly, if from general estimates we pass to the history of individual monasteries, we shall find constant indebtedness and stagnation, if not retrogression, in revenue a common feature. The monks of St. Albans in the time of Richard II. had a rental of nearly 1500*l.* a year; at the time of the dissolution the highest valuation puts them at 2500*l.*, although during the interval they had been singularly favoured by the court, and had enjoyed several economical abbots. In this case we happen to know what the kitchen expenses were under Edward III., when they amounted to 285*l.* yearly (about 4300*l.* of our money); and such

expenditure for some sixty-three brothers certainly indicates baronial state rather than the rule of St. Benedict. In the case of the Gray Friars of the Charter-house, unhappily famous by the sufferings and death of their prior and sixteen monks under Cromwell, the yearly revenue was 642*l.*, and the yearly expenditure, by an estimate admitted to be inadequate, was 658*l.* at the time of the visitation, and had been as high as 1000*l.* when the rents were lower. The surplus, we are told, "was then borne by the benevolence and charity of the city of London. Now they, not regarding this dearth, neither the increase of their superfluous number, neither yet the decay of the said benevolence and charity, would have and have that same fare continual that now was used, and would have like plenty of bread and ale and fish given to strangers, in the buttery or at the buttery-door, and as large livery of bread and ale to all their servants and to vagabonds at the gate as was then used, which cannot be." The evidence is from an unfriendly hand, but there is no reason to doubt its substantial veracity. Probably it was in this way that St. Cross, which seems fated to be mismanaged, only possessed at the dissolution a rental variously reckoned at from 84*l.* to 197*l.*, though Cardinal Beaufort alone, who found it dining 200 persons daily and supporting a master and brethren, enriched it by the addition of 158*l.* revenue. Selby Abbey, which owned land in 95 parishes and received 832*l.* a year under Edward I., had sunk under Henry VIII. to 719*l.* In the case of Louth Park Abbey in Lincolnshire, the number of inmates had declined from 66 monks and 150 *conversi* under Henry III. to some twelve brothers at the time of the dissolution. Worst of all, and only excusable by the heavy fees so often paid to the crown and noble patrons, was the habit of indebtedness of which such abundant records remain. Cardinal Beaufort, in his will, forgives the convent of St. Augustine's Canterbury the sum of 366*l.*, which they owe him. Hugh de Eversden, twenty-seventh abbot of St. Albans, in Edward II.'s time, left the house he ruled 5000*l.* in debt. A century later John Stoke, thirty-fourth abbot, left the accounts in a state of hopeless confusion, so that it was a question whether his successor would not be forced to borrow money for bare subsistence. Yet these are instances of large foundations, which, wielding greater resources proportionally, ought to have been better administered and less liable to decay than the small.

On this point we may quote the preamble of the Act (27 Hen. VIII. c. 28) for giving the king the smaller monasteries, as some authority. Although practically an act of dissolution, that statute was not so intended by the Parliament. It enacted that the king should hold the lands "in as large and ample manner as

the abbots," &c. "now have, or ought to have, the same;" and that "the unthrifty religious persons so [*i. e.* wastefully and sinfully] spending the same be compelled to reform their lives," in the better-ordered large houses of the same rule. The first clause we have quoted is supposed to have meant that the lands were to be held in frank-almoigne, that is, subject to the performance of certain definite religious duties. Why then, it may be said, did the Commons consent to the annexation, as we shall presently show that they cannot well have believed the charges of immorality brought against the small foundations? The answer, we believe, is that, seeing the monastery lands badly administered, they exaggerated the probable benefits of a better system, and forgot to take into account the inevitable waste that accompanies all confiscation. Even sound Catholics might easily be of opinion that the Church estates, leased out to private enterprise, would leave a large residue for the treasury after defraying all actual charges of religion. To them the scheme represented itself as a proposal to take lands unthriftily managed out of mortmain, suppress the charges of unnecessary establishments, and support the same number of monks by a rent-charge upon land, instead of leaving them to collect the rents themselves. Of course, in Cromwell's hands the whole measure took a very different complexion. He and his master were bent primarily on following out the old Greek proverb, that it is foolish to slay the father and leave the children alive. After arresting two hundred Franciscans at a stroke for treason, they might well doubt whether the Act of the king's supremacy was ever likely to sink deep into the hearts of the religious orders. Yet it is noticeable that Henry never allowed the monastic vows to be relaxed. To quote Hooper's emphatic language, in a letter probably written about 1546, "as far as true religion [*i. e.* Calvinism] is concerned, idolatry is nowhere in greater vigour [*i. e.* than in England]. Our king has destroyed the Pope, but not popery; he has expelled all the monks and nuns, and pulled down their monasteries; he has caused all their possessions to be transferred into the exchequer; and yet they are bound, even the frail female sex, by the king's command, to perpetual chastity. England has at this time at least ten thousand nuns [an absurd exaggeration], not one of whom is allowed to marry."

On the questions of suppression and confiscation it will probably be long before Catholics and Protestants can agree. But the questions whether the State was or was not justified in examining into the administration of Church revenues, and whether in the interests of the Church, supposing it to have remained otherwise unchanged, some sweeping measure of reform would not have been necessary, are questions on which fair men of

both religions may be united. We think the evidence we have given, imperfect as it is, goes far to show that the monastic lands generally were wastefully managed, and did not contribute their full quota to the national wealth. Under any circumstances, we believe corporate bodies to be bad landlords, especially of properties where they are not resident. The fact that much of England was already in the hands of a few noble families, and that a new gentry and rich middle class were springing up, after fifty years' peace at home and the discovery of America, naturally excited murmurs against the holders of Church temporalities; half a generation was wanting land to give it power and position. Some reason of this kind, no doubt, was present to Bishop Oldham when he told Fox not to found a monastery: "the monks have more already than they are like long to keep." It may seem as if this argument would favour any spoliation of a non-improving in favour of an improving interest. The parallel of the Encumbered Estates Act in Ireland will show that even in modern and highly conservative times the prescriptive rights of property have now and then to be overruled for the public interest. Undoubtedly the case of wastefulness against the monks was not as strong as against the Galway squires. But their *raison-d'être* as landowners was less. The middle classes, interested no doubt in their destruction, but still Catholic at heart while the change was ripening, felt that the Benedictine or Cistercian rule would be all the better carried out by men who were not for ever buying and selling, building and farming. We will add that if the rulers of the English Church had had greatness to meet the storm, as they had sagacity to foresee it, they might have preserved the orders in England, at the cost of the wealth which often corrupted them, and by no worse method than enforcing the primitive rule. Almost every saint's life has instances in which he has let himself be defrauded that he might win souls to Christ. But the policy has been left to individual piety. No society has ever yet had the courage to renounce all and begin life anew.

Putting aside the right which Henry claimed, as head of the Anglican Church in the Pope's place, to visit monasteries, he might fairly plead that the temporalities of the Church were matters of secular concern; and that, inasmuch as they had been given for certain conditions, he had a right to enforce observance of the trust. In some instances, in fact, a monastery was wearied into resigning by a stringent enforcement of the founder's rule, which had gradually been relaxed. "I have in all the places," says Dr. Legh, "restrained as well the heads and masters as the brethren from going forth of the precincts, which I assure you grieveth the said heads not a little." An amusing letter of the

Abbot of Warden tells us that his brethren "were enclosed within their monastery," were commanded to have an early lecture of divinity, were forced to study grammar, and were forbidden to have any intercourse with the lay brothers. The abbot was suspected of having counselled these measures, and fell into great disfavour accordingly. It was, in fact, as if a body of Oxford fellows had suddenly been called upon ten years ago to talk Latin or Norman-French together, to reside all the year round in college, and to let no woman enter the inviolable precincts,—all which obligations they had probably sworn to perform at their election. Where the breach of trust had been flagrant, forfeiture was the natural penalty; but the estates in these instances ought undoubtedly to have reverted to the original donors, and only to have gone in default of such to the crown. The Act for the suppression of the smaller monasteries does in fact distinctly reserve founders' rights. Where the patron was powerful, this was sometimes carried out; and in this way Earl's Colne and Castle-Hedingham in Essex reverted to the Earl of Oxford, the representative of the founder. But there was no steady rule on this subject. Sir Simon Harcourt, in a highly honourable letter, offered 100*l.* to the king and 100*l.* to Cromwell, with an annuity of 20*l.*, to continue Runton Priory, which his ancestors had founded, in its actual state, or, if that were not possible, he offered to give 100 marks to have it for himself, as it adjoined his property. The request was disregarded, though Sir Simon was a soldier of some distinction.

But the main point of interest for most men is, and must remain, whether the grave charges brought against the monasteries at the time of their dissolution are really warranted by the facts. "Cromwell," says an old manuscript, printed by Mr. Wright in his well-known collection of letters on the suppression of the monasteries, "caused visitations to be made of all the religious houses, touching their conversations; whereupon was returned the book called the Black Book, expressing of every such house the vile lives and abominable facts,—in murders of their brethren," in crimes of the flesh, "in destroying of children, in forging of deeds, and other infinite horrors of life. Insomuch, on dividing of all the religious persons in England into three parts, two of these parts at the least were" ineffably depraved. "And this appeared in writing, with the names of the parties and their facts." Fox, Burnet, and more recently Mr. Froude, have endorsed this statement. It is observable, however, that Mr. Froude quotes almost entirely from Mr. Wright's collection. Now, two series of letters have been printed on this subject; and those edited by Sir H. Ellis are as generally favourable to the monks as those edited by Mr. Wright are commonly unfavourable. In fact, the

one extract which Mr. Froude makes from the Ellis letters is an account of a visit in which Henry's commissioners were besieged in a tower by the Abbot of Norton Abbey and some hundreds of indignant country people. It becomes interesting, therefore, to examine the causes of this difference. It undoubtedly lies in the fact that Mr. Wright chiefly quotes from the reports of Legh, London, and Layton, who were Cromwell's most zealous agents, or from men like Sir T. Audley, who profited largely by the confiscation; while Sir H. Ellis gives the letters of men of higher standing, such as Tregonwell, or of men like Sir S. Harcourt, who favoured the old religion. We must therefore decide from collateral evidence which of these views is the more trustworthy.

It is not generally known that special commissions were issued in the spring and summer of 1536 to mixed committees of country gentlemen and court nominees, to report on the state of the smaller monasteries. The idea probably was, that their report would favour the king's views and satisfy public opinion. The result, as we shall show, proving otherwise, the scheme seems to have been abandoned, and the employment of private commissioners substituted. We do not know with certainty how many counties had already been visited in this fuller way; but, by a singular chance, the reports for three counties—Leicester, Warwick, and Rutland—have been preserved in the Record Office, and were lately discovered there. They give the fullest particulars as to rental, value of personalty and debts, the number of servants and pensioners, and the character of the inmates. Among nineteen monasteries thus reported on, there is only one in which any of the members are charged with moral delinquency. For better proof of our assertion, however, we extract the returns for Warwickshire, in which the one black spot occurs, giving the moral particulars in full, but abbreviating or omitting largely elsewhere. The commissioners are John Greville, Roger Wigston, and Simon Mountford, Esqs., gentlemen of the county, and Thomas Holt, George Gyfford, and Robert Burgoyne, king's commissioners.

Pollesworth, Convent of the Black Nuns of St. Benedict: "Fourteen sisters, with the abbess, and one anchress, of a very religious sort and living; and bring up others in virtue very excellent." All desire to keep their religion there, or be sent to some other house of the same rule. *Marstokke*, Priory of the Canons of St. Austen: "Seven members, with a prior, whereof six be priests; *two suspect of incontinency*, and the others of good and virtuous conversation; whereof five desireth capacities [*i. e.* to be secularised], if the king's pleasure be that the house be dissolved." House in debt. *Erburie Priory* of the Black

Canons of St. Austen : Six brothers, with a prior, " being all of good conversation and living ; and desire, if the house be suppressed, to be sent to some other house of their religion." *Bynwoode Priory* of the Black Minors of St. Bennet : Six sisters, with a prioress, and one other, sometime prioress there, of good conversation and living. Were content to deliver up the priory to the king's use : whereupon he took the same, and discharged the nuns immediately. Slightly in debt. House ruinous. *Priory of Carthusians, near Coventry* : " Twelve brothers, with a prior, all priests : in virtue, and contemplation, and religion excellent ;" desiring all, if the house be dissolved, to be sent to other houses of their religion. In debt. *Pynneley Priory* of White Nuns of St. Bernard : Four sisters, with a prioress ; all professed, of good conversation and living by report, and one desiring a capacity. *Stonely Monastery* of Cistercians : Eleven brothers, with the abbot now, and the abbot quondam ; " all of good conversation and living," and desire to continue religion in that house, or be sent, &c. House ruinous. In debt. *St. Sepulchre's, near Warwick*, Priory of Black Canons of St. Austen : Three brothers, with a prior ; " all priests, of good conversation and living by report ; desiring all to continue in religion there," &c. In debt three years' income. *Wroxhall Priory* of Black Nuns of St. Bennet : Five sisters, with a prioress ; of good conversation and living ; and desire all, if the house be suppressed, to be sent to other religious houses, &c. *Stodeley Priory* of the Black Canons of St. Austen : Eight brothers, with a prior ; all priests, of good conversation and living, whereof two desire to have capacities.

The reader will perhaps be weary of so much virtue, as Cromwell seems to have been, and will ask if the charges of the Black Book are not warranted by the discoveries of the more vigilant special commissioners. We incline ourselves to prefer the mixed commission to roving envoys with a well-understood mission to destroy. But even Cromwell's agents differ singularly in their reports. Passing over Gyfford, who excited Henry VIII.'s anger by his repeated pleadings for the religious houses, we will take a report of a visitation in part of Oxfordshire by John Tregonwell, who had been the king's counsel in his divorce suit, and who shared the plunder of the houses he visited. He is therefore unexceptionable evidence for the defendants. We must abbreviate largely, but his letter will be found in Ellis.¹ *Godstowe*. " All things well and in good order, as well in the monastery and the abbas there as also in the convent of the same," except that one nun of another order, guilty thirteen or fourteen years ago of incontinence, had been sent there for reformation, and had ever since lived virtuously. *Ensham*. " A raw sort of

¹ Vol. iii. series iii.

religious persons ;” “ almost all kinds of sin committed *et etiam crimen pessimum*,” for which the ordinary has punished many. The abbot, however, a good man, but too infirm to be a good disciplinarian. *Brewerne*. The abbot virtuous and learned in Holy Scripture ; the convent, heretofore insolent, now brought to good order. *Wraxton*. Prior and monks rude and unlearned, but good husbands and keep good hospitality, though not rich. *Clathercott*. The canons will not admit Dr. Tregonwell, to his great indignation. He wonders whether they are foul and filthy as their house. *Catesby*. The prioress a right sad matron, and the sisters without suspicion. *Canons Ashby*. In debt, and the house ruinous. The prior, though unlearned, disposed to thrive ; the subprior learned and religious, and the monks like to do well accordingly. *Chacombe*. The prior well learned in Holy Scripture ; the canons rude and unlearned, but being brought into order. *Burcester*. The prior a good disciplinarian and manager ; the brethren in good order. One being incontinent, ran away for fear of punishment, and has never returned.

In other words, out of ten houses visited and nine examined, an unfavourable witness can bring no charge against the morality of more than one ; and in no case does loose living appear to be connived at. These too, be it remembered, are the small houses, whose especial infamy the Act for their suppression contrasts with the laudable deserts of the “ great and solemn monasteries of this realm, wherein, thanks be to God, religion is right well kept and observed.” Alas, even this preamble came to be discredited ; and the Black Book was followed up by a series of congenial reports, principally from Legh, London, and Layton, on the great abbeys. In the dim official history of these times, we know these men chiefly by the writings in which they attack others, or ask favours of their patron, Cromwell. But we do not get altogether a pleasant impression of them. Layton writes, asking Cromwell down to his rectory of Harrow, “ Simeon was never so glad to see Christ his master as I shall be to see your lordship.” As visitor in Oxford, he wrought havoc among the libraries. His intellect may be gauged by a letter in which he laments that the increase of malting and brewing is ruining York. His correspondence abounds with filthy allusions. Yet he was paid for it with six pieces of preferment. Concerning Legh, we get a detailed report from one John ap Rice, who was afterwards joined with him as commissioner, and who complains that he was insolent, pompatic, and satrapic ; “ of an intolerable elation of mind ;” taking money greedily ; using rough fashion with religious men ; and travelling with a train of twelve men besides his own brother, who all demanded fees. This, it is true, was in a preliminary circuit of 1535. But Dr. Legh does not

seem to have improved as he grew older; for the insurgents in the Pilgrimage of Grace petitioned that he and Dr. Layton might "have condign punishment for their extortions in time of visitation, in bribes of some religious houses, 10*l.*, 20*l.*, and for other sums, besides houses, advowsons, leases under convent seals by them taken, and other abominable acts." Perhaps it is not unnatural to suspect the veracity of men who take bribes. But against Dr. London there are heavier charges. A true man of the times, he persecuted Protestants at Oxford as efficiently as Catholics elsewhere. The story that he violated nuns at Godstowe is at least not proven, and is probably false. But it is certain that in after years he was detected in an incestuous connection and put to open penance, and also that he was publicly convicted of perjury, and suffered the appropriate punishment of a charivari, riding with his face to the horse's tail at Windsor and Ockingham. His letters give one the impression of a coarse and ignorant but not ill-natured man. No one did the work of havoc, unroofing churches and melting ornaments, with greater alacrity.

Of course it does not follow because the commissioners were men of no character that their reports were false. The facts may have been such as they would have most desired to find. Yet there are several reasons for supposing that, on the whole, the monasteries were foully slandered. One is, that so many pensions were paid to men who would have forfeited all claim to a maintenance if the charges against them had been true. Nor can it well be said that this was done out of mercy or to tide over a crisis, for mercy was not the weakness of Henry VIII.'s government, and in policy it would have been better to ruin the monks' reputation in open court. In one instance, that of Furness Abbey, we know that the commissioners endeavoured unsuccessfully to find any ground of procedure. Nevertheless the abbot was at last inveigled or threatened into signing a surrender, on the ground of "misorder and evil rule both unto God and the king." The Abbot of Glastonbury was made of sterner stuff, and refused to sign a slanderous betrayal of the rights he was sworn to protect. He perhaps relied on "the excessive and indiscreet praise" which Layton, no very friendly judge, had sent up at the time of the visitation, and for which that worthy afterwards apologised, being sharply reprimanded by Cromwell, with the natural explanation that he could not be sure of his judgment, "to know the inward thought of a monk being fair in worldly and outward appearance, and inwardly cankered." Anyhow, Abbot Whiting was sent to Glastonbury "to be tried, and also to be executed there, with his complices," as a memorandum of Cromwell's, written before the trial, prophetically and pithily puts it, the charge being

that he had made away with some of the abbey property. Similar fate overtook the Abbot of Reading and the Prior of St. John's in Colchester. In these cases, where the superiors died to attest their innocence, we may fairly believe that some sense of right must have sustained them. Nor can we be hasty to condemn the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, though the foulest crimes have been imputed to them, when we know that Cranmer afterwards chose his canons for the new chapter out of them. Indeed, the very general proviso that the abbot shall have a pension till he get ecclesiastical preferment of equal value, seems to show that men who were too bad to live apart from the world were good enough for the cure of souls. But the best defence, after all, that the great monasteries can have lies in the contrast between public opinion when they were dissolved and the monstrous charges brought against them. On the one hand, we get Cromwell entrusting his son to be brought up by the Abbess of Malling; More, the friend of Erasmus, declaring that he had never known seven lords in favour of the dissolution; and a people's proverb saying, "As sure as God is in Gloucestershire," because Gloucestershire, in Fuller's language, was "most pestered with monks." On the other hand, we get charges such as no sane man can believe. We must refer to Fuller and Fox for details which are scarcely fitted for these pages, but which, monstrous as they are, are the real *gravamen* of the strong popular belief that the monasteries were guilty. But we ask generally whether it is more likely that Layton and London made dishonest reports, or that, at a time when the monks were jealously watched, and knew that their very existence depended on their good behaviour, a seraglio in the full sense of the word was no unfrequent appendage of a monastery? Is it more probable that friaries and nunneries communicated by secret passages, not one of which can be traced, or that the large drains of old buildings have been mistaken by later generations for the beginnings of such passages?

In saying this, we do not in the least wish to imply that there were not monasteries under Henry VIII., as at all times, in which gross immorality prevailed, or others in which the rule was lax and favoured occasional transgressions. Even more perhaps were they guilty of following out the fatal maxim, "*peccato celato è mezzo perdonato*;" so that heavy offences were hushed up lest the good repute of the order should suffer. In one of the worst cases recorded, which occurred at Evesham Monastery under King John, the monks only complained at last of a prior, whom the visitor expelled for gross incontinency, because he had stinted them of food and otherwise misused them. We do not therefore reject the general tenour of the charges against Sion Nunnery, for instance, where a confessor had seduced a peni-

tent; or even against Battle Abbey, where the monks were charged with nameless immorality. But we regard all particulars from men like Legh and London as highly doubtful; and we believe that, putting morality out of the question, the monks were too diligently watched by jealous rivals and unfriendly country squires, especially during Henry VIII.'s reign, to venture on any thing like public profligacy. An instance from the "Reminiscences of John Lowthe," one of John Fox's friends and correspondents, will at once give an instance of an immoral monastery and a picture of the times. It is the story of an ancestor, Edward Loude, who "was an enemy to the wanton monks of Sawtre Abbey, and to two lewd parsons of Sawtre, for they haunted most shamefully the wives of Mr. Thomas Loude's tenants in the town. At the which Mr. Loude the father, and Edmund the son, specially found fault with this rule of the monks and priests; and some time, when the houses by them were watched and the monks with their tenants' wives, the monks would beat [? drop] down the walls and slip away to the abbey. So that some time there was hot skirmishes among them. Harken, ye Catholics, to the Catholic life of your brethren." Mr. Loude's zeal for morality at last brought him into Cambridge gaol for a breach of the peace, when Wyne, the abbey attorney, visited him to propose terms of peace, and remarked that he had better have kept quiet. Loude answered that he had sooner be in prison for striking a lecherous knave than sit in the stocks, as Wyne had sat for stealing silver spoons; and therewith "reached Wyne a blow with his fist and dashed out all his foreteeth, by which blow he lisped as long as he lived. This blow was declared to the chaste clergymen in the country, and by them to the mighty clergy at the court, and so to the king. But see the goodness of God and the clemency of the prince. The king laughed heartily at the pelyng lawyer's deformity, and thought it a condign reward for such a saucy fellow, saying, Do you think it was well done of him to upbraid our prisoner being imprisoned by his means? He was served well enough. I perceive Loude is a tall gentleman; we do pardon him of his fault and imprisonment." Thus encouraged, Loude, of course, went back with fresh zeal to the war, and presently insulted a neighbouring parson in a manner too gross to be described, for kissing Miss Catharine Loude, who seems not to have shared her father's opinions, in the churchyard after vespers, as was then customary. "Besides this, the said Edward Loude conceived such a hate against that religion and that merry priest, that he came into the church and plucked the fellow from the altar as he was about to make his God." At last two of the abbot's tenants murdered him. "Yet he lived about

seven days after, and, making all things straight [with] the world, forgave all his enemies, and was laid up in a sweet rest under the altar of God, looking for the joyful resurrection. His wife sued an appeal of murder; but many delays were made and nothing done, for her husband was taken for an heretic; the clergy was mighty; but see the vengeance of God. Skelton (the murderer) with his son ran away; the father was hanged, and the son drowned; the priests could never get the pardon of the good king." As the only priest who had appeared in the matter had brought the constable and seemingly interfered to make peace, as the only witness to the first attack was a child three years old, and as the actual murderers fled, it is difficult to see how the crime could have been brought home to the monks; and the good king's disinclination to pardon them may have proceeded from some other reason than a belief in their guilt. Probably Mr. Loude had a love for abbey-lands as well as a hatred for incontinent monks; and the quarrel with the abbot's tenants may not have been purely religious. But the story strikes us as in all likelihood genuine in its main features, the author's fanaticism assisting his veracity, so that he does not care to suppress the weak parts of his case. It gives graphically enough the picture of a fermenting society, when the strong man ruled, and the laws were powerless, in the strife of old and new.

But the monks of Sawtre were doubtless only one type among many, even as "the ribalds of the Reformation," among whom we may fairly class pious Mr. Loude, were only one of various forces that were then cleaving the Church. The long lives of the ejected monks, which we can prove from the pension-roll, are some proof that they had lived healthily. In fact, gross sin was not so easy in an ordinary establishment as the common stories assume. The public were quick to note what was done amiss. The brothers belonging to different generations represented different phases of Church history; and if one was relaxed, the more austere were armed with the prestige of authority to correct backsliding. We know of one case in which a superior, detected in flagrant sin, was punished not only summarily but barbarously. Again, the rules were curiously well framed to prevent scandals: for instance, in the Benedictine order all occupied a common bedroom, and any monk travelling was bound to keep a candle alight while he was in bed. The abbot, on whom most depended, was commonly selected by the crown, or by some authority outside the abbey,—that is, by some one who had no interest in countenancing abuses. No doubt this led to evils of another kind. A curious letter is extant, in which Sir William Fitz-William recommends as a candidate for the vacant abbey of Beaulieu one who was

“not only a virtuous man, a clean liver, and a good husband,” but also, and we suspect primarily, “ever good to his grace’s [the king’s] game”—as the former abbot, it seems, had not been. Too commonly a man found that his shortest road to promotion was through the king’s presence-chamber. Under this *régime* the faith that had founded orders and sustained the sublime devotion of the first Cistercians or Franciscans was exchanged for a somnolent decorum, which, perhaps, had its sensual side in a love of ease and good living. Field-labour was left to the yeomen and hind-servants; learning was resigned to the universities; and even the more literate abbeys contented themselves with illuminating missals, or building libraries, where their predecessors had exhausted attainable knowledge. That strange absence of chronicles which is the reproach of the fifteenth century in England, is assuredly no accident, but a sign of genuine decadence. Even actual treasures were not always preserved; and Leland’s lamentations over the destruction of Bacon’s manuscripts, by the neglect of the Oxford Franciscans, will recur with bitter significance to every lover of letters. Above all, there was a fatal absence of the spirit of martyrdom. We may pick out here and there a few heroic incidents: Elstow’s spirited reply that the road to heaven was as easy by water as by land; Houghton and his fellows starving to death in prison, or dying as felons; and the three abbots, of Reading, Glastonbury, and St. John’s, Colchester, sentenced, a little later, for fidelity to their trust. But generally the monks bowed to the storm, went sadly out into the world, and lived on the little pensions they had contracted for; not a few, where they could, forsaking their vows and marrying. Had the Protestants of Mary’s time been equally acquiescent, we may fairly doubt whether the Reformation could have been founded. But, while the Cecils and Cranmers were false to their principles, while Aylmer and Grindal fled, a few leaders and the nameless multitude offered themselves to the stake. Catholicism had witnesses like Forest, and nobler martyrs still in Fisher and More; but it wanted the three hundred who should have followed these, if the faith was to be tempered anew in blood.

The monks reaped the benefit of their pliancy. The pensions assigned them were far from being unreasonable, if the circumstances of the time be taken into account. At Athelney, where the abbot seems to have consented to a fictitious ejection at law, he received 8000*l.*, and was appointed to administer the estates. At Evesham the abbot’s pension was 240*l.* a year; at St. Albans, 266*l.* These, it is true, are instances of rich abbeys and prompt surrenders; but generally the pensions granted were equal to more than half the revenue; and the charges of keeping up the

house, paying pensions to laymen on the roll, and supplying livings, are, of course, not included in this estimate. The incomes assigned to the monks differed greatly; their age and the offices they had held being taken into account, as well as their former revenues: but from 5*l.* to 6*l.*, or about the legal income of a parish priest, seems to be a fair average. The last payment was made as late as the reign of James I.; and the picture of many hundred men and women cast destitute upon the world must be given up altogether. The only persons so dealt with were those who desired capacities, or who were under twenty-four, or who had no revenues to be distributed among them. Indeed, the gains of the crown, except from the sale of bells and jewels, and the seizure of funds in hand at the richer houses, must have been very small. At Athelney the monastery was four years' income in debt; at the Priory of St. Thomas, near Stafford, it was calculated that if the king took the whole, and paid off the debts, he would lose nearly 100*l.*; in Lincolnshire the houses were so well built, that the king's commissioners advised it would cost 1000*l.* to pull them down. Nor did all the plunder fall to the crown. "I demanded of my father" (who had bought church-bells and timber at nominal prices), says Dr. Shirebrook, "whether he thought well of the religious persons and of the religion then used? And he told me, 'Yea; for,' said he, 'I did see no cause to the contrary.' 'Well,' said I, 'then, how came it to pass you was so ready to destroy and spoil the thing that you thought well of?' 'What should I do?' said he. 'Might I not, as well as others, have some profit of the spoil of the abbey? For I did see all would away; and therefore I did as others did.'" In fact, there was such a glut of commodities of this kind, that the bells were often sent for sale out of the kingdom. The contents of two noble libraries are said by the Puritan Bale to have been sold for 40*s.* to a merchant, who used them as waste-paper, and who in ten years had only consumed half. Nor was all sold; the yeomen and peasants round flocked in at a demolition, and carried off broken lead, windows, iron hooks, and even service-books to piece their wain-coverings. Even the marble and brass and lead over tombs were not respected. Nor were Cromwell's commissioners more honourable than we might expect from their antecedents: they took money right and left, falsified values, made dishonest sales, and did no work thoroughly but that of destruction.

Nevertheless, the treasury was replenished for a time, and Henry VIII. no doubt exaggerated the real wealth he had gained. He was now to endow bishoprics and colleges, enrich his courtiers, and yet retain enough to make him independent of parliaments. It is curious to notice in what proportion these different objects

were carried out. In Hampshire, out of twenty-nine houses sequestered, seven were kept to the king's use, seven were set apart for public uses, and fifteen went, in whole or in part, into private hands. In Lincolnshire, out of eighty-one houses, eighteen were kept to the king's use, ten were set apart for public uses, and fifty-three went, in whole or in part, to nobles and gentry. We say, "in whole or in part," for sometimes only the site was granted away, and often a certain money consideration was paid. In fact, out of seven mitred abbeys thus disposed of, six were paid for with about 10,000*l.* altogether, and only one was granted for faithful service and counsel. The fortunate exception was John Lord Russell, whose prosperity may the less be grudged him as he had written a very creditable letter at the beginning of the visitation in behalf of the abbey of Peterborough, which Dr. Legh threatened with speedy destruction. Lord Russell observed on this occasion, that, in his opinion, it was "ill done that any such bruits should be made: for they shall, and will, come to the king daily without any such forcing." Indeed, if More's statement, which we have before quoted, correctly expresses the feelings of the baronage about a dissolution, many scruples must have vanished before temptation. But, except two or three of the highest peers,—like the Duke of Suffolk and the Earl of Oxford,—it was not the great nobility who gained by the confiscations, so much as courtiers and new men. Naturally Cromwell was among the most favoured; and five, perhaps six, priories fell to his share, in addition to large grants of crown manors. There is reason to believe that he profited in another way from the confiscation, both from the numerous letters offering him money, and because we know his expenditure to have been vaster than even his vast known income would allow. He was a liberal patron, and made the fortune of several dependents in the same easy manner—by grants or pensions secured upon the revenues. Nor was Henry VIII. undeserving of the old character of Catiline, "*Alieni appetens, sui profusus*." He is said to have given one religious house to the fortunate housewife who pleased him with a pudding. This story we cannot verify; but a more reliable tradition represents him as having staked and lost the bells of Jesus Church, near St. Paul's, in play with Sir Miles Partridge, a blackguard in favour at court, and who afterwards was hanged for felony. Men of this kind, however, profited much more largely in the next reign, by the weakness or vice of the government. On the whole, if we consider the pensions given, the large sums embezzled, the foundations set apart for public uses, and the gifts or partial gifts to courtiers, we shall easily understand why the spoil of the monasteries turned—as if it were enchanted money—to dross in the taker's hands.

But where the government lost, the nation gained. Let us consider what the result would have been if the state had really reaped a large revenue from the confiscations. The ideal of the Stuarts, a revenue independent of Parliament, is not one which any man who values the constitution can believe to have been ever desirable. One is struck with astonishment at what seems the judicial blindness of our Commons, who, knowing that their whole strength was in giving or withholding supplies, were always ready to sacrifice it, and compound for a cheap and arbitrary government. Considering how skilfully Lord Salisbury doctored the finances under James I., by the sale of titles and monopolies and by feudal exactions, we may well believe that an income of even 100,000*l.* a year additional from crown lands would have made the labours of Eliot and Hampden in the next reign impossible. The common theme, however, of Anglican writers like Fuller and Blount is to regret that the money taken from a dispossessed religion was not applied to endow the new Church, or to promote popular education. There is no doubt that Henry's, and still more Elizabeth's, spoliation reduced the revenues of the Established Church below the point at which a married clergy can be respectable. A better paid clergy would in all likelihood have been better instructed and more decorous than too many of the country parsons were throughout the seventeenth century; and the tide of Calvinism would not have been allowed to swell till it threatened to engulf Church and State. On the other hand, it must be remembered that if the clergy had retained the temporalities of the monasteries, they would have succeeded to their unpopularity, and the partial confiscation during the Great Rebellion would perhaps have extended to the destruction of all endowments. Nor would it have been easy to avoid this by selling the lands and securing rent-charges to the Establishment. The experience of all times has shown that such rent-charges to uninterested proprietors unite the minimum of profit with the maximum of heart-burning. Generally we may lay it down as an axiom, that if a corporation, however necessary, is to be endowed in any shape out of land, the amount must not exceed what is required by bare necessity. Beyond this it is sure to excite jealousy and hatred, especially in a country like England, where the area of the whole soil is very limited, and where land is yet the most coveted result of success, and the last expression of power to successful men. The same remarks of course apply to the endowment of education. But there is one even stronger. A wealthy intellectual hierarchy would be the certain enemy of all intellectual progress. Conceive the irresistible power with which Oxford and Eton would suppress all improvement, all vague longings after history or the physical

sciences, if these venerable establishments disposed of tenfold their present revenues. Nor would the result probably be much better if a large number of small schools had been endowed. An endowed school is a freehold, from which a master can only be ejected by a wearisome process of law. The report of the last Education Commissioners sums up emphatically against such trusts where they exist; and we believe in most well-ordered villages the endowed school is quietly supplanted by its unaided rival.

No doubt the new gentry who sprang up on the profits of the dissolution were not men of high views or lofty morality. In all periods of social fermentation it is the scum that comes to the top. Unblushing vice at court, avarice and hardness among the landed gentry, were the proximate causes of the risings under Edward VI., and of that reaction towards Catholicism which made Mary a queen, and which Mary's government destroyed. But the worst of the new men—such as Palmer and Bagenall—were cleared off by the gallows in the different risings of the time, or perished without founding families, through the natural Nemesis of vice. A better generation succeeded. The politicians of the time, the Cecils and Pagets, dishonest and unscrupulous as they were, were yet men whose ability did good service to England. We were just rising again to resume our seat in the councils of Christendom. Exhausted by the French and the civil wars of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, we had sunk to the level of a third-rate power. It had seemed a question of accident whether we should become a French or a Spanish province. The great service of Elizabeth's government was, that we issued out of the sixteenth century with the prestige of the defeated Armada and the insulted Spanish seas. The work was not altogether the sovereign's, who made Leicester her general, and whose chief care was to save her crown cheaply. It was not the brain or hand of any single man that saved us, for Shakespeare and Bacon had absorbed the creative intellect of the ruling classes. Our strength lay in the host of clear-thoughted and energetic country-gentlemen, who were qualified to explore Russia, to serve in the Low Countries, to scour the seas in search of prey, or to do secret service in France or Scotland. These men were as much the children of the sixteenth-century revolution as the armies of Jemappes and Arcola were the sons of 1789. It is difficult to see how any statesmanship could have served England better than the destiny of events did when it broke up the corporate estates of the Church, and gave them to men who were prepared to defend them sword in hand.

MR. FROUDE'S REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.¹

A WRITER who possesses power and research equal to the demands of the subject will find in the history of the reign of Queen Elizabeth ample scope for the exercise of his talents. If he is attracted by the study of character, and an adept in depicting its varying phases, the sovereign herself presents an inviting object, whether she be regarded as a woman or a ruler. He may pass in review before his readers the suitors who sought her hand—Philip of Spain, Lord Robert Dudley, the King of Sweden, the Archduke of Austria, and the King of France. Closely connected with Elizabeth through the greater part of her reign is her rival and her prisoner, Mary Stuart, who, whether innocent or guilty, is an object of interest and sympathy. The English court of the time is peopled with worthies, each of whom has associated his name with its history. Nor is the subject limited to our own country. The growth of the Netherlands, the overthrow of the Spanish Armada, the massacre of St. Bartholomew, all occurred while Elizabeth sat upon the English throne. Standing within the period of transition between medieval and modern times, her reign partakes of the dramatic character of the former, while it teaches lessons of vast importance for the interpretation of the latter. We here detect, very imperfectly developed indeed, and therefore recognised only by the careful student, the germs of those principles of civil and religious liberty which have not even yet reached their full growth and maturity. The privileges of the crown and the rights of the people, undefined on either side, were gradually approaching that solution which was forced upon the nation in the time of Charles I. The laws which regulate commerce, trade, the currency, and the various questions of a kindred nature, now accepted as undisputed truths, were then evolving themselves, slowly and painfully, from the chaos of ignorance, prejudice, and misconception. At this period, too, was first propounded that form of religious worship which, however much it may be shaken and battered, is still established by law in England, and which was then recommended by the State and accepted by the people as the best mode of dealing with the religious doubts and difficulties of the age. Surely there is room here for the exercise of deep research and calm reflection; and in entering upon the history of such a reign, Mr. Froude must have felt that he was entering upon the consideration of a subject no less wide than momentous. When, therefore, he invites us to

¹ *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth.* By J. A. Froude, M.A. *Reign of Elizabeth*: Vols. I. and II. (London: Longman and Co.)

accept him as the exponent of the various questions, civil and religious, which are associated with the history of Queen Elizabeth, he will excuse us if we pause in order to examine his qualifications before we entrust ourselves to his guidance.

We readily admit that he possesses many qualities which entitle him to a respectful hearing when he discourses upon the early history of this kingdom. For the last ten years his name has been associated with kindred pursuits. He has familiarised himself with the unwrought materials,—in former times seldom consulted, but now easy of access,—from which the history of the Elizabethan age is chiefly to be constructed. We may also fairly presume that, having collected his materials with industry, he knows how to use them to the best advantage; and that experience has taught him the imperative necessity which exists for the abnegation of prejudice and the honest pursuit of truth for her own sake. We may take for granted that he has profited by the lectures read to him by his former critics, friendly as well as hostile; and that the crude theories, the violent prejudices, and the hasty conclusions which disfigured his former writings will now be no longer prominent. The long apprenticeship which he has served prepares us to find in this, his latest, production the handiwork of the master. Nor have we been disappointed. We willingly recognise Mr. Froude's merits as a writer, and are prepared to do ample justice to the research and the artistic skill which he has lavished upon the two volumes now published. We proceed, therefore, to discuss them as a solid contribution to our national literature.

The only fair point of view from which they can be regarded, for the purpose of testing their value, is that upon which the author himself has taken his stand. He tells us that his work is a "History of the reign of Queen Elizabeth." He does not offer it to us as "Contributions towards the History of Elizabeth." It is a History, and nothing less than a History; and as such we are bound to accept it.

This consideration authorises us to enquire into the probable bulk of the work when completed. The two stout volumes now printed, containing more than 1000 pages, embrace a period of little more than eight years. Elizabeth reigned forty-five. When will Mr. Froude finish his work? Of how many volumes will it consist when completed? One of two evils may be anticipated. Either the work will attain a magnitude, at some remote period, which will eventually render it useless, or the greater compression of the later volumes will ill accord with the diffuseness of the former, and the unity and harmony of the entire work will be ruined.

We cannot but remark upon another disadvantage which attends this system of producing historical works by sections at irregular

periods. Not only does it prevent the author from resurveying his history, when completed, as a whole, so as to take care that each part shall be in harmony with the rest, before it is offered to the public eye; but it entails upon him difficulties yet more serious. Under the pressure of this hand-to-mouth system of publication, he is tempted to generalise upon imperfect data, and to pronounce sentence upon evidence still incomplete. He is as yet only partially acquainted with the character of the actors, and does not fully comprehend the bearing of events. The entire drift of the subject in its manifold aspects has not yet passed before him; he may understand it accurately enough up to a given point, but after that period his knowledge becomes uncertain, and therefore treacherous. Should he attempt to explain the present state of things by their future results, he is compelled to reason upon evidence not yet fully produced, and he is betrayed into false conclusions. It would be better for him were he to see the end from the beginning. The man who knows the whole of a subject is wiser than the man who knows only a part of it. We can generally find no safer commentary upon the origin and progress of an event than its gradual development and its final issue; for the axiom holds good in history, as well as in philosophy, that the act which is latest in execution is the earliest in the conception of the designer.

Upon completing the perusal of these two volumes, we were struck, in the first place, by their disconnected character. They appear to have been written at different times,—forged piecemeal, and never carefully welded together. There is a want of unity, a want of consistency, a want of cohesion, about them, which implies a want of solidity, and argues ill for their durability. They lack that oneness of design and execution which ought to predominate in every historical conception, whether it be the offspring of the pen or the pencil. The author does not exhibit the rare art of making the details of his work subservient to the primary figure of the group. That which ought to be a foil sometimes becomes an antagonism. The attention of the reader is too often diverted from the leading idea, and he recovers it only by an effort of memory. Mr. Froude suffers what Elizabeth would not suffer, a rival too near her throne; and Mary of Scotland is allowed to engross the interest which a more skilful artist would have contrived to centralise around his heroine. Again, we notice it as a structural defect, that some portions of the narrative are expanded to an undue length, while others equally important and equally interesting are treated only in a passing manner. For instance, we have an entire chapter upon the origin and progress of English piracy, which is amusing and instructive doubtless, but which might be removed from the work without its loss being detected.

Mr. Froude's style is, as it always has been, one of the chief

attractions of his writings. Eminently graphic and picturesque, he excels in the description of stirring incident, and places the action before us with a wonderful reality. The murder-scene of Riccio² and the last night of Darnley are admirable specimens of his best style. He seizes instinctively upon every point of detail which gives motion and vitality to the figure; and each is worked into its own appropriate place with a rare skill. In our opinion,—it is a question of feeling,—there are a few pages the good taste of which is questionable; while, under an assumed simplicity of expression, there is an undue striving after effect. If we compare him with the contemporary writers of history in France, he approaches nearest to Michelet, both as regards his merits and his defects; while he seems to us to be inferior to Mignet and Henri Martin in clearness of arrangement, in precision of thought, and in elegance of diction.

In arriving at a fair judgment upon the merits of every historical composition, we have always two questions to ask; in the first place, What sources of information has the author consulted? and in the next place, How has he used them? Both considerations are most important to the final result. The structure which the architect has reared, however elegant in appearance, may be worthless, because framed out of insecure and trashy materials; or the materials, however good in themselves, may be clumsily and inconveniently put together. Two things therefore, we repeat, are indispensable requisites—good materials, and the proper employment of them.

To all who open these volumes it is obvious at the first glance that their author is familiar with the chief sources of Elizabethan history, as well with the printed collections as also with those which still only exist in manuscript. He has enjoyed unlimited access to our great national depository, the General Record Office; in mentioning which we are glad to notice that he pays a just tribute of respect to the memory of the late Mr. Turnbull, "who, before the unwisdom of the Evangelical [Protestant?] Alliance deprived the country of his services, was employed in the Record Office, on the Calendar of the Elizabethan state-papers." The British Museum is familiar ground, and frequent reference is made to the treasures which there exist. Mr. Froude acknowledges the rare privilege of admission to the private papers of the great Lord Burleigh at Hatfield, and adds, that "it is impossible to overrate the value of these documents. To know at any given conjuncture the opinion of Sir William Cecil upon it, is to know all which any modern enquirer is likely to arrive at." But the present volumes derive much of their interest and nearly all their novelty from the large extracts

² Mr. Froude prefers the form of Ritzio, unprecedented, we believe, and certainly incorrect. An autograph of the unfortunate Piedmontese gives the orthography thus—Riccio. *Teulet*, ii. 137, quarto edition.

which they embody, obtained from the correspondence of the Spanish ambassadors successively resident in the court of London as the representatives of Philip the Second. The originals are deposited in the state fortress of Simancas near Valladolid; and the courtesy of the Spanish Government gave Mr. Froude unrestricted access to every document in that collection. The information which they bring to light is so startling, both as regards Elizabeth's state policy and private conduct, that it becomes most important to ascertain, if possible, how far these papers are trustworthy.

Mr. Froude gives them his unhesitating credence. There are weighty reasons, as he justly remarks in his preface, for believing that the position of the Spanish ambassador resident in England was exceptional. He was the central point round which rallied every interest of the Catholics; and he thus possessed unusual opportunities of knowing the truth. A very large proportion of the nation, embracing the most intelligent of the laity and the most respectable of the clergy, was opposed to any change in religion; and when the Queen declared for the Reformation, it was to Philip that all these looked for advice, protection, and assistance. The Spanish ambassadors were the medium of communication between England and the Catholic world. It is highly probable therefore that they possessed sources of information superior to those usually enjoyed by the representatives of other foreign states. There are many guarantees for the accuracy of their intelligence. No deception could have been long practised upon them without its being detected by some keen eye; nor can we believe that the writers of these letters would have ventured upon the hazardous experiment of attempting to deceive their master. "In no instance," says Mr. Froude emphatically, "where their statements can be tested by other criteria, have I found them to be seriously mistaken." If we accept them, they give a new aspect to Elizabeth's reign, and seriously compromise her reputation. From them we derive the account of the murder of the Countess of Leicester, of the Queen's equivocal position with regard to Dudley, of her intended marriage with him, and of the proposed restoration of Catholicism under the protection of Philip and the Pope. How are we to regard these startling revelations? Shall we accept them, and abide by the result, as Mr. Froude has done; or shall we assume that the Queen, Cecil, Dudley, in fact the whole court, played upon the easy credulity of the ambassador, and hoaxed him thus unmercifully?

Before going further we must take notice of the fact that Mr. Froude does not stand alone in the estimate which he has formed as to the value of this series of documents. A portion of them has already been made public in the Transactions of the Royal Academy of History at Madrid; and further extracts have been given by M. Mignet in his *Life of Mary Stuart*. Neither the Spanish nor

the French writer intimates any doubt as to the credibility of these letters.

We have heard it suggested more than once, as the probable solution of the difficulty, that in the case of De Quadra, Bishop of Aquila, the Spanish court adopted a course by no means uncommon, and perfectly in keeping with its tortuous policy. We are reminded that it is sometimes very convenient to place at the head of a mission some personage of high rank, pleasing exterior, and good address, who shall represent the sovereign with grace and dignity, but who need not be a wise man. Such, it is said, was De Quadra. The real work of the embassy, it is added, was done by another agent, inferior in position but superior in talent, who, unknown to the Bishop, made their master acquainted with the true state of affairs in England.

Ingenious as this supposition undoubtedly is, it is apparently untenable. It implies the transmission from England of a series of letters which ran parallel with the correspondence of De Quadra, and by which the statements of the latter were controlled and corrected. If any such correspondence ever existed, it exists no longer; or, to speak more guardedly, it has not yet been produced. We have no reason to believe that any such letters were extant at any previous time, either at Simancas or elsewhere. If they had existed, they could not have escaped notice. We must be contented therefore for the present to take the Bishop's letters as they stand, with all the difficulties with which they are confessedly surrounded.

Another solution, however, presents itself. In June 1562, after the most startling of these letters had been written, De Quadra discovered that "his confidential secretary, the person who ciphered his letters and held the keys of his correspondence, went over to the English government and offered to betray all that he knew."³ The Bishop believed that this was his secretary's first step in treachery, and Mr. Froude apparently is of the same opinion. But may not the traitor have been in Cecil's pay for long? And may not the wily English minister have employed the servant to deceive the master, leading him off from the truth by these wonderful revelations? But in fact we know very little about the matter at present. The Bishop's character intellectually and morally is very imperfectly understood, from the want of materials sufficiently extensive; still less do we know in what form these letters are presented to us by Mr. Froude. We cannot test De Quadra's credibility. We do not know what remains in the background, how many absurd stories he may have retailed, into how many palpable errors he may have fallen. We are taken by surprise by the production of these documents, and all that we can do is to admit them under protest. When Mr. Bergenroth's Calendar of this por-

³ ii. 397.

tion of the Simancas papers is published, we shall possess the means of arriving at some probable conclusion; till then all must be surmise and conjecture.

A general survey of the materials of which Mr. Froude has availed himself proves that in this respect he has exhibited due care and research. The next step in the enquiry is to ascertain the mode in which he has employed the documents he has consulted; a question of yet more vital importance in deciding the merit of every historical composition.

Here at the outset we are unwillingly compelled to admit that we have been disappointed. With access to documents of the highest value, Mr. Froude has failed to employ them to the best advantage. This arises partly from carelessness, the result of the fragmentary mode of composition which he has adopted, partly from the end which he has in view in writing his history. Documents to him are valuable or unimportant chiefly as far as they supply materials which will produce effect; for with the school to which he belongs the chief end of history is novelty and excitement. He must depict character and represent incident in a new and startling light; or, if the necessity of the case forbids this, the details must be so varied as to impart an air of originality to the whole. To the attainment of this end all else is made subservient—probability, consistency, even testimony. We maintain, on the contrary, that ornament is legitimate only when it is employed upon the embellishment of material which is in itself solid and substantial; if effect be produced by weakening the stability of the structure, it is not only worthless but mischievous. That Mr. Froude has erred in this respect is a grave accusation, and one which no one ought to advance without at the same time producing at least some of the evidence upon which it is founded. This we shall now proceed to do. We shall establish two things:—in the first place, that Mr. Froude is careless as to the way in which he produces his documents; and in the second place, that he employs them uncritically.

We differ from him as to the way in which an author is at liberty to quote letters and state-papers. We have a right to believe that when he prints letters, or portions of letters, between inverted commas, these passages occur *totidem verbis* in the original manuscripts. But with him this is not the case. Without any indication of the process to which it has been subjected, he compresses a document into one half, or one quarter, of its original dimensions, omitting words, sentences, and paragraphs according to his convenience. Abridgment is perfectly allowable, nay it is absolutely necessary, in dealing with such bulky materials; but it is not fair to the student of history that an author should select just so much of a document as suits his convenience or his purpose, and offer it as if it represented

the whole utterance of the original writer. This system places us at the mercy of the historian, and therefore is entirely and absolutely inconsistent with sound criticism. Yet Mr. Froude employs it without scruple. For instance, in printing the letter from Randolph to the Lords of Scotland,⁴ he omits not only words and expressions, but sentences, and one entire paragraph. The passage forming part of a letter from Randolph to Leicester and Cecil⁵ is in fact made up of passages selected from two separate documents, which are here blended together without any indication being given of the process to which they have been subjected.

The same liberty has been taken with the conversations which are introduced with such effect into these volumes, and from which they derive so much of their interest. When we read them we are betrayed into the belief that they are accurately copied from the manuscript there cited as the authority from which they are derived. Such, however, is not the case. The more sparkling turns in the dialogue are selected; all the wit, all the point, is carefully preserved and cleverly strung together, without regard, however, to the intermediate and connecting changes of thought and sentiment upon the part of the speakers. In this manner the conversation between Sir T. Smith and the Queen-mother of France is dressed up,⁶ as has also been the account of what passed at the murder of Riccio;⁷ and it is exceedingly probable that a more extended examination would reveal other examples.

We have stated that Mr. Froude has taken unwarrantable liberties with his documents, and that he uses them carelessly; both these faults are singularly illustrated in the following instance. In order to give expansion to his account of the quarrel between the Queen and her Bishops, we are presented by him with "the archbishop's opinion of the situation" as it stood on the 28th of April 1565. For this purpose he prints a letter from one of the Museum manuscripts.⁸ Unfortunately, however, when we examine the original, we find that it is dated 28 April 1566, one year later than the period to which Mr. Froude assigns it. The difference of a year very materially alters the position and feelings of disputants; and what was very true in 1565 may be very false in 1566.

This letter—which occupies only one of Mr. Froude's pages—gives us another instance of a blunder for which we are at a loss to account.⁹ The writer, Archbishop Parker, thus expresses himself, as the text is here printed:¹⁰ "My predecessor, Cranmer, *of blessed memory*, labouring in vain with Bishop Ferrers, the council took

⁴ ii. 178. ⁵ ii. 157, 158. ⁶ ii. 124. ⁷ ii. 252. ⁸ Lansd. ix. art. 40.

⁹ In the same letter Parker quotes a passage from the Vulgate, "Deus, qui comprehendit sapientes in astutia eorum." So it stands in the printed copy; the true reading is "*ipsorum*," the copyist not having been able to read the contracted form in which that word is written by the archbishop.

¹⁰ ii. 141.

it in hand." It will scarcely be credited—yet so it is—that the words which we have printed in italics do not occur at all in the original, but that they have been interposed in the text without any authority whatever. Willingly and without a moment's hesitation we exonerate Mr. Froude from any intention of exalting Cranmer to the glories of an Anglican canonisation; but what is the value of quotations from documents which are dealt with in such a reckless manner as this?

Of this evil habit of tampering with his authorities we will produce another example. Mason writes thus to Cecil:¹¹ "My health, I thank God, is recovered; nothing remaining but an ill *bark*." The phrase though homely is expressive; but Mr. Froude does not like it; accordingly he alters it to "an ill cough." The same letter affords an instance of mischievous meddling upon a larger scale. Mason's words, as they stand in his own handwriting, are these: "We say here her majesty at her next removing will bend northward." In the printed text it is altered thus: "The queen is expected to go north on progress."

Mr. Froude is uniformly severe upon Mary of Scotland, whether rightly or wrongly we need not enquire for our present purpose. We only ask that such accusations as are brought against her should rest upon sufficient grounds. Let us see how he deals with the criminal. In order to prove her bitter hostility to her brother, a letter from Randolph to Cecil, dated 5 October 1565 (which is said to be among the Scotch Mss. in the Rolls House), is quoted,¹² in which she is reported to have "said she could have no peace till she had Murray's or Chatelherault's head." There is no such letter. There is, indeed, in that series a letter from Randolph to Cecil written on the 4th; but it represents Mary as not only uncertain how to act, but inclined to adopt conciliatory measures. It contains the following passage: "All things stand here upon such uncertainty that I can be assured of nothing. Sometimes the queen will pursue the noblemen where they are. Sometimes she will besiege their houses, and put them out of possession of all that they have. At sometimes she seemeth to be so well content to hear their complaints and griefs, that we are in hope that all matters will be accorded."

Again, Mr. Froude quotes these words as if from a letter written by Randolph to Cecil upon the same subject,¹³ Mary's enmity to her brother: "She has some further cause of quarrel with him than she cares to avow." The passage stands thus in the original: "I may conjecture that there is some heavier matter at her heart against him than she will utter to any."

The figure of Mary is always prominent; and Mr. Froude has

¹¹ ii. 60, compared with the original in the Lansd. Mss. vii. 77.

¹² ii. 206.

¹³ ii. 191.

given us more than one sketch of her drawn with his accustomed skill. She "mounted her horse and rode out of Edinburgh, at the head of 5000 men, to meet her enemies in the field. Darnley, in gilt armour, was at her side. She herself carried pistols in hand and pistols at her saddle-bow."¹⁴ Randolph has another account to give. "I take it but for a tale," says he, "(though it be here constantly reported) that she doth herself bear sometimes a pistolet; and had that time one in hand when, coming near Hamilton, she looked to have fought."¹⁵

Shortly afterwards the same picture is reproduced. She is again marching at the head of a motley force of 18,000 men; she is armed in steel bonnet and corselet "with a dagger at her saddle-bow."¹⁶ For this quotation we are referred to a letter from Randolph to Cecil. We turn to it, and find Randolph descanting upon the dangerous position of Mary, politically and personally; and he then leaves the English minister to infer "what safety and assurance she thinketh herself to be in,—if it be true that I did hear,—that she hath a secret or privy defence upon her body, a knapstalle upon her head, and a dagger at her saddle."¹⁷ This passage shows that it was at best only a report, and that Randolph was not satisfied of the truth of the report; yet it is accepted by Mr. Froude as an unquestioned fact.

One of the most important letters in these volumes is that in which Bedford and Randolph inform Elizabeth, Leicester, and Cecil, of the intended murder of Riccio, and of the subsequent plans of the conspirators in regard to Mary. The whole is printed between inverted commas, as a direct quotation from the Scotch Ms., Rolls House.¹⁸ The last clause stands thus in the original: "If persuasions to cause the queen to yield to these measures do no good, they purpose to proceed,—we know not in what sort. If she be able to make any power at home, she shall be withstood, and herself kept from all other counsel than her own nobility. If she seek any foreign support, the queen's majesty, our sovereign, shall be sought and sued unto to accept his¹⁹ and their defence, with offers reasonable to her majesty's contentment." Every word of this passage is pregnant with meaning; but Mr. Froude gives us instead his own version: "If the queen will not yield to persuasion, we know not how they propose to proceed. If she make a power at home, she will be fought with; if she seek aid from abroad, the country will be placed at the queen's majesty's disposal to deal as she thinks fit."

Once more, and for the last time. The murderers of Riccio give Cecil "a clear brief statement of the truth."²⁰ In it occurs the following passage as it stands, between inverted commas, in Mr.

¹⁴ ii. 191.

¹⁵ Randolph to Cecil, 4 Sept. 1565, Rolls House.

¹⁶ ii. 207.

¹⁷ Oct. 13.

¹⁸ ii. 247.

¹⁹ The reference here is to Darnley.

Froude's print: "This is the truth, whatever the king say now, and we are ready to stand by it and prove it."²⁰ The original manuscript reads, "And now albeit through facility of youthhead he be induced to dissemble, yet we have enough for us to verify whatever here we have most truly written and passed in very deed."

Here we cease to prosecute this division of the subject, though, were we so inclined, we might quote additional proofs of what we have affirmed. Proceeding now to the last division of our unpleasant duty, we shall adduce a few instances, collected at random from these volumes, for the purpose of showing that they exhibit a lack of accuracy in their mode of dealing with the minor details of history.

The French ambassadors who visited Parker at Bekesbourne, in 1564, are said to have been De Gonor and the Bishop of Constance.²¹ The Bishop of Constance in Switzerland is confused with the Bishop of Coutances in Normandy.²²

Translating from the French examination of Paris, printed by Anderson, we have frequent mention of "the Abbot of St. Cross," "one of James the Fifth's wild brood of children, whom the church had provided with lands and title."²³ There was no such title in Scotland; the Abbot of Holyrood is the personage here referred to.

Somewhat similar is the error which occurs in connection with a more notorious individual. John Knox, for very satisfactory reasons, sometimes corresponded with Elizabeth's agents under the assumed name of J. Sinclair.²⁴ Mr. Froude does not recognise him under this disguise, but dignifies him with the title of "the Master of St. Clair;"²⁵ and having quoted a passage from one of his letters, adds, in all simplicity, "something of the same kind was suggested by Knox."

"A remarkable paper on the Lennox question in Scotland," which is printed entire,²⁶ is said by Mr. Froude to be unsigned and unaddressed. It is addressed to Throckmorton.

A letter from Cecil to Sir James Croftes, of July 8, 1559, is here described as being an "autograph draft, endorsed, *to be put in cipher*."²⁷ There is no such endorsement.

Passing onwards, we regret to observe that Mr. Froude is singularly deficient in his appreciation of the nature of historical evidence, and is inclined to accept as true every statement which he can find on paper, without caring to enquire into the source whence it is derived. Written evidence varies as much in its credibility

²⁰ ii. 268.

²¹ ii. 69.

²² The point might have easily been settled by a reference to the *Gallia Christiana*, vol. xi. col. 902. 1759.

²³ ii. 366.

²⁴ That Knox wrote under this feigned name has already been pointed out by Tytler, *Hist. Scot.* vi. 176. See also Sadler's *State-Papers*, i. 455.

²⁵ i. 162.

²⁶ ii. 119.

²⁷ i. 121.

as parole evidence does. Documents are but written statements; and statements, whether written or spoken, ought to undergo the same degree of scrutiny. The historian, if he be careful and conscientious, here stands in the capacity of a judge, and interposes himself between the witness and the contending parties in the suit which is being argued before him, and which awaits his decision. But Mr. Froude shrinks from this irksome duty. He accepts as equally credible the testimony of every witness who presents himself, and all the more willingly in proportion to its vehemence of assertion and its coincidence with his own prejudices. He does not cross-question, he does not weigh the relative probabilities in themselves, or balance them against each other. He takes what he likes, and what does not suit him he rejects. Of this wholesale method of the indiscriminate acceptance of evidence there is a most striking illustration in his mode of dealing with the history of Queen Mary. It is well known that the question of her guilt or innocence depends in a very great degree upon our admission or rejection of the celebrated letters which she is said to have written to Bothwell. If they are received as genuine, then she was a consenting party to Darnley's murder; if they are treated as forgeries, as she steadily asserted they were, then the accusation against her must rest upon other grounds. No one knows this better than Mr. Froude himself; yet he writes, "The authenticity of these letters will be discussed in a future volume, in connection with their discovery, and with the examination of them which then took place. Meanwhile I shall assume the genuineness of these documents, which, without turning history into a mere creation of imaginative sympathies, I do not feel at liberty to doubt."²⁸ But this violates every conception of justice and equity; the testimony is admitted, the sentence is pronounced, the prisoner is condemned, and then the judge tells us, in a parenthetical sort of way, that at some future time he will discuss the admissibility of the proofs.

It is one of Mary's misfortunes that we know her chiefly through her enemies. The letters from which Mr. Froude has here drawn his information are for the most part written by persons who either, being Englishmen, disliked her upon political grounds, or, being Puritans, hated her because she was a Catholic. Throckmorton, whose name so frequently occurs in connection with her history, "had for the last six years been at the head of every Protestant conspiracy in Europe. He it was of whose experienced skill Elizabeth had availed herself to light the Scottish insurrection."²⁹ The Earl of Bedford, who was so constantly employed upon the Scottish borders, "was the favourite above all English noblemen of the extreme Reformers."³⁰ The Duke of Chatelherault, the first peer in Scotland, was under the influence of Knox,

²⁸ ii. 352.²⁹ ii. 224.³⁰ i. 44.

and had pledged himself to the performance of certain promises under the dictation of the Reformer.³¹ Lord James, the Queen's half-brother and bitterest opponent, was a man of "earnest Calvinism."³² Arran "wished all the papists in Scotland hanged."³³ Fully aware, as Mr. Froude is, of the prejudices which these correspondents of Elizabeth and Cecil entertained against the unfortunate Queen of Scotland, it seems to us only fair that he should have cautioned his readers against yielding too ready faith to the statements and opinions contained in their letters.

Strikingly indicative of Mr. Froude's misapprehension of character is the estimate he has formed of Knox, the ruffian of the Reformation, as Dr. Johnson describes him, the most intolerant of of an intolerant creed and an intolerant country. According to our author,³⁴ "he was no narrow fanatic, who, in a world in which God's grace was equally visible in a thousand creeds, could see truth and goodness nowhere but in his own formula." Knox would have spurned this description of his religious convictions; he would not have admitted that God's grace was equally visible in a thousand creeds; he would have maintained that it could be found in one only, and that one his own. He would admit of no divided worship, no toleration, nothing but the purest Calvinism. The pope was Antichrist; Rome was the woman on the Seven Hills. The Mass was an abomination, and the priest who said Mass was guilty of a crime worthy of death. His vehement malignity against all those who differed from himself breathes in every page of his History. In vain Mary offered toleration: "I mean," said she, speaking to Throckmorton, "to constrain none of my subjects, but would wish that they were all as I am; and I trust they should have no support to constrain me."³⁵ No sooner had she landed than Knox, " inveighing against idolatry" (these are his own words), "showed what terrible plagues God had taken upon realms and nations for the same, and added, that one Mass—there was no more suffered at the first—was more fearful to him than if ten thousand armed enemies were landed in any part of the realm."³⁶ His violence terrified his own friends. Randolph, writing to Cecil, thus laments his imprudent zeal: "Mr. Knox cannot be otherwise persuaded but

³¹ "Upon Sunday at night the duke supped with Mr. Knox, where the duke desired that I should be. Three special points he hath promised to perform to Mr. Knox before me. The one is, never to go for any respect from that that he hath promised, to be a professor of Christ's word and setter forth of the same to his power; the next, always to show himself an obedient subject to his sovereign, as far as in duty and conscience he is bound; the third, never to alter from that promise he hath made for the maintenance of peace and amity between both the realms." Randolph to Cecil, Edinb. 30 Nov. 1562, Cal. b. ix. 177. Orig.

³² i. 250.

³³ Randolph to Cecil, 7 Nov. 1561, Calig. b. x. 189.

³⁴ Throckmorton to Elizabeth, 23 June 1561.

³⁵ i. 104.

³⁶ Hist. ii. 276.

many men are deceived in this woman. He feareth yet that *posteriora erunt pejora primis*. His severity keepeth us in marvellous order. I commend better the success of his doings and preachings than the manner thereof, though I acknowledge his doctrine to be sound. His prayer is daily for her that God will turn her obstinate heart against God and His truth; or if His holy will be otherwise, to strengthen the heart and hand of His chosen and elect stoutly to withstand the rage of all tyrants, &c., in words terrible enough."²⁷

More dangerous than the unreasoning violence of Knox was the craftier agency of Randolph, one of Elizabeth's most active and most efficient agents in Scotland. Our information respecting Queen Mary is chiefly derived from his correspondence; and he has given a tone and colouring to the events of her biography. It is important therefore that we should know something of his opinions and his character. He was the younger son of a Kentish gentleman of no great wealth or position. When we first become acquainted with him in 1557, he was resident in France, and is described as being a "scholar of Paris."²⁸ He appears to have floated upon the surface of society, ready to take advantage of any of those unexpected events which might suddenly bring a man of action into notice. He wandered into Germany during the course of the following year, and identified himself with the party of the Reformers.²⁹ When it became important that the young Earl of Arran should escape from France, and place himself at the head of the revolutionary party in Scotland, Throckmorton—at that time the English ambassador resident in Paris—was requested by Cecil to find some one to conduct the fugitive into England. Throckmorton selected Randolph; and skilfully and successfully did he discharge his trust, though every step of the circuitous road which they were compelled to travel lay through the enemy's country. Cecil was so well satisfied with his talents that he gave him a mission into Scotland; and throughout nearly the whole of Mary's reign Randolph was employed at her court as Elizabeth's representative.

A pupil of Cecil in politics, and a coreligionist with Knox in doctrine, we need not wonder that Randolph looked upon Mary with a suspicious eye. In reading his despatches we are prepared to encounter his prejudices and to make allowances for them. Yet his traditional dislike gradually yields as he becomes better acquainted with the Scottish queen; and he ventures to speak of her as he finds her. In December 1562 he thus records his impressions:

"The Queen herself, how well soever she favour her uncles, yet she loveth better her own subjects. She knoweth the necessity of

²⁷ Calig. b. x. 181 b.

²⁸ Turnbull's *Calendar of Queen Mary*, p. 299.

²⁹ Stevenson's *Calendar of Queen Elizabeth*, nos. 8, 68.

my sovereign's friendship to be greater than a priest babbling at an altar. She is not so affectioned to her Mass that she will leave a kingdom for it. . . Your honour need not doubt any thing of this Queen's evil mind. Her desire was never greater to live in peace, nor never more heartily desired the Queen's majesty's kindness and good will than now she doth. Yesterday she spoke it, and willed me to write the same. Many vain rumours there are spread here of wars, insomuch that I should be sent home, that charge was given unto the Wardens to make a road⁴⁰ into England, with such like. She showed herself greatly offended therewith. I heard yesterday a new charge given to the Lord Cessford to do good justice. Upon Tuesday last I dined with the lords of the council at the provost's house of the town; their whole talk was of little other purpose than of the amity between the queens, ministered of purpose, that being there present of divers parts, every one might report what he heard. . . . To give your honour this assurance of this Queen's good will towards our sovereign, and of the devotion of this people towards her majesty, except I saw good reason that moved me, it were no small offence, and such a fault as none could be greater. Wherefore I ought the more advisedly to consider what I write. . . . My duty is to my sovereign to conceal nothing of that that is truth when I am called to make an account thereof. . . I must again assure your honour that I believe the Queen our sovereign was never better beloved of any queen or prince than she is of this, nor never so much cared of any strange nation as she is of this people universally. The reason of my knowledge is this. I hear the Queen herself speak it. It is the opinion of all men. And not only that, but those that know in her most of any other, nearest unto her in counsel, priviest unto all her doings, do assure me of the same. And I myself find nothing done nor said unto the contrary."⁴¹

Here, then, if there is faith to be placed in man's word, is the genuine estimate of Mary's feelings, intentions, and character, as they were understood by the keen-sighted and worldly Englishman. That he was speaking his sincere convictions is proved by the whole tone of his letter; and what is perhaps a weightier argument for his truthfulness, he fell at this time under the suspicion of Knox; who viewed with dissatisfaction the growing influence of the Scottish Jezebel.⁴² Presently there occurs a sudden and marked revolution:

⁴⁰ That is, an inroad.

⁴¹ Randolph to Cecil, Edinb. 3 Dec. 1562, Calig. b. ix. 179 b.

⁴² "Master Randolph, agent for the Queen of England, was then, and some time after, in no small conceit with our Queen; for his mistress' sake she drank to him [in] a cup of gold, which he possessed with greater joy for the favor of the giver than of the gift and value thereof; and yet it was honourable." Knox's *Hist.* ii. 314. Randolph himself, writing to Cecil (12 Feb. 1562), tells him that the cup weighed eighteen or twenty ounces.

in Randolph's correspondence ; there is now no term of contempt too strong, no insinuation too base, to be lavished upon her of whom he thought and wrote so kindly. There was a political necessity for this. In the interval Mary had dared to vindicate her own independence ; she had rejected Elizabeth's degrading proposal of marrying Lord Dudley, and had taken Lord Darnley as her husband.

Randolph was in a difficult position ; but he was a skilful and experienced diplomatist, and knew well how to deal with the weaker side of weak human nature. He was most deeply compromised with Lord Robert, the man who personally held the heaviest stake in the game which the Queen of England had been playing, with such odds in her favour, against the Queen of Scots. He sat down and wrote a letter, from which the following is an extract :

"So long as I did know that your lordship had credit in this court, I took no small pleasure from time to time to let your lordship understand the state thereof. Sometimes I wrote to the Queen's self, sometimes to the ladies and maidens, and at no time lacked sufficient matter to find myself occupied. Then I thought myself happy, and that I led a good life. I found then many things that did content me, and in my own conceit rejoiced not a little to think what life I should have led if, through my service and travail, these two countries might have been united in one, and your lordship, to whom I am most bound, here to have enjoyed both the Queen and country ; whereunto I found not only herself, but as many others as ever heard of your name, no less willing than I, that most desired that so it should have been.

"Since that time what change there hath been your lordship hath heard, and in what state presently this country standeth your lordship knoweth. And in few words, to call the same again to your remembrance, I may well say that a wilfuller woman, and one more wedded to her own opinion, without order, reason, or discretion, I never did know or heard of. Her husband, in all these conditions, and many worse, far passeth herself. Her council such men as never were esteemed for wisdom or honesty. Herself, and all such as belong unto her, so evil-bruited and spoken of that worse cannot be thought than is common in every man's mouth.

"These things I doubt not but your lordship findeth strange ; and specially to see me confirm the same, that so oftentimes, both in word and writing, have so far set forth her praises as my tongue would serve me to speak or my will to vent in all rooms and places where I became, so far that in many places your lordship knoweth how hardly I was believed. I fear, therefore, that I shall be reproved, either for lack of constancy that so far differ from my former opinion, or want of judgment that could not so far see as that which I now find.

"To this I answer, that if I alone had so thought of her, and that the same had not been confirmed by many other, unto whom (in deep consideration of all cases of weight and persons that have to do with) I must of reason give place, it might well be thought that I was either overseen in judgment or unadvised in my reports. But if your lordship hath found that whatsoever I have spoken or written in her commendation was confirmed unto the whole world by other many and diverse, what can be judged of me but that with them, at that time, I reported as I found, and that she is so much changed in her nature that she beareth only the shape of that woman she was before? Wherefore your lordship may not think that you should in any case have been beguiled, but that only for lack of so good a husband as she should have had of you, and for only despite that she wanteth you, and in the getting of you could not have her will, gave such liberty unto the natural disposition that is in the whole kind, that she cared neither what became of herself or country, so that she might do any thing that might grieve them with whom she was, and yet is, offended. What other occasions moved her thus hastily to enter into this new kind or trade of life and government, I leave it rather to be conjectured at than that I have will to put it here in writing. If there be an *Edipus* amongst you, or if your lordship will call to mind some purposes that beforetime have been written unto your lordship, you will soon know what I mean."⁴³

These two letters from which we have given the above extracts supply us with the means of interpreting Randolph's subsequent correspondence. We see why we can give it only a cautious amount of credit in those points especially which are hostile to Mary. We have no wish to censure him further than this. He served Elizabeth faithfully in his generation; and though she rewarded him with a niggard hand, yet he continued to traduce to the utmost of his power her obnoxious Scottish rival. His influence upon Mary's subsequent history, even up to the present time, cannot easily be overrated. He fomented discord and rebellion among her subjects, and was the channel through which they received encouragement and support from England. His reports as to the state of affairs on the north of the Tweed were studied by Elizabeth, were read at the Privy Council, and handed about among the lords of the court; and by their means the impression most hostile to Mary was diffused through every family of distinction in England. Nor has their influence ended with the life of her whom they have so deliberately and successfully misrepresented; for they form the chief source whence has been derived a large portion of the accusations brought

⁴³ Randolph to Leicester, Edinburgh, 18 Oct. 1565; Rolls House, Scottish Series.

against her from the days of George Buchanan up to the publication of Mr. Froude's volumes.

Here, then, we close our enquiry into the critical method in which our author has employed his materials. It now only remains for us to sum up in a few words the general impression conveyed by a tolerably careful perusal of the entire work as far as it has hitherto been published.

It is always pleasant to praise, and there is so much to praise in these volumes that it is at once a pleasure and a duty. Clear, terse, and flowing in diction, brilliant in delineation, rapid and stirring in action, they place before us with wonderful power and lifelikeness the changing scenes of this great historical drama. Upon these their merits there can scarcely be two opinions; if there are dissentients, we are not of the number.

On the other hand, we cannot conceal that, as a work which claims to be regarded as grave and accurate history, these volumes labour under defects which are radical. They are wanting in the appreciation of evidence, in discrimination between the historical and the picturesque, in the balancing of probabilities, and in the calm and patient investigation of truth. The documents on which the narrative is founded have too often been selected without due regard to their intrinsic value; nor have they been confronted and verified by a reference to others equally trustworthy. The history is incomplete; the parts are not balanced one against the other, so as to make the work consistent, uniform, and harmonious. The original sin of the whole publication is the point of view from which it is written. It is a concession to the popular taste of the day, which, questionable under any aspect, is doubly so when applied to the history of the past. The demand is for the melodramatic and the exciting,—for startling incident expressed in passionate language,—and Mr. Froude does not scruple to yield to its influence. Satisfied with present popularity, he is contented to forego a more enduring reputation. His book will be read, will be praised, and will be forgotten. We could have wished that he had taken a higher and a juster view of history, and had at the same time formed a truer conception of its requirements and of his own obligations. In our opinion, the balance is against him. While he accepts the present advantages offered by the school with which he has identified himself, he must not overlook the future loss which it entails upon its votaries.

THE MUNICH CONGRESS.

THE authorised Report¹ of the Congress of Catholic divines and men of letters which was held at Munich three months ago has just been published. Combined with the testimony of several eye-witnesses, it gives us a clear idea of an event beyond measure interesting and suggestive in its details, and destined probably to exercise an almost incalculable influence in the Church. The inaugural address of the president, if it stood alone, would be a work of rare significance; but, in conjunction with the circumstances under which it was delivered, it forms an epoch in the ecclesiastical history of Germany which ought not to be overlooked or undervalued by Catholics in other lands. The circumstances, indeed, from which the Munich conference derives its character present no close analogy with the particular conditions of religion in the rest of Europe. We cannot, by altering the names, apply the narrative or point the allusions to ourselves. The idea would, in that case, have had no practical significance, and the means of realising it could not have been found out of Germany. But its importance extends beyond national boundaries; and the tree that was planted in the chapter-house of St. Boniface, if in time to come it bears fruit at all, will bear it for the whole of the Catholic world.

The outline of the facts is sufficiently familiar to the public. In the beginning of August a circular was put forth by Dr. Dollinger and two of his friends, inviting the Catholic divines and scholars of Germany to a literary conference, to be opened on the 28th of September. Nearly a hundred professors, authors, and doctors of divinity assembled in the Benedictine monastery at Munich on the appointed day. Some of them were deputed by their bishops; and the assembly contained about a dozen laymen. During four successive days seven meetings were held, which lasted about three hours each. Several of the speeches were ordered to be printed in the protocol; and two propositions affirming the rights of authority in matters of opinion were adopted after a short discussion. An address of fidelity to the Holy See was unanimously voted; and it was resolved that the meeting should be annually repeated. The proceedings terminated with a dinner in the refectory of the Benedictines, at which the Archbishop of Bamberg and the Bishop of Augsburg gave toasts; and the Pope, by a telegraphic message, bestowed his blessing on the Congress and on the work

¹ *Verhandlungen der Versammlung katholischer Gelehrten in München vom 23 September bis 1 October 1863. Regensburg: Manz.*

it had begun. What was the nature of the Congress, and of the work it had begun, we shall endeavour to explain.

In former times theologians were generally held together, as they still are in several countries, by the influence of a uniform system of education, and by fidelity to the traditions of the schools. But no such bond now unites the divines of Germany. Reared in universities which are governed by opposite opinions, and exposed to very different influences according as their lot may be cast in Austria or in Prussia, in Catholic Bavaria or amid the mixed population on the Rhine,—sometimes familiar from early youth with the strength and the weakness of Protestant and Rationalist literature, and sometimes brought up in the elaborate seclusion of the seminary or the religious house,—they often, according to the curriculum prescribed in certain states, combine a sound knowledge of classics, history, or philosophy, with the special studies of the priesthood, and often, on the other hand, are trained almost exclusively in the theological course. There are instances among the older priests that testify to the success with which, either from religious animosity or from political jealousy, governments have frequently tried to tinge the teaching of the school with uncatholic sentiments; and there are others who bear witness to an extreme reaction against these encroachments. Varying in national character and in mode of speech, disciples of masters whose contending systems have distracted the peace of the Church, they represent different modes of teaching and different schools of thought, the Catholicism of different countries and of different generations. There is no centre of learning in Germany, and no theological head-quarters. They have nothing like the Sorbonne, or even like Maynooth; and there is no master among them whose works are the common text-books, or whose name altogether overshadows that of every rival. They have not yet fought out, with their own resources and on their own behalf, the great controversies of modern theology. Whilst some have benefited largely by the results of Protestant science, and others have been influenced by Protestant opinion, many have tried to intrench themselves against both influences behind the systems prevailing in Italy or France. Nearly all the great divisions, therefore, that subsist among the Catholics of other countries have been adopted and naturalised in Germany, in addition to the powerful but discordant action of Protestant learning; and the divines are almost as far as possible from harmony in their tone of thought and in the tendency of their theological views.

The first broad and fundamental distinction among them is one which ramifies into many others, and derives its importance from causes peculiar to the literary character of the German

people. This is the distinction between writers of the practical and those of the scientific class. It is the habit of some men to think chiefly of the immediate interests of religion, and to be guided by them in the formation of opinions and the use of knowledge; whilst others consider principally the advancement of learning, with a general assumption that it must contribute to the glory of God. Men of the latter school never shrink from making an admission or concession to Protestants or unbelievers, nor from censuring Catholics, or abandoning and reversing received opinions, if they judge that such a course is demanded by scientific reasons, though they are conscious that the case may be used, and perhaps forcibly used, to prejudice people against the Church. They labour to add to the store of known truths without reference either to the shock which each discovery inflicts on those whose views it contradicts, or to the fear lest the new discovery should be misapplied; and they discard entirely the management and economy of knowledge. This very disregard, however, presupposes the existence of another class of men, whose work it is to adapt and explain the results of science to unprepared minds which would otherwise be puzzled or misled by them, to convert them into instruments of controversy, and to prevent them from being misinterpreted or abused.

Those who are charged with the duty of watching over the purity of the faith are naturally more alive to the importance of this latter function than to the benefit which accrues to religion from the progress of ecclesiastical science. The writers to whom they look for aid in their pastoral office labour not so much to instruct the learned as the ignorant, the prejudiced, and the young—to restore discipline, to defend authority, to refute calumny, and to prevent scandal. The spirit that animates the purely scientific divines, and the principle that guides their researches, often become almost unintelligible to men absorbed in this avocation. It appears to them that there can hardly be any thing necessary or profitable to the Church in a kind of literature of which the results are frequently unwelcome, the professors deficient in sympathy with their wants and difficulties, and the immediate effects in some cases demonstrably pernicious. Hence very naturally proceeds jealousy, not only of particular views and certain definite propositions, but of the principle and tenour of a scientific theology. When the test applied to the spirit of a writer is the efficacy of his aid in the defence of religion, in meeting hostile arguments, and in augmenting the polemical resources of Catholics, the most profound theologian is very likely to be found wanting. For the growth of knowledge does not necessarily assist these objects; but it is perpetually bring-

ing to light, or establishing, or repeating conclusions which strew the path of the controversialist with difficulties, or cut two ways, or compel a revision of opinions. A Catholic scholar will often be the first to ascertain a fact unknown to Protestants, and hostile to some view adopted among Catholics; he will disprove some cherished claim or assertion, weaken the force of some popular or conventional argument, and multiply problems as fast as he advances knowledge. The spirit which enables him to do this is widely different from that of the more purely practical and official functions of the priesthood; and it is abhorrent to many persons, even when manifested in questions touching which there is no dispute. An estrangement subsists even without any obvious or material cause of antagonism; and the opposition thus engendered, even when it expresses itself in a vague animosity against the tone and spirit of a school, is not the less profound and real.

There is naturally a close alliance between the episcopate and the divines of the second or practical class,—those who, in order to shelter faith, seek to dispense and qualify the truth to the faithful. It generally happens that these men, while they uphold the liberties of the Church, together with the authority of the Holy See, which are essentially inseparable, proceed, with an inconsistency more apparent than real, and not peculiar to the advocates of their cause, to depress intellectual freedom as much as they sustain the rights of the Church. For it is in the learned literature of their country that they see the worst adversary of religion and morality; and therefore even Catholics who help to promote it are obnoxious to them. The obvious way to make it harmless, they conceive, is to bring it as much as possible under the control of ecclesiastical authority. Confident that the Church already possesses scientific systems and conclusions free from danger and error, and equal to any emergencies that may arise, they desire to arrest the uncertain movement of human thought. For this reason the common designation for the school is the Scholastic or the Roman. If the intellectual activity of Catholic Germany is to be brought under subjection to the Roman congregations, it must settle into those systems with which the Roman divines are conversant, and for which, therefore, a direct theological as well as dogmatic influence must be vindicated. The prodigious defects of many German writers, and the violent hostility to Rome which in many shapes survived amongst them until lately, have powerfully contributed to recommend these designs. Their most definite form is a demand that the fixed traditions of theology, as taught by the Jesuits in Rome, shall be made binding on the German Catholics, in order that Rome may not lose all control over

their literature. The outward expression of these ideas is a demonstrative zeal for the spiritual and temporal claims of the Holy See, an unqualified reliance on the efficacy of the Index, and a predilection for scholastic theology.

A combination of circumstances has made the city of Mentz the stronghold of these opinions. The Bishop, von Ketteler, one of the most imposing characters in the Catholic episcopate, was raised to the see fifteen years ago, after the nominee of the Chapter had been refused by the Pope. This event, occurring in the midst of the troubles of 1848, violently agitated the public mind in Central Germany; and the University of Giessen, where the rival of the new Bishop was professor of theology, became a hotbed of the sentiments which he was resolved to put down. He accordingly removed the faculty of theology from that university, and reconstructed it under his own eye, and in his own spirit, in the seminary of Mentz. More recently came the obstinate assaults of the Hessian Liberals on the freedom of the Church and the school; and a struggle was engendered by the restrictive measures which were forced on the ministry. In this struggle the Bishop of Mentz, as the champion of religious liberty, became the most unpopular and calumniated person in the country. For him, and for the zealous men who stand with him in the focus of the conflict between the world and the Church, the immediate dangers and the present antagonism are of overwhelming interest. Looking about for the daily means of acting on opinion, in order to sustain an ardent fight against ignorance, violence, and hatred, they find them not in the remoter benefits of science, but in a close adhesion to the Holy See, and in the sympathy they are enabled to acquire in Germany by their writings, and still more by their influence in the annual Catholic assemblies. In this effort many persons have come by degrees to make their own opinions the test of fidelity to the Church they represent,² and to look with suspicion on the orthodoxy of those who are at variance with the views which in the midst of strife they themselves have been induced to proclaim. Their organ, the *Katholik*, has allowed itself, at various times, considerable license in denouncing the chief scholars of Catholic Germany. The Jesuits and the disciples of the schools of Rome constitute the bulk of their adherents; but the views of the party have their most intense expression in the seminary of

² The following passage, from the last volume of the *Katholik*, shows how boldly this identity is asserted: "Tausche man sich nicht, die Theologie der Orden und der Germaniker (the German college in Rome) ist, unbeschadet der von der Kirche unentschiedenen Controversen, auch die Theologie Rom's und der ganzen katholischen Welt Der Theologie der Kirche gegenüber eine andere deutsche Wissenschaft statuiren wollen, ist nicht im Geiste der Kirche."

Mentz,—partly because it is placed in the midst of the conflict, and partly because its isolation from the influences of a university deprives it of the natural stimulants to scientific research.

The most serious theological dispute of recent years in Catholic Germany is one in which the organ of the Mentz divines was engaged against the teaching of a still more influential school. Tübingen has possessed for nearly forty years a theological faculty of high repute among Catholics. The professors of this faculty have conducted with great ability the most valuable theological review which, so far as we know, exists in the Church, and have been, since the time of Möhler, strenuous promoters of the patristic theology. The most voluminous of their writers, Hefele, who is generally known as the author of a sophistical defence of the Inquisition in his life of Ximenes, has since the publication of that book obtained a purer fame by his learned history of the Councils. Another of them, Professor Kuhn, is a more definite and original thinker; and his great work on Dogmatic Theology, appearing at long intervals, kindled the controversy. His method is to trace the progress of each dogma through the assaults of heresy, the decisions of popes and councils, and the treatises of divines, and then to deal with it speculatively, in the light of modern philosophy. By thus adopting the theory of Development, and rejecting the scholastic philosophy, he is directly opposed to the prevailing schools. His theory, though not influenced by that of Dr. Newman, with whose work he was not acquainted, is very similar to it. His application of it is made in such a way as to involve him in almost insurmountable difficulties, and to do nearly as much violence to patristic texts as they suffer from the advocates of mere tradition. He is further open to the imputation of having failed to understand the great defect of modern speculation, since he deserts the old systems not only on the ground of the advance of knowledge, or the impossibility of constructing theology *a priori*, but because of their ruling principle of submission to the authority of the Church. He not only insists on making philosophy independent of theology, without which they cannot aid each other, but he separates them entirely, saying that one has its source in revelation, and the other in reason. This theory of the freedom of science is as extreme in its way as the deliberate hostility which his adversaries display to the progress of knowledge beyond its ancient forms and limits; and a discussion on the subject, which has interested all Catholic Germany, has been carried on for several years between the Tübingen Quarterly and the *Katholik* of Mentz.

A more exaggerated view than that of Kuhn has been maintained by Dr. Frohschammer of Munich, who emancipates philo-

sophy entirely from the control of religion and revelation, and affirms that it cannot be compelled to revise its conclusions, even when they are manifestly at variance with articles of faith. These opinions are confined to a narrow circle of adherents. The philosophy of Günther, which penetrated far more widely, survives, since its condemnation, not as a system, but only as an influence leavening the thought of Germany. Its disciples are no longer distinguished by the special doctrines of the school,—for these have in substance been unreservedly abandoned,—but rather by an attachment to intellectual freedom, and an anxiety lest the failure of the only system that was adopted in great part of Austria and Germany should prejudice the formation of other philosophies, and lead to the stagnation of speculative activity. The Prussian universities of Breslau and of Bonn, the old home of Hermesianism, betray the influence of this solicitude, and retain some traces of the extinct philosophy. In all these fractions, therefore, differing as they do on many questions of detail, the great problem of the day is the definition of the rights of reason and science among Catholics.

The internal dissensions of Catholic scholars not only cause the waste of much valuable power, but seriously injure the authority of the Church. For it is always of the gravest importance that the utterances of supreme authority should be anticipated and supported by a general understanding and agreement among the faithful, so that there may be no temptation to impugn their rightfulness, and error may be intercepted and refuted before it comes into collision with authority. It is the duty of ecclesiastical science to stand between the Church and her assailants, to justify her decrees, to prevent conflict, and to settle theological disputes before they involve danger to faith. In order that this may be accomplished, it is requisite not only that learning should be diligently cultivated, but also that it should mature some degree of unity and harmony of opinion; in other words, it is necessary that the best results of theological science should be generally known, and that there should not be too great an inequality between the proficiency of different schools. When the French clergy were the most learned in Europe, this unity and authority of theology was represented by the Sorbonne; and in times not far distant the same prerogative might become the portion of the divines of Germany, if the superiority of their training were not neutralised by their divisions. It is obvious that, where there is no uniform teaching or close organisation, this better understanding and more intimate union can be obtained only by means of conferences, at which opposition may be allayed and misunderstandings removed, which may make the knowledge and the ways of each school familiar to all, and in which personal

intercourse may make up for the absence of an enforced unity, and of the sameness that springs from intellectual lethargy.

The idea that an attempt might be successfully made to promote this important result had lately begun to gain strength. Some preliminary negotiations had taken place, we believe, between several divines of southern Germany; and the scheme had been warmly applauded at Vienna by the nuncio, Cardinal De Luca. At the beginning of the summer vacation, a letter signed by Dr. Döllinger, Abbot Haneberg, and the ecclesiastical historian Alzog of Freiburg, was sent round to the German divines and scholars, proposing the establishment of annual conferences, to be begun at Munich in September. The author of the paper takes the following ground: Unbelief is visibly advancing, and can be arrested only by positive science, which flourishes only in a Catholic soil, and which the Germans, who in their greatest errors have never lost a sincere love of truth, are called on to restore. This has not yet been done, because, in a period of transition like the present age, when many new ways are opened, differences necessarily arise; and the very earnestness of thought and depth of conviction tend to embitter them, so that the ardour of literary enterprise is depressed, and discredit is brought upon Catholics. An exclusive and suspicious censorship would be fatal to the progress of science, which cannot exist in the Church unless it breathes an atmosphere of freedom. Error on particular points is easily set right by the reaction of the general opinion, but intellectual stagnation is a more serious danger. For the conflict in which Catholics are engaged against the enemies of religion demands that all their resources should be combined for mutual support. By the introduction of periodical meetings men would be brought together from a distance. They would exchange their ideas and settle their disputes, or at least learn to carry them on in a spirit of conciliation and religion. Such meetings would afford an opportunity for deliberation on the pressing questions of the day, and the means of combining in great literary undertakings, and associating to give increased power to the Catholic press. The paper declared, in conclusion, that no personal objects should be allowed to assert themselves, but that a purely scientific tone should reign in the meetings; and the bishops were asked to support the scheme.

After the circular of the three divines had been issued an event occurred which made it doubtful whether it would have the intended effect. Time had been wanting to increase the number of subscribers. The document did not even proceed from the faculty of the university; but appeared to be virtually the work of only two professors. The condemnation and contumacy of a priest and professor of Munich, who had been sus-

tained by the government and had obtained much sympathy among the clergy and in the university, had lately brought the place into ambiguous repute. It was at that very moment the scene of the greatest scandal of recent years, and the cradle of a theory, touching the liberty of speculative opinion, which was utterly in contradiction to orthodoxy. To discuss grave theological problems at Munich appeared to many, under the circumstances, like arguing the question of the temporal power at Turin. It was true that the dean of the theological faculty had originated the idea of the Congress, and that, in a series of lectures on the rights and limits of authority, he had publicly repudiated the theories of Frohschammer. But there were other reasons why even Döllinger's illustrious name would not avail to disarm that sort of suspicion which had now been awakened. The magnitude of his services and his capacity is not disputed; but the very qualities which are the secret of his eminence have had their drawbacks, and have been the indirect causes of a resistance to his influence in minds of several descriptions. His rigorous method and inexhaustible resources, and the spirit in which he applies them, are too entirely devoted to the service of truth to be adapted to compromise or dissimulation, or to the necessities of defective knowledge. The weapon so potent against the outward adversaries of the Church retains its force against defects within, and seems in its passage to smite insincerity or treason as well as open enmity. Any writer who uses a dishonest artifice, meets a difficulty with a hasty answer, or ekes out his ignorance with falsehood, would be sensible that he would do well to conceal his act from one whose knowledge of controversy is so extensive, who can never be made an accomplice, and who has a knack of turning all the untenable positions occupied by Catholics. Nor is it only his superior learning and honesty, or his resolution to tolerate no unsound link in the chain of his reasoning, which offends those who in these respects are not free from reproach. His published sentiments on the Roman question differ conspicuously from those of the majority of the episcopate; and his exposure of the defects of the Papal Government has seriously embarrassed its defenders. In a later work, where he related historical events which contradict the theological opinion that the Pope cannot fall into heresy, he has exhibited no solicitude to disguise the facts or to deprecate the consequences; whilst he has shown that certain things which have had an important bearing on the constitution of the Church have taken their origin in illusions or in fraud. Above all, his use of the theory of development innovates far more than that of its other professors on the ordinary teaching of divines. It takes less than this to isolate a priest who is a pioneer of

learning, and who publishes many results which he is the first to discover, and many more to which those who accept them dare not give expression.

This antagonism between the overwhelming personal authority of Dr. Döllinger and the reaction against it is a point of high importance, and the real key to the incidents of the Munich Congress. We are the more inclined to give it prominence because it would appear, from many indications, that he himself did not realise the fact when he gave the impulse to the meeting, or even when it was brought rudely home to him by several significant events. In sending forth the circular, he seemed to have forgotten the storm which had burst over his lectures and his book on the Temporal Power, the angry denunciations of which he had been the object, the motives imputed to him, and his breach with a portion of the episcopate. In inviting the sanction of the bishops to an assembly in which he undertook to unite and reconcile the theologians of his country, to moderate their councils, and to guide their resolutions, it was necessary to assume that the breach was healed, that the storm had subsided, and that confidence was reposed in the author of so good a work. And, in the deliberations that followed, Dr. Döllinger insisted so warmly on the need and the possibility of concord, that he seemed to ignore the existence of other than superficial elements of division; he entered so frankly into explanations, and spoke with so much simplicity the matured and intimate convictions of his mind, that one would suppose he thought it possible to remove by argument the difficulties that might be placed in his way, and reckoned on finding in others a fairness and sincerity equal to his own.

This was the source of a fallacy and unreality that showed itself in the proceedings. It was assumed that Catholics are separated by no broad chasm; that the causes of difference between them are not deeply seated; that charity, piety, and a common purpose in what is most essential would break down all barriers; and that something would actually be done if there was but the will to do it. If all who were there assembled had possessed the clear vision and profound learning of the president, a few brief conferences might have done something towards this end. But the forces that are warring within the Church are not so easily reconciled. The methods and principles of different periods and worlds of thought are contending; ancient and tenacious traditions are suffering transformation; and the truths which are claiming recognition, and the abuses which are struggling for existence, cannot escape the agonies of childbirth or of death. The strict orthodoxy of one body of Catholics is questioned, and the intellectual morality of the

other; and when such accusations are exchanged, they cannot both be entirely unfounded. There are none of these elements of contradiction perhaps that will not be absorbed in the progress of knowledge and experience; but they will not depart without a struggle; and peace can only be the result of a decisive or an exhaustive war. The speediest remedy for the defects, the sorrows, and the scandals of our time will come not from an anxiety to avoid every manifestation of the opposing tendencies, but from a definite and unrelenting exposition and comparison of contending opinions, and from the resolute prosecution of ecclesiastical knowledge. When the Fathers of Trent met in council, under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, they did not quash their differences or silence objections, but let each opinion assert itself manfully, and even rudely, in what may be justly called a trial of strength. Some of the problems which the congress of the German divines will hereafter be invited to solve are even of a more delicate nature than those which were decided at Trent, and will require to be considered with less assistance from tradition or authority, because they belong to those questions in which no general consensus can be established until science leads the way. In the course of these enquiries, before the conclusions of the deepest thinkers become the accepted property of all, even in the select circles of German learning, they will have to do battle for their systems as was done of old, and on a greater occasion, by Canus and Laynez, by Danès and De Martyribus.

Under the influence of the feelings which were afterwards more publicly manifested, the nuncio at Munich, Monsignore Gonella, conveyed to Rome the apprehension which had been created by the unauthorised step of the three divines. He received a reply which he hastened to communicate to the bishops, expressing, it is said, the surprise of the Holy See at a proceeding so unwarranted and presumptuous, and desiring them to take precautions that no evil consequences might ensue. This was a very serious affair. By putting the adverse opinion of the Holy See into the balance, not, indeed, in the form of a command, but in the form of an unmistakeable wish, it was made extremely probable that the plan of the Congress might fail. If, on the other hand, it should take place, it had become very difficult to prevent the fact of its occurrence from appearing in the light of a repulse to the authority of Rome, since the nuncio had undertaken to measure his influence with that of the author of the invitation. Fortunately the influence which prevailed was sufficient, not only to overcome this obstacle, but to prevent it from converting the result into a protest or a party demonstration. The effect of the communication from the nun-

cio, however, is visible in the warnings of those bishops who greeted the scheme most warmly, as well as in the silence of many others. It acted further on the constitution and proceedings of the assembly, for it caused the absence of many whose presence would inevitably have occasioned dissension, and so far diminished the chances of discord while restricting the comprehensive character of the meeting. But the resolution to keep away was not universal among those who shared the uneasiness of the nuncio; and opposite counsels prevailed with some who were not attracted by the ideas of the circular. It was evident that if only those attended who disregarded the objections that had been urged, the danger, whatever it might be, of an injurious issue would be increased. If any ill was to be apprehended, it seemed the fairest course to face it with some counter-acting force. Since it was clear that those who hoped well of the Congress would be in a majority over those who feared it, it was important that the minority should be represented, in order to check if they could not control, to denounce if they could not prevent, proceedings which were anticipated with a vague inarticulate alarm. It happened that the convention of the Catholic associations was held at Frankfort in the week preceding the date fixed for the Munich Congress. Several persons, whose ideas were not fully represented by the language of the circular, met and conferred on this occasion, and were confirmed in the resolution of testifying against the tendencies they opposed, at the critical moment which was approaching.

Since the fifteenth century Germany has never beheld so numerous an assembly of her ecclesiastical notables as that which, after hearing High Mass in the Basilica of St. Boniface, on the morning of the 28th of September, adjourned to the neighbouring monastery. Several great schools of learning, however, were not represented. Kuhn, whose appearance might have been the signal for stormy debates, had lately been assailed by the leading periodical of Munich on account of his opposition to the scheme of founding a Catholic university in Germany; and he was in his tents, publishing a reply. His less obnoxious colleague, Hefele, was in Italy; and none of the brilliant Catholic school of Tübingen came. The Austrian Jesuits were also absent. It was not known at first who was there and who had stayed away, for several meetings had been held before a list could be made out. Many a man found himself on that day, for the first time, in the presence of writers whose works had deeply influenced his mind, or whose fame had long excited his curiosity, without knowing their features. It was an interesting moment, therefore, when the names were called over, and each man rose for a moment in answer to his own, in order that the

meeting might know him again. About fifty of those who were present had written books which are known and valued by scholars beyond the limits of their country.

Nearly one-third of the members belonged to the diocese of Munich. Among these were several distinguished laymen. One was Ringseis, the most Catholic among the eminent physicians of Germany. Another was Professor Sepp, the sole disciple of the mighty Görres, who is publishing, in an improved form, the voluminous life of Christ which he composed many years ago in reply to Strauss. He is the most ardent and venturesome of the German laity, a brilliant parliamentary speaker, and a very imaginative historian, but rather hasty in council, and not much relied on in literature. He was not a prominent actor in the subsequent proceedings. A third layman, Dr. Jörg, who began in literature as a historical enquirer of the school of Döllinger, but who for ten years has conducted with ability and vigour the *Historisch-politische Blätter*, did not exercise on this occasion an influence commensurate with his just renown as a political writer, and appeared undecided as to the side on which his weight ought to be cast.

Frohschammer, to whom the meeting would have been a welcome arena for the defence of his theories, afterwards affirmed that he had been excluded by order of the archbishop. The fact of the exclusion, as well as of any interference on the part of the archbishop in the affairs of the Congress, has been denied on authority; but there were probably few who regretted that an additional source of discord was not supplied by the presence of a suspended priest, whose writings, in the estimation of nearly the whole assembly, are at variance with dogma. His views on the independence of philosophy were, however, represented by a layman, probably his equal in knowledge, and not so distasteful to his opponents. This was Professor Huber, who has written on the philosophy of the Fathers, and more deeply on Scotus Erigena, and who furnished that report of Döllinger's lectures on the Temporal Power which caused so much sensation three years ago. In his last book he has openly defied the *Index*; and he is one of those writers whose independence and catholicity of thought are the most visibly affected by the study of Protestant writings. But he spoke gracefully and with moderation; and, having declared that he belonged to the extreme Left of the assembly, he was probably not surprised to find himself on one occasion registering a solitary vote.

He was generally supported by Professor Mayr of Würzburg, a speaker of less prepossessing address, but a philosopher whose methodical precision of thought it was a pleasure to follow, although he did not seem familiar with the problems and mo-

tives that occupied the thoughts of his audience. The partisans of the utmost independence of science might have expected more efficient aid from Dr. Schmid of Dillingen, a divine of rising reputation, whose recent volume on the scientific tendencies of Catholic Germany proves him more deeply versed than almost any other man in the several currents of thought that separate the schools. But although he is the only priest who contributes to Frohschammer's review, the *Athenäum*, and appears to occupy nearly the same ground as Kuhn, he observed an obstinate silence, and did nothing for the propagation of his views. Indeed, it is to be regretted that, among so many scholars of high repute, who would have secured a hearing, there were so few who claimed it. The discussion turned much on philosophy and on practical questions, attractive to those who were curious in the movements of parties; but it left untouched great departments of ecclesiastical science. Biblical scholars like Reichl who has translated the Bible into German, Thalhofer who has written on the Psalms, and Schegg of Freising, one of the most prolific and interesting of recent commentators, had no opportunity of using their special accomplishments. The professors of theology at Munich were for the most part inactive, either because they wished to dissociate their faculty from the responsibility of the meeting, or because they thought it sufficiently cared for by their colleagues who had taken the lead. Yet two of the Munich divines, Professor Rietter and Dr. Oischinger, have written on St. Thomas, and well understood the questions which were argued. As much might be said of Dr. Sighart of Freising, the biographer of Albertus Magnus; but the merit of his recent history of art in Bavaria has eclipsed his reputation as a master of the medieval philosophy. The last of the silent metaphysicians is Dr. Hayd of Munich, who has lately published an important work on Abelard.

Austria was represented by four of her most distinguished writers—Phillips, Schulte, Werner, and Brunner. The first of these, who is a convert, from the North of Germany, but of English descent, published valuable works on the early constitutional history of England in the time of George IV. Then, having been for many years a most successful lecturer and writer on German jurisprudence, one of the founders of the *Historisch-politische Blätter*, and the most conspicuous layman in the group of Catholic writers that surrounded Görres, and influenced so deeply the mind of Catholic Germany, he was involved in the proscription of the Ultramontane professors in the days of Lola Montez, and has since devoted himself, at Vienna and Salzburg, to the composition of the most elaborate treatise of canon law that the nineteenth century has produced. His name

has been, for a quarter of a century, a household word among his Catholic countrymen; and, in spite of a certain deficiency of logic and condensation, and a ponderousness of learned detail that oppresses his ideas, he was, in point of literary reputation, nearly the first man in the assembly. Nevertheless, he seems to have spoken hardly more than once, for his name appears only among the after-dinner speeches. He submitted to the impulse of more ardent men, and figured at one important moment in their wake.

A younger canonist, Schulte of Prague, is a remarkable contrast to his more famous rival. Those who reproach him with writing too much and too hastily, admit that, of all modern works on canon law, his are of most practical utility, and contain the greatest abundance of original thought, though without the immense erudition of Phillips. He spoke often, and nearly always with force and clearness, and acquired far the greatest influence of all the laymen in the assembly. He was one of those who most efficiently supported the president in moderating extremes and keeping the assembly in the course which, by conceding nothing to the exclusive tendencies of particular sections, could alone assure its success in time to come.

A similar influence would probably have been exerted by the most learned of the Austrian priesthood, Professor Werner of St. Pölten; but the death of his bishop summoned him away from Munich. It is probable that many who, on the first day, had seen a small retiring man sitting awkwardly in a coat that did not seem his own, and apparently scared and humbled by all that surrounded him, were afterwards surprised to hear his honoured name. Unlike other disciples of Günther's sterile school, Dr. Werner has been almost too productive. His moral theology is the most valued that has appeared in German; and his great work on St. Thomas raised his reputation to a level which his book on Suarez and the first volumes of a history of apologetic literature have not sustained. But in the series of histories of the sciences in Germany which was set on foot by the King of Bavaria, and for which the most eminent writers have been chosen, the history of Catholic theology was, at Dollinger's recommendation, entrusted to Dr. Werner. On the great questions of reason and faith, and of the value of the scholastic divinity, very few were so competent to speak. But, either from weakness or timidity, he could not make himself heard, though he put on paper several propositions, which were read from the chair and adopted in the protocol.

From the first, considerable interest had been exhibited in the project at Vienna, and it was supposed that some of the Viennese theologians, and among others the Jesuit Schrader,

Passaglia's former colleague, would have been present. But Vienna is not a theological capital, and was perhaps more fitly represented by a vigorous and courageous journalist, Dr. Brunner, the stalwart adversary of the demoralised rabble that have long predominated in the Austrian press. He contributed, however, rather sense and humour than deep learning to the Munich councils, and sometimes diverted with timely pleasantry the troubled minds of the assembly. In most respects he presented a singular contrast to other men who, like himself, are involved in the pressure and anxiety of popular discussion.

The University of Breslau was represented solely by Dr. Reinkens, a Rhinelander by birth, whose recent investigations have diminished the lustre of the Jesuit schools in the seventeenth century, and who, in an unguarded passage of the work in which this was done, has exasperated the national, or rather the provincial, feelings of the Silesian clergy. An uncommon shrewdness of expression and a thoughtful manner would lead one to believe that he was not likely to write imprudently. A life of St. Hilary by him was already announced, but he has not yet been a productive writer; and the suspicion of an attachment to the doctrines of Günther, which rests on one of the leading professors of the faculty to which he belongs, seems on this occasion to have somewhat impaired his influence. This at least might be gathered from the fate of a proposal which he submitted to the Assembly at the opening of its deliberations. It would be useful, he said, to establish, in addition to the reviews representing the different schools, a central organ which should impartially register the progress of learning, and in which various opinions should be allowed to meet, and, if possible, be reconciled. He proposed that a periodical of this kind should be founded, or that one of those already existing should be enabled to supply the want. The idea was encouraged by Dr. Döllinger, on the ground that it was desirable to be informed of the mere advance of science through some medium coloured by no distinctive opinions, and that an arena open for the discussion of debateable questions might be a means of promoting concord. Nevertheless, all parties united in condemning the plan—some on the ground that the existing reviews were not sufficiently supported, others on the ground that an editor must not promote any views except those which he thinks are right, and others, again, on the ground that even the opposition of contending schools is not to be deprecated, provided they proceed scientifically. The proposition was summarily snuffed out without being put to the vote.

The very decided opponent of Dr. Reinkens on this occasion, though generally, it would seem, but little divided from him,

was Professor Floss of Bonn, a grave and wary man, and not easily committed to questionable or impractical schemes. He is one of the most indefatigable explorers of manuscript texts, a dry and colourless writer, but a sound critic and a man of facts, as it has been said a German should be. The only collected edition of the writings of Scotus Erigena is due to him. Many of his treatises on medieval history possess acknowledged value; and the only thing which hindered him from playing one of the first parts at the meeting was apparently a want of fluency in speaking.

Dr. Hagemann of Hildesheim would have to be referred to the same group as these two historians, if his attainments may be estimated by a book which is not yet published, and his opinions by a single remark with which he took part in the last skirmish with the Mentz divines. He is the author of a history of the Church of Rome during the three first centuries, which was, we believe, already in print, and which is said to be the most valuable treatise on a subject on which many of the most learned Germans have been his rivals; but he exhibited throughout a disappointing taciturnity.

The ecclesiastical historians, animated by the spirit of the great master of Church history, constituted the centre, and were the ruling power in the Congress. The secretary, Father Gams, whose history of the Church in Spain has been noticed in our pages, must be included among them, as well as several other Munich scholars, such as Dr. Pichler, who, after writing a volume on Polybius, has devoted himself to the history of the Eastern Schism, and Dr. Friedrich, whose writings have been chiefly confined to the history of the fifteenth century. For these two men it was evident that the meeting possessed an almost painful interest. They are the junior members of the faculty of theology, and probably find it difficult to counteract the powerful attraction which the theories of Frohschammer exercise over the students. It was therefore important for them to obtain some declaration on the disputed questions, by which the liberty of thought might be so completely vindicated that nothing should remain to justify complaints against the exercise of ecclesiastical authority. Dr. Reusch of Bonn, who in a recent volume of lectures on the cosmogony has walked in the footsteps of Cardinal Wiseman, and who has translated several of his writings, seemed to emulate the good sense and moderation of his colleague Floss. It was understood that he had undertaken the editorship of a theological encyclopædia, which was one of the literary enterprises most warmly taken up by the assembly.

Without the ballast with which these men steadied the ship

it would have been tossed about by the conflicting opinions of others. Dr. Knoodt of Bonn, formerly a strenuous adherent of Günther, placed himself unequivocally on the side of authority, taking the ground that the Church, being infallible, cannot really injure the freedom of science, which is liable to err. This declaration fell very far short of that which the adversaries of freedom desired, and in fact avoided the real issue; but yet the attitude assumed by the speaker, who we believe was, with one exception, the only priest present whose works are on the Index, proved at least that the apprehensions for the rights of authority were groundless, and that whatever disputes might arise would be confined to the narrower ground of expedience and formality.

A heavy gray-haired man, deliberate in manner but of fluent speech, was perpetually on his legs, and was heard with much impatience. This was Dr. Eberhard, now the parish priest of a village on the Danube, but many years ago a preacher who gained in the pulpit of the cathedral of Munich successes which remind one of those of the great orators of Notre Dame. He it was who carried among the burghers of the Bavarian capital that new spirit of Catholicism which the persecution of the Archbishop of Cologne had kindled in Germany; and devout people are still named who were among his converts in those days, and were brought by his sermons from indifference to the practice of their religion. In later years he has written on metaphysics, and has joined the *Katholik* in its crusade on behalf of the Index, but without sharing all the fervour or all the opinions of its conductors. In an evil hour he undertook to describe the several schools of thought in Catholic Germany; and the grave and passionless tone of the beginning gave promise at least of an equitable treatment. But the meeting shrank from this self-knowledge. Dr. Heinrich, the editor of the *Katholik*, vehemently interrupted the speaker, whose rude touch threatened to destroy the harmony which had just been painfully established, or at least to dispel the illusion of its existence. The president pronounced this objection perfectly legitimate; and Dr. Eberhard came down to his place with a smile at his own simplicity.

Dr. Michelis, a priest who, in the solitude of a country parish, has risen of late years to great note and influence in Westphalia, was a still more frequent speaker. His distinctly-marked opinions were expressed with an ardour that provoked contradiction; and he strode about like a gigantic athlete, interrupting the speeches of his opponents, and disturbing somewhat the decorum and order of the meeting. After writing the cleverest of the refutations of Günther, he published a very elaborate work on Plato, and has ever since been at war with his

critics and with those who omitted to notice it. The review which he superintends, *Nature and Revelation*, gives the praiseworthy example of an effort carried on with great constancy to follow the progress of natural science, and to revise the solutions by which, at a less advanced stage of enquiry, it was brought into harmony with religion. Of all the Prussian priests he is the one most regarded and most trusted by that section of the Lutherans which is tending more or less consciously to union with the Church. But among Catholics he appears the most disputatious, and therefore unpopular, of men. He has broken a lance with many of those whom he met on this occasion, and is at open war with the school of Mentz, and with the friends of Günther. Others probably were sometimes annoyed by his vehemence, or angry with his passion for speaking his mind; but his honest and uncompromising spirit enabled him to do much for conciliation, for it was more easy to quarrel with his manner than to refute his opinions.

There was an uncouth person in the meeting, uncourtly and unadorned, little versed in ancient or modern languages, and weighed down as to his literary reputation by the defects of his earlier writings, who is yet the most perspicuous of the German philosophers, and in some respects the most profound. This was Dr. Deutinger, who was dispossessed, like many other professors at Munich, in 1847, and has never been restored; but whose recent works on the history of modern philosophy and on the Gospel of St. John are of the very first merit. His essays on the dispute between Kuhn and Clemens, Kuhn's assailant in the *Katholik*, and in the affair of Frohschammer, foreshadow the solution of the problem of authority and freedom, revelation and reason, to which German theology will inevitably tend. His speech on this subject is, next to the inaugural address, the most valuable thing in the report.

The school of Mentz was led by Canon Moufang, the most eloquent man in the Congress, and by Professor Heinrich, from whom the organ of the party receives its tone. A broad provincial accent disfigures the speaking of the latter; and it seemed more suited to his temper to interrupt or to rise to order than to deliver a set speech. He alone among the assembled divines has the neatness and unotion of the French priesthood; and his delicate features and mild expression of countenance are not suggestive of the unyielding energy and bitterness which appear in his writings. He was supported with greater moderation by Professor Hergenröther of Würzburg, the special champion of Roman theology, and author of a vindication of the government of the Holy See, and by his colleague, Dr. Hettinger, who has published a popular apology for the Christian faith, and who

once, in the heat of discussion, tried to silence the voice of the laity.

It was to an assembly so composed that Dr. Döllinger, having been elected president, delivered his inaugural address on the history, condition, and duties of Catholic theology. The leading ideas of this address were as follows :

Christian theology owes its origin to the union of Greek philosophy with Hebrew learning at Alexandria, where, contemporaneously with the appearance of the first Christian divines, the last original thinker of antiquity, Plotinus, made the last attempt to supply a pagan substitute for the discarded religion of the people. The child, as it issued from its mother's womb, was deeply tainted with the vices of the parent. The grave dogmatic errors of Origen, the father of Christian science and the founder of the earliest school of theology, served as a warning that the treasure is contained in earthen vessels, and that the intellectual study of religious truth needs the watchful supervision of the Church. A less speculative and more purely biblical school than that of Alexandria afterwards arose at Antioch. While theology remained the almost exclusive possession of these Eastern churches, the dogmatic struggle was chiefly confined to the doctrine of the Person of Christ, to theology, in that narrower sense in which the term *theologus* was applied to St. John and to St. Gregory of Nazianzen. Even St. Gregory of Nyssa, the most original of the Greek fathers after Origen, scarcely passed the bounds of that circle of ideas. The doctors of Latin Europe borrowed their views from the Greeks, and did not go beyond them until St. Augustine, who stands alone among the Western divines, extended the limits of theology, and became the teacher and master of the Latin church. The Greek theology in the period of its decline shone once more in the works of St. Maximus, and put forth its last great divine in St. John Damascene. During a thousand years since his death it has made no progress, has done nothing for ethics or for the dogmas of grace and redemption, and has been content with the achievements of early times in Scripture and Church history. Excepting the appearance of one divine, who wrote against Proclus, and the deplorable transformation of the doctrine of the Holy Ghost in the contest with the Western Church, it has ever since been stationary.

For five centuries after the great migrations theological science in the West lay in its winter sleep. The Church was busy with the reconstruction of society; and the best writers, such as Paulinus and Alcuin, were only equal to the task of preserving from extinction the knowledge which had come down to

them. Controversy was revived for a moment in the ninth century, but died speedily away: and the Neoplatonic philosophy of Scotus Erigena, which stood alone, awakened no interest and exerted no influence.

Modern theology aims at understanding, connecting, and harmonising the whole system of doctrine, with a completeness and comprehensiveness unknown in the eleven first centuries of the Church. It began with St. Anselm, and has continued ever since, with increasing energy, to strive for the attainment of its end. As theology had begun in the combination of the Platonic philosophy with the dogma at Alexandria, so now, down to the sixteenth century, it was governed by the philosophy of Aristotle. But the scholastic divines were unable to remedy the vices of their starting-point and their method. Their analytical process could not construct a system corresponding to the harmony and wealth of revealed truth; and without the elements of biblical criticism and dogmatic history they possessed only one of the eyes of theology. The one enduring achievement of those times is the creation of a system of ethical science by St. Thomas, albeit on Aristotelian principles.

All the chief nations of Europe laboured together on the scholastic theology, with the same language and method, and without any national distinctions. In Germany a reaction began early in the fourteenth century, and the ablest divines were attracted by the unexplored treasures of speculative mysticism. The Areopagitical writings, not being fully understood, were supposed to be orthodox; and experience had not yet taught how easily mystic contemplation glides into theosophic pantheism. The works of Eckart, Tauler, and their school, will always retain their value, though none but minds well trained in philosophy and history will be competent to use them. In the fifteenth century Gerson undertook to reconcile and combine the mystic with the scholastic method; while Nicholas of Cusa anticipated many of the later discoveries of speculative and historical theology.

The scholastic theology had been generally abandoned, and a craving for a method more suited to the nature of Christianity and the wants of the human mind was strong in Germany when the Reformation broke out, caused not so much by the defects of theology as by the evils which its decay had helped to develop in ecclesiastical life. But the contest which followed had to be fought out on the domain of doctrine. Here the old scholastic armoury supplied no weapons capable of defending the Church against her new assailants; and she was compelled to have recourse to the biblical and historical studies which had commenced with the Revival. The rupture of the

unity of Christendom, considered in its influence on religious science, proved highly beneficial; and the idea that Christianity is history, and that in order to be understood it must be studied in its development, began to effect a transformation of theology which has not yet attained even a temporary conclusion. These fruits of the Revival and of the Reformation did not ripen for Germany. France, Italy, and the Netherlands could boast of great divines. England gave birth to Stapleton, the most eminent of all the champions of the Church against the new doctrines. And throughout the sixteenth century theological science flourished above all in Spain. But the expulsion of the Protestant leaven brought on the relapse which shows itself in the uncritical eclecticism of the later scholastics; and a scientific divinity was finally extinguished by the Inquisition. After the death of Baronius and Bellarmine the intellectual decline of Italy made itself felt in her theology; and her ablest men, such as Sarpi, Galileo, and Campanella, earned their distinction in other paths. The sceptre had passed to the clergy of France, who became the creators of patristic theology and ecclesiastical history, and to whom belongs the praise of having delivered religion from one of the worst evils of modern times,—the immoral and unscientific teaching of the casuists. The rest of Europe did not profit as it might have done by this renovation of ecclesiastical learning; for the French divines, after the example of Duperron, had generally discarded the use of Latin, and by adapting their own tongue to the uses of theology had given their writings rank and influence in the classical literature of their country. The same thing was done, though not so thoroughly, for the English, by Hooker, Bramhall, Baxter, and others. But the Italians have never raised their language to a level with the Latin; Spain has been silent in both languages; and the German has but lately acquired that flexibility and perfection to which it was already rapidly approaching in the fourteenth century.

The introduction of modern languages into purely theological literature was a new Babel for divines; and it would have hindered coöperation, and encouraged national individuality at the expense of Catholicity, if the tendency of recent years had not been to break down the barriers that divide the nations, and to make the intellectual acquisitions of each the common property of all. The actual result, however, gives a great advantage to the Germans, who are more skilled than the Latin races to understand the languages and characters of foreign countries. Before the middle of the eighteenth century the light of theology was eclipsed in France; and the apologists of those days were not able to command the literary popularity of their illustrious pre-

decessors. The university which for six hundred years had been the glory of the French Church perished in the Revolution; and since that catastrophe there has never existed a centre of theology in Christendom invested with the authority of acknowledged learning, nor has theology itself revived in any part of Latin Europe. The works of Balmez exemplify its low condition in Spain, where native history is the only study that appears to thrive. In the age of Benedict XIV. many eminent scholars had arisen in Italy, and especially in Rome; but after his pontificate theology rapidly declined. For centuries no important work on Scripture has been written by any Italian divine; and the suppression of the Jesuits deprived the other orders of a rivalry which had been a useful stimulus to exertion. In our generation the three most gifted members of the Italian priesthood, Rosmini, Gioberti, and Ventura, of whom Balbo prophesied twenty years ago that they would raise the body whose ornaments they were to a high place in the opinion of the world, came into collision with Rome. Two of them died in exile; and the divine who passed for the best of his country has abandoned his former studies. No nation perhaps that experienced the troubles and commotions which have visited Italy in our century could have escaped the same effects.

France has one great advantage in the possession of able and zealous laymen who are efficient advocates of the Catholic cause; and the names of Gerbet, Maret, Lacordaire, Gratry, Bautain, Dupanloup, Ravignan, and Félix prove that there is a school of men among the clergy who understand the wants of their people and their age, and are able to present religion to them in an attractive form. But there are no real divines of the type of Petavius, Bossuet, and Arnauld, because there are no institutions in which theological science can be taught. The seminaries produce excellent priests, but no scholars; and if nothing is done to establish a university, it is to be feared that the French clergy will lose all influence over the male part of the population, and will fall into a social seclusion. It is fortunate for the Germans that they have preserved their universities, and that theology is represented in them; for at length the time has come when the office of carrying onward the torch of ecclesiastical learning has devolved on them. The Greeks and Italians, the Spaniards, the French, and the English, have gone before:

*"Illos primus equis Oriens afflavit anhelis,
Nobis sera rubens accendit lumina Vesper."*

For the Germans the advancement of theology is not only a grave religious duty, it is also a great national necessity. Not only is the exhaustless power of research and love of labour their special intellectual gift, but the curse of the great separation is

upon them, and is felt in every moment of their existence. The nation, like Philoctetes, is wasting under this poisoned wound. No political remedies will avail until German theology comes, like the spear of Telephus, to cure the evil it has caused. The unity of Germany is the union of the churches; and that will one day follow as surely as the nation is not decaying but full of life; as surely as the Church possesses the promise that the gates of hell shall not prevail against her.

The Catholic divines can accomplish this reunion upon three conditions. First, they must overcome, with all the means which the progress of the age supplies, all that is really anti-Catholic and an element of separation in the system of their adversaries. Next, they must present the Catholic doctrine in all its organic completeness, and in its connection with religious life, rigidly separating that which is permanent and essential from whatever is accidental, transitory, and foreign. This work is very far from being yet accomplished; and the explanation of the neglect would be a valuable contribution to our self-knowledge. Lastly, theology must give to the Church the property of the magnetic mountain in the fable, that drew to itself all the iron in the ship, so that the ship fell to pieces; it must sift from the admixture of error all the truths in doctrine, history, and society which these separated communities have brought to light, and then frankly accept and claim them as the legitimate though unrecognised property of the one true Church. Catholics cannot pretend that they really desire union until they prove that they desire the means of union, which are humility, charity, and self-denial, honest recognition of what is good and true wherever it is found, and a thorough insight into our own vices, scandals, and defects; and this points out to us the part which falls to theology in the great work of reconciliation. It is theology that gives life and force to the true healthy public opinion in ecclesiastical affairs before which all must bow, even the heads of the Church and those who wield her power. As among the Jews the schools of the prophets existed beside the regular priesthood, so in the Church there is beside the ordinary powers an extraordinary power, and that is public opinion. Through it theological science exercises its legitimate authority, which nothing can permanently resist. For the divine judges things in the Church according to the ideas that are in them, whilst the generality of men judge the idea by the fact which they behold. All reform consists in making every practice and every institution in the Church correspond with its idea.

Germany is henceforward the home of Catholic theology. No nation has cultivated so successfully the sciences which are the eyes of theology, viz. history and philosophy; and no source

of information, no criterion of scientific truth which they supply can be neglected. The day has gone by when a man could pass for a good dogmatic divine without a thorough knowledge of exegesis and ecclesiastical history, of the patristic writings, and of the history of philosophy. No German, for instance, could give the name of a theologian to one who was ignorant of Greek, and therefore unable to understand or to explain the Vulgate.

The question as to what constitutes a theologian must be answered according to the age, and its demands upon a scholar, and especially a divine. Though the modern weapons of science may be used for destruction, they cannot be set aside in the work of reconstruction; and the difficulty of theology has not diminished. Time has swept away many bulwarks behind which former generations thought themselves safe. A Protestant may overlook whole centuries, and content himself with a fragment of the Church; but Catholics must know her in the totality of her progress from the beginning to the present day, without any gap in the continuity of her development, or any fault in the harmony of her system; and this is the labour of a life. No effort, therefore, can dam up the current of theology, or force it back into a bed which it has long since overflowed.

It is the privilege of true theology to change all that it touches into gold, and, like the bee, to extract pure honey from poisonous flowers. Error has its salutary influence upon the Church; it is an incentive to progress, and becomes a peril only when theology fails to meet it with a true solution. Every truth that religion professes must at some period be purified and refined in the fire of contradiction. Therefore the test of a genuine theologian is to labour without ceasing, and not to flinch from conclusions that are opposed to favourite opinion and previous judgment. He will not take to flight if the process of reasoning threatens to demolish some truth which he had deemed unassailable, or imitate the savage who trembled during an eclipse for the fate of the sun. He is sure to gain one step in wisdom, if he does not let the occasion slip from him. The Holy Spirit, who teaches the Church, gives to the theologian that light of grace without which his eyes are blind to the things of God, and consumes the chaff of human error slowly but surely. Later generations often have to atone for the faults of short-sighted predecessors; and the example of the schoolmen who, in their disregard for history and their self-sufficient ignorance of the whole Anatolian tradition, powerfully contributed to the fatal breach with the Greek Church, is a warning to leave theology her freedom, and not to elevate her unsettled conclusions prematurely into articles of faith.

Our principle of tradition, the motto *quod semper, quod ubi-*

que, quod ab omnibus, which is written on our banner, has been misunderstood by friends as well as by adversaries. A miser, who buries a treasure in a hole, preserves it indeed, and it may remain for centuries without increase or loss; but in that case it will remain also without life or fruit. The doctrine cannot act on the minds and lives of men without undergoing the reaction of their influence. Its force is in its incessant growth. But in the dull and thoughtless hands of a theology that professes to be conservative it can shrink and wither like an old man's body, and in its impotence cease to generate life and light. For the definitions of the Church are only words, which, however accurately chosen, need to be impregnated with thought by the preacher and the divine; and while they may become bright gems in the hands of a true theologian, they may be converted into lustreless pebbles by the manipulations of a rude mechanical mind.

The freedom of the Catholic divine is linked to the authority of the Church, with which he feels himself in harmony even when it does not speak; for he knows that it will always save him from the tyranny of uncertainty and mere opinion, that its utterances will always be a guide to truth, that it can never mislead. Whilst he understands that the progress of knowledge must be for ever breaking down hypothesis and opinion, every difference between his conclusions and the dogma warns him of an error on his part, and not in the teaching of the universal Church. He assumes at once that there was a defect in his process of enquiry; and he at once conscientiously revises the operation, with the certainty that, with more or less exertion, he will discover the seat of his error.

In Germany there is no established theological school or schools; and it is well that it is so, for the ancient chain of theological tradition has been interrupted, the old forms are too decrepit to be repaired, and the moment of transition has arrived, when a new edifice must be reared in their place. Materials already abound, but the building itself is very far from complete; and many works recall those provisional wooden crosses in the churchyards with the inscription "Until the erection of a monument." The new theology must reverse the analytic method of the Middle Ages, and must carry out strictly and fully the principle of historical development. It must be vast enough to comprehend the whole of the past, and to leave room for the future, which will be not less active in the work of dogmatic evolution. It must be universal, like the Church, and like her embrace the past, the present, and the future. It must provide for the future, not by artificially covering and concealing the gaps that remain in the system, but by ascertaining and recognising their pre-

sence, and by rejecting every hasty and arbitrary attempt to invest the opinions of a school with the authority of ecclesiastical doctrines, and to adopt them in the reconstruction of theology as materials similar in nature and equal in value to the universal dogma of the Church. In such matters it must protect the rights of freedom for the present, and refer to the future, when opinion has become permanent and certain, the duty of deciding.

The presence of different systems is not an evil, but an advantage, provided they maintain a scientific character, and each respects the freedom of the other. That freedom is as necessary to science as air to life, and it is a short-sighted and suicidal policy to deny it on the ground of danger to faith. A real dogmatic error against the clear and universal teaching of the Church must be pointed out and retracted; but a purely theological error must be assailed only with the resources of scientific discussion. It is no argument to say that all error is connected with dogmatic error. It would be possible to extract from the *Summa* of St. Thomas a series of propositions which, in their logical consequences, would lead to the most fatal error. The faults of science must be met with the arms of science; for the Church cannot exist without a progressive theology. That in theology it is only through error that truth is attained, is a law which will be as valid in the future as it has been universal in the past.

It is impossible to read this address, which contains the most distinct and pregnant exposition its author has ever made of the spirit of his theology, without perceiving that it challenges discussion on a great variety of points, and controverts many opinions which are by no means universally abandoned. For ourselves, we cannot acquiesce in the justice of totally excluding England from the survey of the theology of the present day, or admit that we have no ecclesiastical writers of the rank of Bautain and Ventura, and no divines who deserve to be placed as models before the educated clergy of Germany. Those, however, are fortunate whose sensitiveness is wounded only by omissions; for the speaker appears to have touched with careful deliberation on all the characteristic faults of Catholics in our time.

Two years ago the author of this address, in his protest against the abuses of the Roman Government, and on behalf of civil rights and freedom, touched merely on the externals of ecclesiastical polity in its contact with the outer world. Now, he penetrates to the very heart of the defects that afflict the Church, to the causes of her injured influence and the source of great spiritual evils. He speaks not for administrative reform, but for the renovation of theology, and the advancement of that which gives

religion power against error, for intellectual as well as political liberty. When we consider the position of the speaker, and the influence which the Congress he thus inaugurated will hereafter exercise, we cannot find that any thoughts which reach so far or penetrate so deep have been uttered in our time. Their effect in the Church would depend in great measure on the reception they met with from an audience which has in its hands the formation of theological opinion in great part of Catholic Germany. They were not spoken as a programme or manifesto representing the thoughts of the meeting, but rather as a topic for discussion and a test for the comparison of views. So far, therefore, the address invited comment; and it would unquestionably have provoked it in any assembly of divines. Those who had come with the design of watching and confronting the speaker, would have been clumsy tacticians if they had extracted from it no opportunity of delivering their protest. There was hardly a paragraph that could pass unquestioned from their point of view. In a paper which was drawn up by Dr. Heinrich, and read on the following day by Canon Moufang, and which was signed by the Würzburg divines, by Phillips, and by three doctors of divinity, exception was taken to several passages.

The remarks on French and Italian learning would probably have been heard with pain by a native of France or Italy. For the former there was nobody to speak; but the criticism on Italian theology threatened to shake the authority of the Roman divines, on whom an important school relies. In order to rescue their reputation and influence, several names recently commemorated in an essay by Dr. Hergenröther were cited, to prove the injustice of the estimate. On this point of literary criticism discussion of course was fruitless. A more serious matter was the vindication of the German clergy from the imputation of indifference to the use of the means by which the reconciliation of Protestants can be effected. This indifference was indignantly repudiated; but here again argument was vain. Dr. Dollinger had defined his meaning to be, that a sincere desire for the accomplishment of an object must manifest itself in a readiness to adopt the necessary means; and it was very easy to show that the language and policy of many Catholics are more repulsive to those beyond the pale of the Church than any of her doctrines. He had said the same thing in *Kirche und Kirchen*; and every body knows how many impediments obstruct the path of converts, from the ignorance, the imprudence, the want of candour, or the want of discrimination, which is sometimes shown by Catholics.

A graver controversy arose, however, on that passage which asserted the universal law, that the way to truth leads through error. The idea is found, indeed, in every theology since the days

of St. Augustine, and is exemplified in every age of the history of the Church. But being coupled in this case with an exhortation to tolerate and forbear, it was probably looked on as tending to invest theological science with functions which have been claimed for ecclesiastical power; and fears were entertained that if the frequency of appeals to the Congregation of the Index were thus checked, the effect of a favourite instrument in discussion might be weakened, and the exercise of the authority of Rome over literature circumscribed. The difficulty of assailing a statement which, as it stood, every body knew to be true, without betraying the real motive of the objectors, vitiated their argument, and diminished the force of the attack.

Dr. Döllinger, after a brief explanation of what had been misunderstood in his address, speedily took advantage of the false position into which his opponents had fallen; and they, one by one, in a short but sharp debate, in which he was supported by Schulte and Michelis, endeavoured to set themselves right. One admitted that he had in some degree mistaken the drift of the speech; another that he had not heard it, and had given his name on the strength of the report that had been made to him. No understanding was arrived at, however; and the assembly passed on to other matters. But Dr. Döllinger seems to have been determined to expel from the minutes of the proceedings this documentary evidence of existing dissension, and at the last sitting he again brought the question forward. It was necessary to decide on the drawing up of the report, and he began by declaring that he would not permit his address to be published. The objectors, he said, would expect their protest to appear with it, and the effect would be to commemorate and proclaim an impeachment of his theological teaching. Dr. Heinrich, the author of the paper, protested solemnly against this interpretation. He declared on his priestly word that he had intended no imputation on the dogmatic correctness of the president, whose fame he hoped would be handed down as a treasure to the latest ages of the Church in Germany. He had only wished to mark his dissent from certain opinions which either required qualification to be true, or explanation to save them from the danger of being misunderstood. This, however, did not satisfy some of his supporters; and, whilst they contradicted each other, the logic of their antagonist pressed them hard. At last they went out to deliberate; and presently agreed to suppress their protest, and to consent to the publication of the inaugural address in the Acts of the Congress. Then, with a cruel taunt at his discomfited assailants, Dr. Döllinger declared himself satisfied, and explained that he had felt compelled, as a professor of theology, to vindicate his theological good name. At these words the

whole assembly rose with one accord to bear testimony to him ; and the memorable deliberations closed.

The question of the liberty of human thought, which was introduced by Dr. Dollinger in his address, had from the beginning anxiously occupied the minds of the assembled scholars ; and from different motives each party was very desirous that something should be done. The occasion was manifestly the best that could be devised, if not the only one that could be conceived, for a practical effort to reconcile the most momentous difference which subsists in the Catholic body. For where the individual is openly at issue with the supreme authority, or where the limits of power and of liberty are in question, no official decree, and no private argument, can settle the dispute. The voice of authority is not obeyed when its rights are challenged ; and a private individual who sets about reforming the Church by the influence of his own word adds at once by his isolation to the force of the adverse opinion. But an assembly of the most learned members of the most learned clergy in Europe would, in approaching the rulers of the Church, be sustained by a prestige not easy to resist, while the men of science would feel its interests safe in their hands. Their appeal for freedom, instead of exciting insubordination and resistance to the decrees of the Holy See, would come as a constitutional remonstrance against dangerous restrictions ; while those limits which the most profound scholars and original thinkers were ready to observe could not well be rejected by any who claimed to understand the hierarchy of literary merit.

The assembly was agreed upon a further point beyond the general expedience of some declaration. Whether they wished to preserve authority by restriction, or to promote religion by liberty, they agreed at least in believing that the Holy Spirit protects the Church from falling into dogmatic error, and that human science has no such assurance. If they united in proclaiming even this conviction, it would be something, for it would allay in some measure the misgivings that had arisen ; and, whilst it was an indispensable preliminary to the future discussion of the rights of intellectual freedom, it would exclude from that discussion opinions which do not stand on the same basis. For men who profess to believe the Catholic teaching have put forward systems in which its indefectibility is virtually denied. It has been said that a proposition at variance with revelation may still be scientifically true ; that the universal Church possesses no voice which is the organ of infallibility ; that not only is the expression of dogma modified by the initiative of science, but that even its substance is altered in the progress of religious knowledge, and that ecclesiastical authority being liable to

error and abuse, its bounds can never be assigned nor its interference admitted in literature. The genesis of these errors in minds more solicitous about the present than studious of the examples of the past, is not very difficult to understand. It is conceivable how such conclusions present themselves to men who are conscious of the loss which religion suffers from the enforced stagnation and sterility of Catholic thought, who have watched the blunders in Church government, and seen how school opinions have been identified with the criteria of orthodoxy in an age in which many views once thought essential have become obsolete and ridiculous. If at one time false opinions have been held universally and under pain of censure, and if there is no fixed distinction between open and decided questions, and if an ill use has been sometimes made of the supreme authority in the Church, then, they argue, infallibility does not reside in her. One fallacy runs through all these arguments; but it is a fallacy far more universally prevailing than the conclusions which in this case it supports. It is the confusion between the Church and the authorities in the Church, between matters of faith and matters of opinion, and between development and change. A very slight exaggeration of the theory of Kuhn, that philosophy is as independent of revelation as other secular sciences, joined to that of his extreme opponents who strive to invest the *Index* with an authority universally binding on the conscience, must result in this attempt to subject even dogma to the authority of science.

On the morning of the second day of the Congress Dr. Michelis demanded that the assembly should pronounce its judgment on the controverted question of the rights of intellectual freedom, or, as he put it, in favour of "the unqualified freedom of scientific investigation." Authority, he maintained, has nothing to fear, inasmuch as every Catholic thinker knows the criteria of certainty, and admits that his conclusions are not infallible, and does not therefore claim for them an acceptance derogatory to the Church. The proposal was received with general favour; but it was met by Dr. Döllinger with a protest against abstract resolutions on questions of principle. It may be that he did not trust the elements that composed the assembly, or that he thought its future influence might be compromised if it should embark at the very beginning, before its authority was securely established, on questions of so much delicacy, or that the flame of opposition would be fanned by the license which would be taken in debate. He induced Dr. Michelis to drop two out of his three resolutions, and to refer to a separate committee of philosophers the one which remained, touching the relations of ecclesiastical authority with

the freedom of science. The meeting took place that evening, and was attended, among others, by Michelis, Heinrich, Deutinger, Reinkens, Mayr, and Knoodt.

Late that night a report flew over Munich which produced an almost comical sensation. The philosophers, it was said, had adopted certain propositions unanimously, harmony had crowned their labours, and the great struggle between reason and faith was at an end. In a place where the minds of men were perplexed and excited by the theories of Frohschammer, and by the almost unexampled scandal they had caused, it was just possible to forget that the dispute was one of about seven hundred years' standing, and that a thesis on which a dozen professors speedily agreed was not likely to settle it. The sitting of the following morning opened amid much agitation; strangers congratulated each other; and the particulars of the evening discussion were listened to as curiously as the adventures of a jury that has been locked up all night. One gentleman immediately requested that the names of the philosophers should be communicated to the meeting, as he wished to know who were the men to whom he would entertain a life-long gratitude. They are printed accordingly in the report. The two propositions were to the following effect: "1. A close adhesion to revealed truth, as taught in the Catholic Church, is an important and indispensable condition of the progressive development of a true and comprehensive speculation generally, and in particular of victory over the errors that now prevail. 2. It is a matter of conscience for all who stand on the basis of the Catholic faith to submit, in all their scientific investigations, to the dogmatic utterances of the infallible authority of the Church. This submission to authority is not in contradiction to the freedom natural and necessary to science."

The debate which followed was often extremely brilliant. The two propositions were criticised, and were defended with great fairness and discrimination by Dr. Deutinger, and with great earnestness by the Mentz divines, as the basis of a permanent understanding. Dr. Friedrich was dissatisfied because they supplied no weapons against the school of Frohschammer, and Dr. Huber, because they gave him no assistance in his struggle for the liberty of thought. Professor Mayr alone made a serious effort to have them modified; not so much, he said, because they unnecessarily repeat what is to be found in the Catechism, but because they are very vague and indefinite. "I wish," he said, in conclusion, "for propositions that show on the face of them that they are really the work of *men*." Dr. Michelis instantly protested that these propositions showed that they were drawn up by honest fearless men. "On the face of them," cried Mayr, as he sat down,—"*I* said, on the face of

them." And people who saw things only on the outside thought his censure just. Not so those who understood the circumstances under which the Congress had assembled, and the peculiar significance of the occasion.

The terms of these propositions show that what had been apprehended was not the assertion of any legitimate freedom within the limits of faith, but an opposition not merely to the undue exercise of authority, but to fundamental doctrines. They were the very least that it was possible for a vigilant orthodoxy to demand. They were what the extremest advocate of intellectual liberty must needs hold if he holds the creed of Catholics. On this basis, therefore, the cause of freedom will henceforth be sustained without that suspicion which has fallen upon it from the faults of treacherous defenders; and its true friends have emphatically testified that it is compatible with the most entire and hearty submission to the doctrines of the Church. They have delivered it from the effects of a disastrous combination with tendencies essentially uncatholic,—tendencies which have hitherto found strength in the confusion outwardly existing between the liberty to hold all truths and the liberty to subvert all dogmas. It is the first step which it was necessary to take in the path of intellectual freedom; and the way has been carefully kept open for further progress hereafter. It admits no obstruction from authorities not infallible, or from utterances not dogmatic; and the saving clause at the end of the second proposition renders it impossible to recede in that direction. Inasmuch as dogmatic utterances are very rare, and the authorities which generally intervene in matters of science have no part in infallibility, these propositions implicitly claim for science all the freedom which is demanded in Dr. Döllinger's inaugural address. Both parties, therefore, might with reason be content. The president, who had been averse to any general resolutions, warmly supported them when he heard what they were. He saw the importance of bringing the Congress to so unequivocal an assertion of the rights of authority, and he evidently judged that this prudent measure would give them strength and confidence hereafter to establish more definitely the exact nature of the liberty which science ought to enjoy in the Church. This, he announced, would be the business of the next meeting, which is to be held at Würzburg in September; and the Report adds, that he wished this declaration to be inserted in the minutes. Dr. Huber alone voted against the propositions; and in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* Professor Frohschammer fiercely accused the Congress of having shrunk from the discharge of its duty.

The questions raised by the inaugural address and the discussion on the rights of science were the most important matters

which occupied the attention of the Congress. It shows itself in its weakness in the report of a debate raised by a motion of Professor Alzog, that an association of learned men should be formed for the refutation of the current accusations against the Catholic Church. Here we find ourselves at once amid spongy conventionalities. This notion of refuting calumnies is an insidious fallacy, and has done the greatest harm to literature and religion. The worst things are not the calumnies, but the true charges,—the scandals concealed, denied, and at last discovered, the abuses, the hypocrisy, the timidity, the uncharitableness and mendacity which, under pretence of a good cause, make men often unscrupulous, and at last almost unable to distinguish between right and wrong. The question how these are to be dealt with in literature would have been better fitted for the consideration of the Congress than those complaints of prejudice and slander which lead Catholics to believe that there is nothing for Protestants to criticise, and that all hostile criticism is insincere. Something might also have been said of the readiness of Catholics to believe evil of their adversaries, and of the example given by some of our apologists of collecting without discrimination all manner of scandals against them. The kind of literary spirit Dr. Alzog's scheme would foster was apparent when Dr. Brunner recommended that a series of histories should be written, treating the English Reformation after Cobbett, and the Spanish Inquisition after Hefele. It would be the destruction of all sound historical research; and, worse still, it would accustom men to look only for what is popular and acceptable in religion, and to lose sight of the consistency of all its truths, and of those awful depths in it from which worldly men recoil. It would make their religion as shallow as their science.

Two subjects were brought forward by the president which were not received with equal favour. One was a motion that the Congress should undertake to consider, at a future meeting, the means of improving the mode of catechetical instruction. Dr. Döllinger affirmed that the manner in which religion is popularly taught in Germany is exceedingly defective, and that the enquiries and suggestions of experienced divines could not fail to be useful in aiding its reform. There was no question, he said, on which all were more completely agreed, and none of more general importance. This idea was opposed, on the ground that it involved an invasion of the province of the episcopate. It was said that the Congress would be taking the initiative, in a practical question, out of the hands of the bishops, and that it ought not to declare that the catechisms used in the several dioceses with the sanction of authority were in urgent need of improvement. The tendency of this opposition was, however, so

obvious that it had no effect; and on a division it was supported by only three votes.

The last subject which Dr. Döllinger introduced was the necessity of so extending and modifying the teaching of moral theology as to do justice to the problems of political and economical science. Unfortunately his discourse on this topic, which was greatly admired, is very imperfectly preserved; and it is not clear, from the discussion which followed, that he was entirely understood. He showed that the current theological systems have no solution for the numerous difficulties that arise in the progress of society, and that both in literature and in the cure of souls the clergy are confronted by problems which they have not learned to meet. And yet, both in the principles and in the practical treatment of poor relief, emigration, association, overpopulation, the Christian religion has its own system, and is able to guide and to assist the enquiries of science. Ignorance of political economy has frequently led to grievous mistakes on the side of the Church—for instance, in the matter of the interest of money; and it is impossible for the canon law to deal with questions of Church property, or the payment of the clergy, without reference to economical laws. Nor is it to be apprehended that the Church will suffer from the recognition of this new influence, or that there will be any inducement to reject or alter the legitimate and independent conclusions of the science. For political economy, at the point of development to which it has now reached, is a powerful aid in the apology of Christianity, and the best exponent of the services performed by the Church to the social progress of mankind. These ideas were carried out and illustrated with a knowledge of the subject, and a mastery of the theories of Malthus, of Hermann, and of Roscher, which showed how little the speaker contemplated that violence should be done to science, or that theology could supply its imperfections. It was therefore rather discouraging to hear a professor allege that it was very important for theology to settle the question of free trade, by which, he said, consciences are often disturbed on the Rhine. The debate on the use of political economy in theology and canon law promised, however, to lead to studies which will help to restore the direct social influence of religion in Germany; and of all the questions discussed in the Congress it was the one which elicited the most hearty and general agreement.

Before the meeting broke up Dr. Döllinger addressed it in a farewell speech, not, he said, as its president, but as a professor speaking from the experience of a long career. He repeated with impressive earnestness his exhortation to maintain peace and good-will among Catholics, and to observe in theological

discussion the charity and gentleness of which St. Augustine was a pattern in his dispute with St. Jerome. Divinity, he declared, could not flourish if it was pursued with unscientific instruments; and the bitterness of personal attacks, and the habit of denouncing opponents, had already operated in a manner disastrous to Catholic literature in Germany. His last words to the assembly, therefore, were an appeal for unity and concord.

And now, to what is this movement likely to lead? What is the future that may be prognosticated for it from the signs amid which it was ushered into the world? Will the German divines be sustained by the Episcopate in their undertaking to establish that connubium between science and authority which was the parting aspiration of the Bishop of Augsburg? May it be hoped that the clash of hostile sections will be prevented by the authority of a moderator who does equal justice to the rights of the Church and the liberty of science, when Dr. Döllinger's place shall be vacant? Is there no danger that a crisis may come, when the party that at Munich could muster only eight voices out of eighty will invoke the intervention of Rome against the renewal of conferences which may result in formidable demonstrations against their views? It cannot be denied that this uncertainty exists, and that there is safety only in the continuance of wise and impartial vigilance. The Congress must not be taxed beyond its strength. It must obtain confidence before it attempts reform.

This at least may be with certainty predicted, that the Congress will never swerve from the line which has been traced by the transactions of the first assembly. It can never betray that submission to the dogma of the Church which was proclaimed in the two resolutions; and it can never abandon that earnest care for the rights and interests of science which was impressed upon it by the example and the warnings of the president. These things are its vital principle. By being faithful to this its origin it will have power to infuse a new spirit into the Catholic body, and to create a new and authoritative centre of learning, which shall prevent hereafter the conflict between science and religion. It will enable the Catholic writers of Germany to vindicate the Church from the reproach that faith is inimical to freedom, that we are hampered in our investigations, that we acknowledge a power which may prevent the publicity of truth, or impose untruths on our belief. Then indeed it will mark the dawn of a new era, and will justify the words of the Bishop of Augsburg, that, in giving the impulse to it, Dr. Döllinger has set the crown on the splendid series of his services to the Church.

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15. *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera.* Textum ad fidem codicum et Græcorum et Latinorum, ineditorum copia insignium, adhibitis præstantissimis editionibus, versione Latina passim correcta, prolegominis, indicibus instruxit Albertus Rud. Max. Dressel. Editio altera, aucta supplementis ad Barnabæ Epistolam et Hermæ Pastorem ex Tischendorfiana Codicis Sinaitici editione haustis. (Lipsiæ: Hinrichs.)
16. *Aristophanis Acharnenses.* Edidit Albertus Müller. (Hannoveræ.)
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23. *A Chronicle of England, B.C. 55—A.D. 1485.* Written and illustrated by James E. Doyle. (London: Longman.)
24. *History of the Holy Cross.* Reproduced in facsimile from the original edition printed by J. Veldener in 1483. The text and engravings by J. Ph. Berjeau. (London: C. J. Stewart.)
25. *Shakespeare Characters; chiefly those subordinate.* By C. Cowden Clarke. (London: Smith, Elder, and Co.)
26. *Rede in der öffentlichen Sitzung der k. Akademie der Wissenschaften am 28. März 1863, zur Feier ihres einhundert und vierten Stiftungstages gehalten.* Von Justus Freiherrn von Liebig, d. z. Vorstand der Akademie. (München, auf Kosten der k. Akademie.)

27. *Milioni Comus.* Græce reddidit Georgius, Baro Lyttelton. (Macmillan, Londini.)
28. *Father Mathew; a Biography.* By John Francis Maguire, M.P. (London: Longman.)
29. *The Invasion of the Crimea: its Origin, and an Account of its Progress down to the Death of Lord Raglan.* By Alexander William Kinglake. Fourth edition. (Edinburgh: Blackwood.)
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40. *Matériaux pour l'Étude des Glaciers.* Par Dollfus-Ausset. Tomes i. ii. iii. (Paris: Savy.)
41. *Du Climat de Genève.* Par E. Plantamour, Professeur à l'Académie de Genève. (Genève: H. George.)
42. *Das Nordeuropäische und besonders das vaterländische Schwemmland in tabellarischen Ordnung seiner Schichten und Boden-Arten.* Ein geognostisch-geographischer Versuch, von Rudolf von Benningen-Förder. (Berlin: Hertz.)

43. *Du Terrain quaternaire, et de l'Ancienneté de l'Homme dans le Nord de la France.* D'après les leçons professées au Muséum, par M. d'Archiac, Membre de l'Institut. Recueillies et publiées par Eugène Trutal. (Paris: Savy.)
44. *De la Glycerine, de ses applications à la Chirurgie et à la Médecine.* Par M. Demarquay, Chirurgien de la Maison Municipale de Santé, du Conseil d'Etat. (Paris: Asselin.)
45. *Leçons de Chimie et de Physique professées en 1862.* Par MM. Verdet et Berthelot. (Paris: Hachette et C^{ie}.)
46. *Les Terres émaillées de Bernard de Palissy, inventeur des Rustiques figulines. Etude sur les travaux du maître et des continuateurs; suivis du catalogue de leur Œuvre.* Par A. Tainturier. Ouvrage enrichi des planches et des gravures dans le texte. (Paris: Didron, Renouard.)
47. *Notice sur les Majoliques de l'ancienne Collection Campana.* Par Albert Jacquemart. (Paris: Techener.)
48. *Das Locomotiven-Blasrohr: experimentelle und theoretische Untersuchungen über die Zugeszeugung durch Dampfstrahlen, und über die saugende Wirkung der Flüssigkeitsstrahlen überhaupt.* Von Dr. Gustav Zeuner, Professor der Mechanik und Theoretischen Maschinenlehre am eidgenössischen Polytechnicum zu Zürich. Mit 25 in den Text eingedruckten Holzstichen und 2 lithographirten Tafeln. (Zürich: Meyer u. Zeller.)

1. Professor Schleiden's little work may be considered as a review of the three subjects treated of in Sir Charles Lyell's book on the antiquity of man, namely, the age of man on earth, the origin of species, and man's place in nature. It may consequently be also looked upon as a review of Mr. Darwin's and Professor Huxley's books on the two last-mentioned subjects. Professor Schleiden not only admits that man existed in the post-tertiary period, and was contemporary with the mammoth and woolly rhinoceros, but even suggests that he existed during the tertiary period, because he finds that the probable relations of land and water during that period correspond with the actual distribution of the chief races of men. The opinion which he expresses of Dr. Bennet Dowler's statements about the Mississippi deposits, and also the readiness with which he accepts the extreme periods that have been assigned to the age of man, do not display a very critical spirit. Dr. Schleiden has long held that species were not permanent; and it was to be expected that he would have accepted Mr. Darwin's doctrine of natural selection, which has so modified, and given so great an impulse to, the views of Geoffroy St.-Hilaire and Lamarck. His observations on the conception of a species are ingenious; but he seems to us to make the same mistake, though from a different point of view, as M. de Blainville,—a mistake which is common to all naturalists, whether they believe in species or not,—in other words, he forgets that physical and

chemical laws must also be taken into account in forming a decision upon the point.

He accepts fully the doctrine of modification of species as applied to man; the only distinction which he conceives to exist between an animal and a man being that the brain of the latter is so developed that he becomes conscious of his own existence, and thereby can take possession of himself. In this *Fähigkeit des Selbstbewusstseins* he finds a chasm which no education of apes can bridge over. Professor Schleiden is an ardent admirer of the philosophy of Kant, especially in the developments of it which he calls the mathematical philosophy of Fries; and he never writes a book or delivers a lecture in which he does not praise the latter. We cannot but think, however, that his attempt to define the differential quality of man as compared with the chrysothrix or the gorilla is a complete failure from his own point of view; it is pure materialism, but without the logical consequence which it would have in the mouth of a materialist. He gives in this instance an excellent example of that vague materialism which he says now pervades German scientific works, and for which he so heartily abuses them in his accustomed strong language.

2. The Code of Manu is considered by the Hindus as a divine revelation, and anterior in time to the creation of mankind. Although these claims have never been admitted in Europe, it was not unfrequent some years back to look upon Manu as an extremely ancient lawgiver, and even in cases where his personality was admitted or suspected to be mythical, the legislation attributed to him was thought so ancient as to justify a comparison with that of Zoroaster and even Moses. The critical study of Sanskrit literature has led to results not quite so favourable to the antiquity of this celebrated code. It is, indeed, the oldest of the Dharmaśāstras, older, for instance, than that of Yājñavalkya; but the kind of literature to which it belongs is a comparatively recent produce of the Indian mind. Nor is the form in which we have it at present its original form. There are quotations in the Mahābhārata from Manu's code which are not found in our copies of the latter. And entire passages of the Mahābhārata are found in these copies. The repetitions and contradictions, together with other manifest additions, lead to the conclusion that the text of the Mānava-dharmaśāstra did not assume its present form till after many changes. Dr. Johaentgen has just published an essay which is calculated to throw some light on its history. Colebrooke had already noticed one or two important points of resemblance between its doctrines and those of the Sāṅkhya philosophy. Dr. Johaentgen has gone deeper into the question, and has shown that the resemblance is striking on very essential and characteristic points, such as the views about nature and spirit, the development of primitive matter, the elementary creation, transmigration and the three qualities, knowledge as a means of deliverance, and the three modes of cognition. On the last point he shows that the resemblance is not external or accidental, but that whilst both the atheistic and theistic schools of the Sāṅkhya agree in this, all

other Indian philosophical systems differ from them and from the doctrine of the book of Manu. In all cases the doctrine of Manu stands to the Sāṅkhya doctrine in the relation of a less to a more fully developed one. Remarkable coincidences are further proved to exist between the code and Buddhism, not only on those points which Buddhism has derived from the Sāṅkhya philosophy, but on others quite foreign to the latter. Our author concludes that those portions of the code which have affinity either with the Sāṅkhya or the Buddhist systems belong to the original work, which we only possess in a Brahmanic revision, full of additions contradictory to its original spirit. He thinks the code was originally called, not after Manu, but after the Mānava, a subdivision of the school of the Maitrāyaṇīya, who lived in the country between the Sarasvatī and the Drishadvatī, and had a special recension of the black Yajurveda. The historical inferences contained in his last chapter, though extremely ingenious, and supported by a great deal of learning, will, to many readers, probably not appear so convincing as the earlier chapters, which exhibit evidence so positive and clear as to leave no room for any doubt. The fault, however, is not that of Dr. Johaentgen, but is inherent in the nature of Sanskrit literature, from which it is rarely possible to extract very definite historical or chronological information, at least of an absolute character.

3. Yadu Nath Tarkaratna, who, as the second title in Sanskrit informs us, is Professor at the Sanskrit College of Calcutta, has edited for the first time in its entirety, and with notes, the Bhāminī Vilāsa of Jagannātha. This poet, called "the king of scholars" (panditarāja), lived, as he tells us at the end of his poem, in Madhupurī (i. e. Mathura); but his age seems to be quite unknown. The poem—as the title shows, which means "The (amatory) Sport of Bhāminī (=the passionate maiden)"—belongs to the same class of lyrical compositions as Kālidāsa's *Cloud-Messenger*. It is divided into four cantos, or, as the author prefers calling them, sports, i. e. "Beginning," "Love," "Elegy" (karuna), "Quiet." The rather artificial style, which shows that it belongs to a late period of Sanskrit poetry, makes it no easy reading. We subjoin the beginning of the third canto, the lover's lament on his separation from his mistress:

"Now cruel Fate from thee its eyes has turned,
And thy dear friend this earthly life has spurned.
To whom, then, wilt thou tell thy heart's distress?
And who with soothing words shall thee caress?
I often formerly in glad surprise
Discerned thee stealing towards me; and thy eyes,
Though virgin shame shone in their gentle light,
Were yet, like Cupid's servants, clear and bright.
Thy looks and pretty words are now in vain;
To comfort me, not one can I obtain.
I can but think of that one sight alone;
All other knowledge, chased by grief, is gone.
Thy deer-like eyes have ta'en away my heart;
My own, my sole divinity thou art!"

4. Dr. Spiegel's translation of the Zend writings is brought to a conclusion by the third volume, which contains the Khorda Avesta, or small Avesta, a collection of prayers chiefly of a private nature, with numerous notes. Prefixed to this volume is a sketch of the religious system of the Zoroastrians. This system assumes a realm of good spirits that wage constant war against another realm of evil spirits (*daévas*). At the head of the good genii stand Ahura-Mazda, the creator of the world, of every thing good and pure. Dr. Spiegel explains his name, in accordance with the Parsee tradition, as meaning "the very wise lord," from *ahura*, lord, and *mazda*, or in its fuller form *mazdáo*, which he derives from *maz*, great, and *dáo*, knowledge. This etymology seems at first sight contradictory of another first started by Benfey, and all but universally received by Zend scholars. According to Benfey the name of Ormuzd would be equivalent to a Sanskrit formation *asura-médhdás*, "having living intellect," "living sage." But the contradiction of the two etymologies is not real, as the Zend *ahura* is undoubtedly the Sanskrit *asura*, and must have passed from the meaning "living," through the intermediate notion of "vigorous, strong," to the signification "lord;" *mazdáo*, on the other hand, would be originally a compound *mahdás*, and as the Sanskrit could not allow the group *hd* to stand, the change to *dh* would be natural enough (conf. Sanskrit *nédistha*, the nearest=Zend *nazdistá*). Only we must assume in that case that the Sanskrit *médhas*, intellect, meant originally great intellect. Very interesting are the proofs adduced by Dr. Spiegel on page v. that Ormuzd, who, though endowed with a body, is in general conceived as a being of a highly spiritual and moral nature, was originally a more lowly anthropomorphic conception, as we hear of his daughters and wives. Yet it is but just to the old Iranians to say that this grosser idea of their supreme gods appears only in a few passages, which must be looked upon as the remnants of an older period, perhaps preceding Zoroaster's great reform. The author gives us besides a full and lucid account of the genii subordinate to Ormuzd, the six *Amesha-spenta* (Amshasponds), whose name, according to him, means the immortal holy ones; and the more important of the *Yazatas* (Izeds). Then follows a sketch of the world of demons opposed to Ahura-Mazda, of which *Añgromainyus* (i. e. evil spirit) is the chief, and of the mythical history of Iran. Like Windischmann, Dr. Spiegel is of opinion—and we agree with him—that the inscriptions of Darius I. and his successors show beyond doubt that the Zoroastrian system in all its leading features was then fully developed; but, more cautious than his friend—and here too we agree with him—he maintains that there are no means to determine the exact age of this religion.

In connection with Dr. Spiegel's book we must say a word about his controversy with Professor Haug of Poonah. He attaches great value to the Parsee traditions; whereas Professor Haug is of opinion that a comparison with the Sanskrit of the Veda is almost the only sure means we have to determine the signification of the Zend writings. The practical difference caused by these two different systems of interpretation is, however, much smaller than one would expect *à priori*, as will be seen

on comparing the interpretation of the same passages by the two scholars. It is therefore scarcely intelligible, and certainly is much to be regretted, that a great deal of very uncalled-for personal animosity should have been imported into the controversy. It must be confessed that Dr. Spiegel seems to go a little too far in opposition to his antagonist, when he throws doubt on many identifications of Iranian and Indian gods that were hitherto considered as definitively established by comparative philology. Surely if the Mithra, Hâoma, Yima, Thraëtaôna, &c. of the Persians are the same as the Mitra, Sôma, Yama, Trita of Vedic mythology; if the "shining" *dévas* (gods) of the Hindus were changed into *daévas* (demons) by their Iranian brethren,—facts which are admitted by Dr. Spiegel himself,—it is incomprehensible why he should not allow the Persian genius *Verethrajan* to be the same as the Vedic *Vrtrahan*, and should object to the comparison of the Iranian demons *Añdra*, *Nâoñghartya*, and *Çaurva* with the Hindu gods *Indra*, *Násatya*, *Çarva*, whose identity in name he himself is forced to admit. Far from being opposed to such views, his own translation can be easily made to furnish new identifications of this kind. He himself points out the identity of the demons called *Dânu* with the arch-enemies of the Indian gods, the *Dânava*s (p. 53, note). The *Gañdarewa* was hitherto known in the Zend writings only as a monster slain by the hero *Kereçäpa*; but we now read an invocation to his *Travashi* (genius) in our author's translation (p. 134), which necessarily implies that in the *Travardin Yasht*, where the passage occurs, a good god or hero must be intended, like the Indian *Gandharvas* that are attendants of the gods. We have also no doubt that the *Pâreñdi* of the Iranians, the guardian of treasures, is not different from the Vedic *Purandhi*, the goddess of plenty (*dame Habonde*, *Abundantia*, of the Celts).

5. From the pen of Fr. Windischmann, and edited after his death by his friend Dr. Spiegel, we receive twelve papers on different subjects relating to the religion of ancient Iran. Of these, the first is on the (mythical) geography of the *Bundehesh*. The second treats of *Yima* and *Azhi Dâhaka* (*Djemshid* and *Zohak*): *Yima*, the son of *Vivanhao*, is identical in name with the *Yama* of the Indians, the son of *Vivasvat*. But whilst the Indian *Yama* is the god of death, *Yima* resembles in his character *Yama*'s brother *Manu*; for, like the latter, he is a mythical king—apparently originally the first king. With the assistance of *Ormuzd*, who gave him a golden plough and a golden goad, he proceeded southward, filling the earth as he went on with cattle, men, dogs, and red-burning fires. His reign was a kind of golden age until he died; and then his kingly splendour departed from him. The first favour that went from him was seized by the god *Mithra*; the second by *Thraëtaôna*, who consequently killed the *Aji* (serpent) *Dâhaka* with three mouths, three heads, and six eyes, created by *Ahriman*; the third favour went to *Kereçäpa*. So far the Zend writings; but the *Bundehesh* adds that *Yima* was overcome by *Dâhaka*. In *Firdusi*'s poem, *Dâhaka* has been transformed into a human tyrant, on whose shoulders, having been kissed by *Iblis* (*Satan*), grew two serpents that required human brains as their

food. Zohak conquers Djemshid (=Yima), is ultimately conquered by Feridun (=Thraëtaôna), and is bound with chains on the mountain Demavend. The third essay is on Zarathustra (Zoroaster), for whose name Windischmann proposes, though with great hesitation, to give the sense of "golden star," from Zend *zara* (otherwise *zairi*), gold, and *thustra* =Skr. *toish*, to shine, splendour.

After this essay follows a translation, partly with notes, of the Bundelesh, a writing in Pehlvi, which contains a kind of compendium of the mythical history of the world according to the Zoroastrian belief, beginning with the creation, and ending with the destruction of Ahriman and the apocatastasis of all creation. Though it results from the last chapter of this work that in its present form it is posterior to the invasion of Persia by the Arabs (A.D. 651), it yet embodies much interesting information derived from older sources now lost. It is therefore very gratifying to have it translated in its integrity by Windischmann, especially as even those who are ignorant of Pehlvi—and the number of those who know it is extremely small—have now an opportunity of comparing Windischmann's rendering with the translation of some passages formerly given by Dr. Spiegel in his *Traditionelle Literatur der Parsen*. Next comes a paper on the age of the Zoroastrian system and the Zend texts. Windischmann proves, by the contents of the Persian inscriptions of Darius I. and his successors, that in their time the Zoroastrian religion was already firmly established in Iran. We agree with Windischmann in this conclusion; but we do not think that an equally high antiquity of the Zend texts in their present form is at once established thereby, as he seems to do, as far as we can see from this evidently not quite completed essay. In the second half of this paper he determines Zoroaster's time as about 1000 B.C., basing his conclusions chiefly on the chronological tradition of the Bundelesh. But we cannot believe that this book is a safe guide in times so far removed, seeing that it omits all the Persian kings between Darius I. and Darius III. (a period of 150 years), and makes the Arsacidæ reign only 264 years, instead of 470; blunders which Windischmann himself points out, and the former of which he calls "chronological madness" (*Aberwitz*). This fifth essay contains a highly-interesting episode on *Aëshmâ-dæva*, the Persian demon of lust and destruction, who, according to Windischmann, is identical with the *אשמוד* of the Jews, the Asmodæus of the Book of Tobias. Other striking analogies with the Hebrew Scriptures are discussed in the paper "On the paradise, the two trees, the four rivers." In the seventh essay the author shows that the *Apam napat* of the Zend writings is identical with the Vedic *Apām napāt* (i. e. aquarum nepos, the offspring of the waters), a name of the god *Agni* (fire), according to a current belief of many nations (for instance, the Finns) that the fire is hidden in the water. The eighth essay, on the Pishdadian kings, treats of Husheng and Tahmuras, that belong to this most ancient mythical dynasty of Iran, in the same manner in which Yima's history was discussed before, following up the scanty allusions in the Zendavesta with the Bundelesh and modern Persian tradition. Then follow papers on the first men and on the resurrection. The eleventh essay contains a careful collection of,

and critical comments on, all the passages of the classical writers which have reference to the Zoroastrian religion. The rear is brought up by the fragment of a translation of the Zend text of the Farvardin-Yasht—the prayer to the Fravashis, or genii of holy men. In spite of the somewhat fragmentary state in which these papers have been left by the death of their lamented author, they are throughout a worthy sequel to his former writings on the Iranian deities, Haoma, Mithra, and Anahita.

6. The existing Zend manuscripts are none of them older than the fourteenth century; but the state of their orthography is such that they seem to necessitate the conclusion that, in part at least, the present mode of writing is the result of a confusion, by which a more organic representation of the sounds of the old Bactrian language has been superseded. Starting from this fundamental idea, Herr Lepsius has taken five Zend alphabets, as communicated in manuscripts,—it is to be regretted, of the seventeenth century only, but evidently copied from older books,—and subjected them to a thorough critical analysis. After having eliminated one of them as comparatively new, and formed, as the order of the letters shows, under Arabic influence, he comes to the conclusion that the other four are descended from an original alphabet much more ancient than the time of our Zend manuscripts, and therefore giving a clearer view of the pronunciation of the Zend. Many letters which in the manuscripts are used without any apparent difference are, according to Herr Lepsius, still clearly distinguished as different shades of pronunciation in these old alphabets; and other signs are found in them, expressive of articulations once no doubt existing in the language, but now no longer expressed by any appropriate sign of their own; whilst, thirdly, the grouping together of the letters shows that certain signs have lost their old sound in the modern traditional signification. Although we are ready to grant that the learned Berlin academician is correct in assuming that the traditional pronunciation of Zend cannot be right in all particulars, we are not quite as sure that his restitution of the ancient system is beyond doubt. According to him, for instance, the Zend would have possessed a consonantal *l*, but nasalised vowels *i*, *u*, *ī*, *ū*; whereas our manuscripts acknowledge only a nasalised *a*, and (with limitations) *ā*, and also a vocalic *r*, and perhaps even *l*. It will be observed that if the restitutions instanced are correct, they are so many coincidences of the Zend with the Sanskrit in contradistinction from the Persian Achæmenidean inscriptions, to which all these sounds are unknown; coincidences perhaps natural enough, as the Zend was spoken in Bactria, nearer to the Punjab than to Persis properly so called. It would also seem from the frequent, nay almost regular, correspondence in our Zend manuscripts of the group *ērē* to the Sanskrit vocalic *r*, where the Persian has *ar*, that this *ērē* is really only a clumsy attempt to write the *r* vowel. Yet assuming this, it is certainly, on the other hand, a strange circumstance, which Herr Lepsius would find somewhat hard to explain, that on the coins of the Turushka kings, which were struck either in the Cashmere or in the Punjab, the name of the Iranian god *Verethraghna* (Zend),

Sanskrit *Vrtrahan*, should be written *Opdayvo*, which agrees much better with *Varthragna*, the hypothetical Persian form, than with the supposed East-Iranian name. We therefore refrain from either rejecting or endorsing our author's views with regard to this and other original Zend letters.

7. The very careful and conscientious attention which Mr. D. W. Nash has given to a large number of facts which ought to be thoroughly understood by every one attempting to solve the questions discussed in his book on the Pharaoh of the Exodus, is quite insufficient to compensate for the want of that special information which he himself considers necessary for criticising Mr. Sharpe's chronological system. This deficiency on his part not only prevents him from looking directly at good evidence from the right point of view, but obliges him to trust to authorities which cannot fail to mislead him. Such are, in the first place, the testimonies of the Greeks (*e.g.* the rubbish preserved by Syncellus, and called the list of Eratosthenes); and, secondly, the not less worthless essays of modern writers who were utterly unqualified to write upon the subject. He exhibits a praiseworthy disposition to make the most of the information derived from such excellent special scholars as Lepsius, Hincks, de Rougé, Brugsch, and Birch; but he is entirely at the mercy of a conjecture, an arbitrary assumption, or even a bad argument, on the part of any one of these scholars; and when they differ he is obliged to make an arbitrary choice between them, or, what is still worse, to propose an independent opinion of his own. The very best of these scholars has made assertions and used arguments which have either been refuted by others or disproved by later discoveries. It was universally believed till quite lately that the Hyksos had, as Mr. Nash says, left behind them no monuments of their existence. But such monuments, and very important ones, have recently been discovered and described by M. Mariette. Dr. Hincks was quite justified, a great many years ago, in doubting whether any reigns intervened between those of the 12th and those of the 18th dynasty. The abundant actual monumental proofs which now exist of such reigns were not then discovered. If several excellent scholars believe the calendar of Elephantine to belong to the reign of Thothmes III., their authority may deter an incompetent judge from pronouncing an opposite opinion; but it cannot by itself constitute a proof of any thing. The king's name is found on the monument, but not in a context which enables one to draw a logical inference. Mr. Nash is mistaken in supposing that "the difficulty which at first sight appears so formidable" to his own view of the Pharaoh of the Exodus "fades away on a closer inspection." This difficulty consists in the names of the treasure-cities, Pithom and Rameses, built by the Israelites for Pharaoh, which clearly indicate a period when the name of Rameses had acquired its royal celebrity. "In the first place," Mr. Nash says, "we learn from the monuments that both the fortress of Rameses and that of Pithom were already in existence in the reign of Sethos I., the father of Rameses Meiamun." We dissent from this. It is quite true that Brugsch has conjectured that a certain place

called Pa-chetem, literally "the Fortress," should be identified with the Pithom of the Bible ; but we are not aware that any other scholar has adopted this conjecture, against which there are very strong arguments. The "abode of Rameses" spoken of in the Anastasi papyri is distinctly connected with the person of Rameses II. The difficulty, therefore, founded on the name of Rameses is not "at an end," nor will it be till some one has discovered a sovereign of that name anterior to Mr. Nash's date of the Exodus. Nor has he succeeded in showing "that the name of Rameses was borne by a son of the king who commenced the persecution of the Hebrews, 'the king who knew not Joseph.'" There was indeed a Râ-mes, son of king Aâh-mes, but this name is philologically different from Râ-mes-es or Râ-mes-su, which contains *three*, and not only two, separate elements, and the hieroglyphic orthography of which is most accurately reproduced by the Hebrew transcription.

The principal result of Mr. Nash's investigations is said to be the discovery of "the ancient Egyptian practice of placing the era of Menes at the commencement of a Sothic cycle." Now we are quite unable to detect the smallest trace of such a discovery ; and we look in vain from one end of the book to the other for a proof that the ancient Egyptians were even acquainted with the Sothic cycle. It is now a good many years since M. Biot asked for evidence of the existence of this cycle ; but there does not seem to be any chance of its ever being discovered.

8. The Egyptian inscription of which Dr. Reinisch has given a translation is short and easy, and the excellent dissertation which accompanies the translation contains nothing which is not already familiar to Egyptologists. The interest of this publication lies partly in its furnishing a really good specimen of the analytical and inductive method observed by all careful and accurate scholars in studies of this kind (and such specimens are rare and much wanted) ; but chiefly perhaps in its bearing witness to the important fact that the science is so much advanced as to enable self-taught students to read fluently and translate correctly the sacred texts written in the hieroglyphic character. There is not an Egyptologist who would not at once admit the general accuracy of Dr. Reinisch's translations ; and such a fact is sufficient of itself to overthrow the sceptical reasoning, for instance, of the late Sir G. C. Lewis. It is easy enough, of course, for any individual to give imaginary translations of Egyptian, as of Etruscan or Aztec texts ; but what is not easy is for different persons to hit on the same imaginary version of a text.

In implying that Dr. Reinisch is self-taught, we are far from the intention of paying him a doubtful compliment ; all Egyptologists of any reputation have taught themselves what they know ; partly, indeed, by verifying the results of their predecessors, but chiefly by the study of original texts. One or two, however, of his mistakes, while they clearly prove the independence of his investigations, and thus add to the value of his general testimony, are too important to be passed over without notice ; especially as those to whom we chiefly recommend

this dissertation are beginners, to whom all blunders in such studies must be injurious.

In his translation (p. 6) of a passage from the *Book of the Dead* (22, 2) the word which he reads *nau*, and renders "castigans," is in fact a demonstrative pronoun of very frequent use. The relative pronoun *enti*, which immediately follows, invariably requires an expressed antecedent. The two words mean "ille qui [est]," not "castigans eos qui sunt;" and the whole passage quoted by Dr. Reinisch signifies, "I am Osiris, the Lord of Resta, the same who is at the head of the staircase." Such representations of Osiris are frequent in pictures. Dr. Reinisch has also misunderstood (p. 7) a passage in the first chapter of the *Book of the Dead*. *A un her.t.u* does not signify "O ut aperiantur viæ!" but "O aperientes vias!" The whole passage, beginning at the end of line ten, runs as follows: "Oh, ye who introduce pious souls into the house of Osiris, bring the soul of the departed N. with you into the house of Osiris, that he may see as you see, and hear as you hear; that he may stand as you stand, and sit as you sit! Oh, ye who give bread, oh ye who give drink in the house of Osiris to pious souls,¹ give bread and drink to the departed N! Oh ye who open the roads, oh ye who make wide the paths to the house of Osiris for pious souls, open the roads, make wide the paths to the departed N, who is with you, that he may enter in by that gate into the house of Osiris; that he may enter with confidence, and go forth in peace."

The words *ki tel*, "otherwise said," do not in the *Book of the Dead* imply identity of object or meaning under a variety of names or expressions, but simply indicate a different reading at variance with what precedes. The passage, therefore, quoted (p. 9) from cap. 165-6 does not mean "Nuter-gar etiam dictum Agar," or justify one in identifying two really different places, but merely tells us that where one Ms. reads *Nuter-gar*, another reads *Agar*.

At page 10 Dr. Reinisch identifies an important particle with the Coptic negative *men*, and refers on this subject to Mr. Renouf's tract *On some Negative Particles of the Egyptian Language*. This tract, however, very positively identifies the particle in question, not with the Coptic *men*, but with the Coptic *an*, from which the privative prefix *at* is derived through the older form *ant*. We refer Dr. Reinisch to another tract of the same author (*Prayer from the Egyptian Ritual*) for a note on the word *uba*, which we believe to be wrongly translated at page 11 by "relinquere."

In so elementary a dissertation it would perhaps have been well to give evidence that the very first group of the inscription should be read *Suten*, for this has been doubted. An instance of the word *Suten* written at full length in this formula is given in page 4, but without a reference. Instances of this kind are certainly comparatively rare, but they are numerous enough to leave no doubt about the question. The most satisfactory piece of evidence that we know on this point (for some others might be attributed to oversight on the part of scribes or artists) is an ancient

¹ Not "to pious souls in the house of Osiris;" this would require *am-u pa* instead of *en pa*.

monument (see Prisse's *Monumens*, pl. xv.), on which not only is the entire word *Suten* repeatedly found in this formula, but a curious variant, twice occurring, substitutes for the word the sitting figure of a king. The group ought certainly to be translated literally, "royal offering," not "*pium munus*."

The words *anch em mâ* mean something more than "viventi in veritate." *Anch em* is to "live upon." The god is conceived as "living upon truth," just as men live upon bread, and as the demons are described in the *Book of the Dead* as living upon blood or upon the damned.

The passages quoted at page 3, from the *Book of the Dead* and the *Shai en sinsin*, are simply identical. The sign which Dr. Reinisch reads *har* should be read *nuter*, as in the preceding passage. He will find evidence of this on referring to an inscription on the tomb of Bek-en-ren-f (Leps. *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 281).

In taking leave for the present of Dr. Reinisch we sincerely congratulate him on having vanquished the most serious obstacles in the way of a really scientific interpretation of hieroglyphic texts. There is certainly much yet remaining to be done even by the most advanced scholars; but the first essential step is to get a solid basis on which all future results are to rest, and this solid basis is a possession which Dr. Reinisch and a very few other scholars have slowly and laboriously but successfully attained. We need hardly say what an advantage he possesses in the use of a hieroglyphic type, which, however inferior in beauty and accuracy to that of the French Imprimerie Impériale, is sufficient for most practical purposes. The want of such a type is one of the principal causes why the science of Egyptology is confined in this country to one or two persons, who are as little able to give publicity to their method of investigation as mathematicians would be without the use of the requisite mathematical type.

9. If the hieroglyphic text translated by Dr. Reinisch be short and easy, the two texts translated and illustrated by Dr. Birch are long and full of difficulties which nothing short of the consummate learning and long-practised ability of a veteran in the science could have overcome. The inscriptions of the Ptolemaic period have, comparatively speaking, been but little studied. Their contents, when intelligible, are in general far less attractive and interesting than those of the earlier periods; and the whole system of orthography had become so debased and corrupted, that it is doubtful if the most learned scribes of the flourishing times of the monarchy would have been able to decipher much of them without going through the scientific process which we are ourselves obliged to apply to them. It is quite certain, however, that much valuable and curious information of every kind is to be found in these rather repulsive texts. A great part of the importance of Dr. Birch's dissertation accordingly lies in his explanations of many difficulties peculiar to the Ptolemaic style, and the proofs which he gives of the correctness of his explanations; but the matter of the texts translated, which are funeral inscriptions of a noble and sacerdotal personage named Pe-sheri-en-Ptah (literally son of the god Ptah) and of his wife Tâ-I-em-hotep, is by no means void of

interest. Pe-sheri-en-Ptah is said on his tablet to have been born on the 21st of the month Poaphi, in the twenty-fifth year of Ptolemy X. or Lathyros, that is, B.C. 92. But, as Dr. Birch remarks, "At this time Ptolemy XI. or Alexander was actually on the throne; it would therefore seem that the reign of this last-mentioned monarch was not recognised in the reign of Cleopatra VI., when the death of Pesherienptah took place, and the tablet was erected," B.C. 42. The second tablet contains evidence that Ptolemy XIII. or Neos Dionysos was not married in his ninth year, and that Cleopatra was sole ruler in her sixth. Pesherienptah tells us that he was forty-three years old, and had a family of daughters, but that the god I-em-hotep (literally "Who cometh in peace") gave him a son. His wife's tablet adds that he saw the god in a dream, and was ordered by him to place a great couch in the sanctuary of his temple. In return for this offering the lady says, "that great god . . . rendered me pregnant of a male child. I gave birth to him on the sixth year, on the 16th of Choiak . . . of Cleopatra." It is rather unfair, we think, to find with Dr. Birch, in the memorable story of Decius Mundus and Paulina, "a story which bears a remarkable similarity to the present;" but the latter certainly gives a striking illustration of the ideas current at the time of the former story. All the ideas, however, expressed in the inscription of Tà-I-em-hotep are not purely Egyptian. That inscription is the earliest text in which the condition of the pious dead is described as one of unhappiness. Dr. Birch gives the following translation of some of the concluding lines: "The West," i. e. the place of departed spirits, "is the land of visible darkness; the prison of those who are seated in it, figured in their forms. They do not awake to see their brethren; they do not see their father or their mother; they forget their wives and children. The living water, which is destroying all in it, is thirsted for by me; it comes to all who lived on earth. I have thirsted for the stream; I do not know where I am; when I approached that valley, I wept for the waters flowing to me; I said, 'Let me not go to this water; I wept for the north wind on its bank, that it should refresh my heart in its affliction.'" The translation proceeds in the same tone. We have no means at this moment of verifying its exact correctness, for the copies of the texts given by Mr. Sharp and M. Prisse are not absolutely trustworthy. Dr. Birch's translation, however, is made from the actual monuments, and may, as a whole, be relied upon with perfect confidence. There can be no doubt that he is right in attributing this melancholy view of the future state to a Greek, not to a native Egyptian origin.

10. The new edition of Dr. Ewald's Hebrew Grammar contains a good many additions, though none, as far as we can see, of any great importance, except as far as they tend to complete information already found in former editions. There are many useful references to new books. We cannot think the multiplication of illustrations from the Coptic language an improvement. These illustrations are often irreproachable in themselves; but it should be distinctly understood that they are only of value as illustrative of the laws of *language* under par-

ticular conditions, not of the laws peculiar to cognate languages. We shall never cease to protest against the attempts to establish a connection between the Semitic languages and one so utterly foreign to them as the Coptic. And when the forms of the Coptic language are referred to, it might be worth while to remember that Coptic is an extremely recent and corrupt stage of a language, copious specimens of which, still in existence, are nearly three thousand years old,—at least, more ancient than the earliest appearance of what is now called Coptic. When, for instance, Dr. Ewald refers (p. 841) to the Coptic particle $\text{O}\tau\text{\AA}\text{\AA}$ as connecting prepositions together, and adds "*woraus* \AA *abgekürzt*," he appears to us to be guilty of a gross anachronism. The Coptic particle is much more recent than the latest books of the Hebrew Old Testament. It may be very tempting to identify $\text{\text{TWOTN}}$ to raise, and $\text{\text{TWOT}}$ a mountain (p. 376); but the temptation disappears as soon as one knows the original forms of those two words.

11. The criticism to which the Book of Judith has for the last three hundred years been subjected would deserve a special history, and such a history might, without further commentary, seem to furnish the most telling criticism upon the value of critical science. In the estimation of Luther, who still clung by a hundred threads to the views of the Church, this narrative was a beautiful ecclesiastical poem, and its author a holy and highly gifted man. The poem was next classified, first as a drama, then as an epic, then as a didactic poem, and lastly as a legend; more recently still, it is described as a Jewish novel. Nor have the judgments upon it always been so indulgent. According to the taste of some the whole book is a heap of rubbish, "*quasi lepra inquinatum vanitate et mendacio*," and composed "*ab imperitissimo et imprudentissimo adeoque impudentissimo aliquo Hellenista nugacissimo*!" Catholic theologians, who look upon the book as canonical, for the most part consider it as historical. This is the case even with Movers, whose freedom of enquiry is well known, and has been acknowledged by learned Protestants. He uses the book as a historical source in his work on Phœnicia, although he had on a former occasion endeavoured to prove the fictitious character of the narrative. Judgments have naturally been quite as much divided with reference to the date of the event described, whether they were considered as historical or as fictitious. From a thousand years before Trajan down to his time there is probably not a century which has not to bear the honour or the shame of having furnished materials for this work. The palm of the most daring erudition is borne off by one of its most recent adepts, who proves "with all evidence" that real historical events form the basis of the book, but that Nabuchodonosor is the type of another potentate, namely, the emperor Trajan, that Assyria is that of the Roman empire, Judith that of the unprotected Judæa, &c. Others have considered that the tale of Judith ought to be explained quite differently, and that by means of the Jewish Hagada and Midraschim. It is even proposed to give the Hasmonæan and Hasidæan forms of the legend.

On the Catholic side, the researches of Montfaucon and Huet, and,

in more recent times, those of Welte and Nickes, have been the most successful in the solution of many questions respecting the historical character of the book. On the Protestant side, Gumpach alone has taken part in these efforts. But none of these labours can claim to have produced a final result, or the force of a really scientific conviction. There is a stamp of uncertainty about them all, especially as regards the chief difficulties, and they weaken each other by the divergence of their views. The most honest purpose was arrested by really insurmountable obstacles, in consequence—whether out of misplaced timidity or of mistaken critical judgment—of avoiding the only path which could lead to the desired goal. It is singular that whilst the critical knife has been merciless enough to all the other canonical books whenever the text appeared irreconcilable either with some objective requirement of science or some subjective view, it is only in the book of Judith that the text has been assumed to be correct in all its details; no hand was suffered to meddle with it, because, of course, no disfiguration was supposed necessary to destroy the credit of the work, and to render it difficult for the Church to defend her property. And yet this book, more than any other, seemed imperatively to call for an enquiry into the value of its text prior to any further discussion. If we only knew the history of the period of the Judges or that of David from the translations of the Vulgate or Septuagint, what monstrous perversions of the text would present themselves before us, and make us helpless indeed! Entire members of sentences, or perhaps the very words which determine the sense—negatives, for instance—are left out, disturbing or explanatory glosses are interpolated, proper names are confounded together or taken for appellatives or the converse. Compared with the task of settling the geography of certain periods according to the Greek or Latin translations of the Hebrew Bible, that of overcoming the geographical difficulties of the book of Judith would probably be an easy one. Again, we have only to think of the Psalms, and imagine the result if their authenticity had to be made out from internal evidence, as furnished by our Greek or Latin texts. And yet in all these cases we have to do with translations the original text of which was jealously guarded by the Synagogue, and continued to live in the liturgical use of the Jews. What must the case be when the original text is unguarded by this protective authority, and abandoned for centuries to the caprice of copyists, until at last it has been wholly lost? This is in fact the fate which has befallen the book of Judith; and if its contents are now only to be found in Latin and Greek versions, both of which are directly derived from the original text, what is the natural consequence? They not only share in all the defects which, for well-known reasons, are common to all the ancient translations of the Old Testament, but, moreover (for the versions differ in age by no less than five hundred years), represent those corruptions from which a manuscript text, and that in a Semitic language, under profane hands, and during the course of so many centuries, could not possibly escape.

It is from a conviction of the importance of this consideration that we welcome the learned work of Herr Wolff. The whole of this inter-

esting attempt of a Protestant scholar to defend the book of Judith as a historical document is immediately based on an enquiry as to the relations of the Vulgate and Septuagint versions to the original text and to each other. It is with justice that he founds his proof that the book was originally in the Chaldaic language on the distinct assertion of St. Jerome (*"sola ea, quæ intelligentia integra in verbis chaldæis invenire potui, latinis expressi"*), and a reference to the testimony of Origen that the Jews did not possess the work in Hebrew. The result of his investigations with reference to the versions is, that we have the work in two texts immediately derived from the original, namely, the Greek of the Septuagint, and the Latin of the Vulgate. This, if we moreover consider that the Vulgate version is at least 500 years more recent than that of the Septuagint, determines the relations of the two texts to each other and to the Chaldee original. The conclusions of Herr Wolf may be summed up as follows. Both texts contain, not only on the whole and in the main points, but in most particulars, essentially the same historical matter. Neither text reproduces with perfect purity and accuracy the contents of the original. Even before the Greek version was made, about two hundred years before Christ, the Chaldaic text had been altered by copyists and emendators, by blunders, misinterpretations, &c. These corruptions had greatly increased by the time that the Vulgate translation appeared, namely, the fifth century. The Greek text thus deserves more confidence, as being the more ancient and more faithful, both as a whole and in most particulars, to the original. St. Jerome himself says that his version is the result of only one night's labour. But the text of the Vulgate, too, has decidedly a great value, as enabling us to check the Greek text. Hence the fundamental rule of criticism to be applied: what both texts have in common, or that in which both essentially coincide, was contained in the original, and proceeds from its author; what is found in only one of the texts is less to be relied upon, and, if it contradicts the character of the principal contents and the general structure of the whole, has been thrust by an unauthorised hand into the version, perhaps even into the original.

These propositions would certainly meet with general assent if applied to any writer who is confidently believed to write reasonably and according to a determinate plan and purpose; but the book in question is supposed to be an unhistorical fabrication; and hence whatever is destructive of all sense is naturally considered as evidence of the real author. And yet how is this to be reconciled with the magnificence of the hymns which are interwoven with it, and which even Protestant scholars have placed by the side of the fairest flowers of the Old Testament poetry? Again, if we put aside the few passages which, according to the most recent investigations turn out to be unauthorised additions, the contents of our narrative—if we consider its structure and development, the characters of the persons described, and the motives attributed to their actions—form a whole so completely in harmony both with itself and with the entire views of the Old Testament, that its connection with the spirit which animates all the other productions of sacred literature forces itself upon us even against our will. The common re-

proaches with reference to contradictions, &c. are based only on interruptions of the context, which did not exist in the original, and which ought not to seem stranger in this book than they do, for instance, in the Psalms. Precisely those places (iv. 8, v. 18, 19) which necessarily bring the narrative down to the time after the Babylonian captivity, and consequently introduce an insoluble contradiction with the entire context, which refers us to the time anterior to the captivity, are proved to be interpolations and unauthorised amplifications of the Greek recension, foreign to the original text. Of a return from Babylon or a destruction of the Temple, the original text contained not a word. The historical enquirer may therefore with entire confidence build his conclusions on the chronological data which are furnished by the commencement of the book; they are so determinate that exegetical science cannot, except at its own expense, afford to give them up. Ecbatana is represented as just built, and Nineveh as still standing, and the war between the Medes and Assyrians, with the conclusion of which our narrative is connected, is no other than that which is described in the first book of Herodotus (c. 102). The invasion of Holofernes is convincingly proved to have occurred between the years B.C. 650 and 630, at some period during the minority of Josiah.

It is not necessary to follow Herr Wolff any further in the prosecution of his task, nor are we obliged to agree with him in all particulars. The difficulties which still remain are not of greater importance than those of any other canonical book, and the greater part of them are successfully dealt with by Herr Wolff himself. The chaos of royal Medish and Assyrian names will no longer be a standing difficulty, since every one knows how easily confusion and corruption arise in such a matter. Whether Bethulia be really in the place where Herr Wolff places it, after Schulze, namely, on the northern declivity of Mount Gilboa, is indifferent to us: Ritter is on his side, and Robinson's arguments on the other side are at least not peremptory. The position of the high-priest, who is represented as invested with supreme authority, and is therefore supposed to bear evidence in favour of a later time, when there were no kings, is explained by the minority of Josias, whose accession took place when he was but eight years old. That the heroic deed of Judith is not mentioned in the historical books of the nation should be a matter of wonder to no one who has studied the books of Kings and Chronicles with reference to the end they have in view. It must also be remembered that the event did not occur in south Palestine, and we may justly refer to other contemporaneous events, not less important for Palestine, of which no mention is made in the historical books. The silence of Jeremiah, the contemporary and friend of Josiah, of which Herr Wolff says nothing, is not difficult to explain by the fact that the prophet was but a child at the time of the event, and that in consequence of the political and religious dissensions between north and south Palestine the rumour of the deed which was done in the distant Bethulia may not have found a ready echo in Jerusalem.

The author of the book is unknown. This circumstance cannot be considered as in itself more fatal to the book than to the other historical

books of the canon, the authors of which, as a rule, can only be guessed at. Herr Wolff expresses his own opinion that "Achior, the Ammonite proselyte who plays an important part in these events, may have been the original author." The reasons given for this conjecture are not without plausibility, and Herr Wolff is certainly right in maintaining that the author must have been closely connected with the events described by him.

12. Dr. Langen has endeavoured to clear up the difficulties which beset the history of another female personage of the Bible, at least in that extended form in which it is received by the Catholic Church. The canon, as is well known, joins to the history of Esther, as told in the Hebrew text, a number of additions, which in the Church are called deuterocanonical, but outside its pale are huddled away among the apocryphal books. We are thankful to Dr. Langen for his dissertation, even though we may not think him completely successful in attaining the end which he proposed to himself. The subject is considered by him from three different points of view, and discussed in as many chapters. He begins with the traditional proof of the canonical authority of the additions in question, and claims to have historically justified the decree of the Council of Trent on the subject. But it cannot be denied that the proof he offers is incomplete. The very first links of the chain, which is supposed to take us back to the authority of the apostles, are precisely the most doubtful of all in their character. And if Origen and still more St. Jerome were themselves unable to get beyond an embarrassed doubt, it would have been well to explain how these fathers could express their doubts without the least offence to the early faith of the Church. The thesis of the learned author's second chapter is not new, but is too well founded not to deserve the most careful attention. It is that the original text was Chaldaic, but has been lost; that the Chaldaic text, which is still preserved, is therefore not the original, but a paraphrase, and that the Greek text is a translation from the original. The assurance with which these results are put forward is modest enough, as compared with the degree of certainty which they possess; but it would have been desirable to examine with greater accuracy into the nature of the text on which the Chaldaic paraphrase is based, for we are otherwise embarrassed by the question how the want of a Chaldaic paraphrase is to be explained consistently with the existence of a Chaldaic text. The third chapter examines the internal evidence for and against the genuineness of the additions, removes with great ability some of the exegetical difficulties, and concludes with positive proofs furnished by the context in favour of the disputed text.

It is, however, impossible to look upon our author's dissertation as productive of a satisfactory scientific conviction. This arises from his not having followed the only path which could have led to a position from which it is possible to survey the more obscure parts of the subject with all the clearness that can be desired. Instead of comparing the doubtful parts of the disputed texts with the unquestioned narrative of the Jewish canon, and endeavouring with more or less ingenuity to

reconcile them together, the proper thing to have done was to consider the proto-canonical substance of the narrative, and the book in its so-called deuterio-canonical form, first separately, and then in relation to each other.

With reference to the principal part of the narrative, the text of the Septuagint is not a mere translation of the Hebrew text which has been preserved by the Synagogue. The whole history, and the persons who play a part in it, are dealt with in a way which can only be explained by the use of original, or at least independent, sources, not of a different recension of the text. It is the Greek text only which gives the suitable development of such extraordinary events as are described in the history. In the Hebrew text the conspiracy of the eunuchs against their royal master is an isolated and unexplained episode. The Septuagint says that the immediate cause was the jealousy entertained against Mordecai, whom the king had preferred to the others, and thus the bloody plot which was devised against the detested Jew was destined to become the basis of his future greatness. The intention of the history, according to its plan and development (and it is in consequence of this that the history is placed in the canon), is to show forth the work of God, who does not forget his people in a strange land. In a human point of view it has its moral root only in the genuine Israelitish feelings of Mordecai and Esther, in their trust in Jehovah, in the acknowledgment of their sinfulness, in their enthusiastic regrets for their temple and their nation. If, therefore, the characters of the Esther and Mordecai of the Septuagint, and of the Septuagint only, fulfil the ethical condition of such an extraordinary deliverance, if the Greek text alone refers the wonderful concatenation of circumstances to Jehovah, who can fail to recognise the impress of that spirit which is stamped on every page of the sacred writings? In saying this, we may seem to be flinging a stone at the narrative given in the Hebrew canon; for it is well known that the latter, from beginning to end, systematically avoids the word 'God' or 'Jehovah.' But this peculiarity, which has long been observed, ought to have received a satisfactory explanation; for it is clear that the omission cannot have been accidental.

The fact is, that in the text of the Hebrew canon we do not possess an original work, but a highly elaborate reproduction of the history, according to authentic sources; and it is hardly necessary to ask whence these were derived, since the narrative itself repeatedly implies that this or that personage had taken care to provide a written record of the facts. The temple and the nation in the distant land of the Jews owed their deliverance to the pious daughter of Israel on the throne of Susa, and it is therefore not really to be wondered at if liturgical wants called forth a form or edition of the narrative in the Hebrew language. This edition was naturally received into the canon, whilst the original work from which it was derived was left out. The remarkable peculiarity of the Hebrew text in its omission of the name of Jehovah, which is so prominent in the text of the Septuagint, is at once the result and an evidence of its secondhand character. An Israelite in the neighbourhood of the temple writes a history, of which the central

idea is the omnipotence of Jehovah, as unfolding itself in the midst of the heathen in the distant Persia. Would the Israelite, who connects the presence and manifestation of Jehovah's might with his country and temple, acknowledge such manifestations far from the land of promise? It is, at all events, sufficient for him that the extraordinary deliverance of his people is an evident fact, but the relation of Jehovah to it is passed over in silence. It is intentionally, therefore, that he omits all reference to God, and merely records the course of events according to their natural and visible development. If he had not purposely avoided the name of God, that name would have slipped from his pen without his being conscious of it.

13. The apocryphal Book of Esdras is one of the most beautiful and interesting works of a most important period in the history of religion. It is probably of more recent date than the Book of Enoch, but, like it, represents the Messianic and other ideas current among the Jews at the time of Christ and the Apostles. Many of its doctrines furnish striking illustrations of parts of the New Testament. The text of the Greek original is unhappily lost, but we have it in three different and independent versions,—the old Latin; the Ethiopic, first published by Lawrence in 1820; and the Arabic, now for the first time published by Dr. Ewald, from a manuscript in the Bodleian Library. The publication of the latter version is one more important service rendered to biblical science, for which we have to be grateful to its learned editor. We are also now indebted to him for the publication of a valuable collection, made by Dr. Dillmann, of various readings of the Ethiopic version. We have very little hope that Dr. Ewald will forgive our doubting his positive assertion that the Arabic version of Esdras is made from the Coptic. He may be right, after all; but the genius of the Coptic language is so utterly different from that of the Greek, that we cannot easily believe that a *mediate* version through the Coptic would bear such a close resemblance to an *immediate* one as the Arabic of Esdras does to the old Latin. We are also forced to declare our conviction that Dr. Ewald has not succeeded in giving a satisfactory explanation of the apocalyptic vision of the book, or in determining the precise time in which it was composed. Every one admits that the eagle of the vision represents the Roman Empire; and we are positively told that each of its wings represents a king. But if its twelve wings represent the first twelve historical Cæsars, we cannot admit that its three heads should be taken for the three emperors of the Flavian family; or that, to use Dr. Ewald's own words, "die drei letzten Kleinflügel mit den 3 Häuptern eins seien." If the three heads are to be identified with the three Flavii, Volkman's interpretation is the most plausible, in spite of its direct contradiction of the text in one essential particular. He gives a pair of wings to each of the first six Cæsars, whereas the text distinctly says that each wing is a king. But the predictions with reference to the three heads are little in accordance with the facts of history; and we think it very hazardous to conclude from this, with Dr. Ewald, that at the time of the vision Titus and Domitian were still living.

14. Bleek has long been known to English scholars through his Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews. Since his death his Introduction to the Old and New Testament, and still more recently his Lectures on the Apocalypse, have been published in quick succession. His posthumous works, not having been prepared by himself for the press, bear the marks of incompleteness; but they give a very high idea of the care and industry with which he composed his lectures. He may be considered as occupying an intermediate position in the treatment of Holy Scripture between the one-sided critical schools of De Wette or Ewald, and the "reactionary" tendencies of Hengstenberg, Kurtz, &c. The "traditional representations" of the latter had no attractions for him, and he felt a repulsion towards the utterly mistaken views of divine revelation which prevailed in the former. Christianity is with him "an affair of the heart;" and it is refreshing to come across critical theories which do not hold miracles to be inconsistent with revelation, or refuse supernatural gifts to an Apostle. The historical sense which led him to recognise an organic whole in Revelation often put him on the right track on occasions when the one-sided critical eye is apt to be led astray by misty images or plays of colour; on the other hand, the want of that authority with which the irresistible power of the Church's tradition has preserved to us the solution of many a difficulty, not unfrequently suggested the temptation of cutting knots asunder, of resting satisfied with superficial plausibilities, and of placing his "unavailable" results on highly-polished pedestals of clay.

With regard to the New Testament Scriptures, we find many results in Bleek's Introduction which modern critics feel a difficulty in recognising; but this difficulty, which they are apt to ascribe to the exigencies of science, really springs from their want of historical sense, and in part also from prejudice against ecclesiastical tradition. Bleek in general maintains the authenticity of the several books, in accordance with tradition; he denies the apostolic authorship only of the Gospel according to St. Matthew and of the Apocalypse; and the Second Epistle of St. Peter he considers spurious. He denies St. Paul's authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews. With reference to these four books his conclusions are not unnatural considering his stand-point; but he does not consider the enquiries as having been yet brought to an end. He deliberately settles the question of the integrity of the concluding verses of St. Mark's Gospel and of the Epistle to the Romans in favour of the verses. In denying the last chapter of St. John's Gospel to be by the Apostle, he nevertheless reconciles the claims both of critical science and of the authenticity of the Gospel by producing internal evidence that this final chapter is the solemn collective testimony of those elders, among whom, according to tradition, St. John wrote his gospel. He traces the idea of the Logos in a genuine theological way back to the Old Testament; and it is with deep feeling that he recognises the harmony of the Messianic discourses in the synoptical gospels and in that of St. John. He considers a second Roman captivity of St. Paul as having "great probability" in its favour; and he interprets the well-known *τέρμα τῆς δόξης* in the literal sense so troublesome to those who will on no

account allow the Apostle to have preached in Spain. He thus obtains a natural place for the Pastoral Epistles, and can afford to dispense with that peculiar kind of acuteness by means of which Dr. Otto, for instance, in his work on the Pastoral Epistles, has proved that the Scriptures may be tortured and twisted so as to give evidence in behalf of any imaginable fact.

With reference to some of Bleek's opinions, which we consider as absolutely untenable or unscientific, it may be well to divide them into two groups. On the first of these it will be difficult to come to an understanding. A man, for instance, in whose view of life no place remains for the idea of virginity, and whose most exalted conception of human dignity is realised in married life, will have no difficulty in applying this ideal even to the Mother of God, and, like Bleek, discovering in the "brothers of the Lord" sons of Joseph and Mary. They meet the eye on the very surface of Scripture; and if such a difficulty occurs that on the death of our Lord it was not to them but to St. John that He gave up His mother, it is passed by as of little consequence. And yet it certainly is an unhistorical and unscientific proceeding not to trouble oneself about the question why precisely the first Christian centuries knew nothing of such natural "brothers," and why they never thought of using the interpretation nearest at hand of the expression in question.

Again, the aim of the Acts of the Apostles, a composition artistically completed by its last verse, will naturally remain obscure if the high destiny of Rome for the new Church and its relation to the declining destiny of Jerusalem be denied. Bleek asks the question: "Whence the unsatisfactory conclusion of the Acts of the Apostles?" and he thinks that it is "probably because Luke intended to continue the subject in a third *λόγος*." The Acts of the Apostles are not intended to show *how* Christianity came to Rome,—for in that case, of course, as it has been objected, the foundation of the Roman Church could not have been passed over,—but *why* it did so, and how in the natural course of things the youthful Church transferred its centre from Jerusalem, the capital of the Jews, to the capital of the heathen world. This remarkable fact, and the entire mechanism of causes which led to it, is exhibited to the eyes of the reader. We see clearly why the whole history turns first upon St. Peter, and then upon St. Paul. Peter is the natural centre of the history as long as there can be a question whether Israel will adopt the Church or not. We have the clearest intimation, from the first beginnings, of the hostile movement of the synagogue, which drew its circle closer and closer round the youthful Church in hope to stifle it at last. For a long time Peter maintains his position at the head of the Apostles. They are repeatedly brought before the Sanhedrim and scourged; Stephen is stoned; and a great persecution falls upon the Church at Jerusalem, in which all are scattered abroad except the Apostles. Nothing is yet decided; but the important step is in preparation. The light of grace falls upon Saul while yet breathing forth slaughter and threats against the Apostles; and on the seashore of Joppa Peter sees in a vision that the heathen are not to be ex-

cluded from the Church. The blood of James may yet flow; but Israel may not touch the life of the Chief of the Apostles. When Peter too is to die an angel saves him; but Jerusalem is no longer an abiding place for the head of the Church: *καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἐπορεύθη εἰς ἕτερον τόπον*. The city itself had cast him out; and from this moment we come to that part of the narrative of which St. Paul is the centre. At the very time that Israel is seeking to destroy the life of Peter, his fellow Apostle receives the mission to carry the Gospel to the heathen; not, however, as though Israel were irretrievably put aside. Even Paul in his journeys from one land to another invariably addresses himself first to the synagogue; and it is only when he has been again and again rejected that he preaches to the Gentiles. It is thus that he attracts the Gentile world to the faith in ever-increasing circles, while his attempts to gain the Jews are ever unsuccessful. And, finally, that his nation may not destroy his life, he is obliged to fly for succour from Jerusalem to Rome. And even here the divine forbearance addresses itself once more to Jews; but this time, too, they would not listen; and here the Acts of the Apostles are brought to a close, the word of Isaiah is fulfilled in all its terrible reality. Israel hears not and sees not; his heart is hardened: "Be it known therefore to you that this salvation of God is sent to the Gentiles, and they will hear it." Such was the long-foretold destiny of Israel; and the explanation and justification of this destiny lies in the Acts of the Apostles. The Jews had themselves flung off the Church to the Gentiles. It is impossible that the conclusion of the Acts of the Apostles thus conceived should be thought unsatisfactory.

As regards the second group to which we have referred, our judgment must be of a less mild character, and it is impossible to acquit our author of the charge of very superficial criticism and want of acuteness in his interpretations. We quite understand that a Protestant theologian should make a difficulty about admitting the primacy of the Roman Pontiff; but a good exegetical scholar cannot seriously deny that the sacred Scriptures really claim this primacy for the person of St. Peter, if all the passages bearing on this point are put together. Scholars like Meyer of Göttingen no longer withhold their acknowledgment of this truth. Whether this primacy has descended to the Roman Pontiffs is no business of the exegetical scholar, but of the historian and the theologian.

St. Luke, of all the sacred writers, comes off particularly ill in Bleek's work, as being less master of his materials, and displaying less ability as a historical writer than St. Matthew. An instance given in proof of this is that St. Luke places the appearance of Jesus in the synagogue of Nazareth at the head of the events in Galilee, whilst the narrative itself, as told by St. Luke, clearly indicates that this fact had been preceded by a period of active labours on the part of our Lord; as if St. Luke did not himself speak of this period of our Lord's labours in the verses immediately preceding, and that for the express purpose of accounting for the scene in Nazareth. And if St. Matthew places at the head of the events in Galilee the fact that Jesus had given up Naza-

reth and chosen Capernaum as His home, he only justifies the historical connection in St. Luke's Gospel; it is felt that our Lord has not abandoned Nazareth without the gravest motives, and St. Luke furnishes us with the key to them.

St. Luke is blamed for suddenly passing from "Saul" to "Paul" in the thirteenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles; and the well-known "Saulus qui est Paulus" is supposed to have had its origin not in any profound reason, but in an unscholarlike fit of caprice. The simple reference to Sergius Paulus, in honour of whom Saul is thought to have changed his name to Paul, seems insufficient to our author, and we think with reason. But a more practised eye would not have failed to discern the intentional hint which St. Luke himself gives as to this change of name. Saul had already been destined to become the Apostle of the Gentiles, and had received extraordinary gifts for this mission. But the tokens of his apostolate were not conferred upon him in the open market, but for a while remained a secret even within the Church; and this is why in the church of Antioch the list of prophets and teachers (ch. xiii.) begins with the venerable name of Barnabas, and ends with that of Saul the neophyte. But the hour soon arrives for the special task of these two men; the Holy Ghost says, "Separate Me Saul and Barnabas;" and they proceed to Cyprus, where the proconsul has them brought before him, that he may hear the word of God. It is here, when the magician opposes him, in order to alienate from him Sergius Paulus, that the mighty Apostle appears for the first time in all his greatness; the hand of God is with him in his conflict with the "son of the devil," and strikes the magician with blindness; and Sergius Paulus, when he saw what had happened, believed, being full of wonder at the teaching of the Lord. It is at this moment that the Evangelist introduces the change of name, because it is now only that the Apostle is revealed; and it is indeed on account of the proconsul that he takes his new name, not for the sake of personal distinction, but because it is precisely in Sergius Paulus, as the first trophy of his apostolate, that the manifestation of his hitherto unsuspected dignity and power was displayed. From this moment Barnabas gives Paul precedence; and when they leave Cyprus we only hear of *οἱ περὶ Παῦλον*: Paul is henceforth the leading personage.

Of the three synoptical Evangelists St. Luke is the only one who has a determinate historical plan; and if critics had only partially recognised this truth, which is susceptible of proof, even in the minutest details, many attempts at explanation, as repugnant to good taste as discreditable to science, might have been spared to us in "introductions" and exegetical works. Bleek, among others, is unable to see the clear traces of the plan proposed to himself by St. Luke, and nobly carried out; and he is consequently unable to determine in a way satisfactory to science what is the purpose, systematic connection, &c. of each of the synoptical gospels. There still remain many open questions, such as the dependence of the synoptical writers upon each other, the priority in point of time of one to another, perhaps even the question of a primitive gospel; but that deceptive appearance of determinateness with which

Bleek decorates his synoptical investigations can only serve to reduce to their modest value all the pompous pretensions of so many critics, who claim, in as many different ways, to have for once and all scientifically solved the questions just referred to. It seems clearly to be a condition of every true acquisition of science that it can only be won with much labour, and after all the wrong methods have been exhausted. The scientific enquirer, like Sisyphus, bears his burden up to the summit of the hill, αὐτὸς ἔπειτα πέδονδε κυλίνδοντο λᾶας ἀναίδης.

15. Dressel's excellent edition of the Apostolical Fathers is well known to all lovers of ancient Christian literature. A supplement has now been added, which enables it to meet the requirements occasioned by the discovery of the patristic treasures contained in the *Codex Sinaiticus*. These consist of the entire Greek text of the Epistle of Barnabas, and the first part of the "Shepherd" of Hermas. Of the importance of a complete and most ancient text of Barnabas it is not necessary to speak; the text of Hermas, on the other hand, enables us to set aside the disagreeable feeling of uncertainty as to the authenticity of the Greek text first published by Anger at Leipzig in 1856 from a copy purchased from Simonides. Tischendorf and others expressed the opinion that this text was not the original Hermas, but a Greek translation of the old Latin version. This suspicion is, however, entirely set at rest by Tischendorf's discovery of the Sinaitic text, which agrees with that of Leipzig as much as it is possible for an older and better to agree with a later and less pure text. Passages which had excited suspicion, such as *πανούργος εἰ περὶ τὰς γραφάς* (= *versutus te esse circa scripturas* of the Vatican text), *Vis. iii. 3*, are not found in the Sinaitic text; but at all events we have proof that that of Leipzig, though corrupt, is not a forgery, and we have ample means of deciding its relative value as compared with the Latin and Ethiopic versions. In the Epistle of Barnabas some passages which had hitherto resisted all attempts at explanation or satisfactory emendation are at once cleared up by the readings lately discovered. One of these is in the fourth chapter, "Non similetis eis, qui peccata sua congerunt, et dicunt quia testamentum illorum et nostrum est. Nostrum est quia illi in perpetuum perdiderunt illud, quod Moyses accepit." Reithmayr corrects this to "illorum et non nostrum;" Dressel to "illorum non et nostrum." We suppose no one will here prefer the "dura lectio" to the easier *λεγοντας οτι η διαθηκη ημων μεν· αλλ εκεινοι ουτως εισ τελος απωλεσαν αυτην κ. τ. λ.* The Sinaitic codex leaves out the important quotation from the Gospel hitherto read in the nineteenth chapter of Barnabas; but, on the other hand, it retains the formula "sicut scriptum est" before the words "Many are called, but few are chosen," at the end of the fourth chapter.

The supplement now added to Dressel's edition of the Apostolical Fathers is prepared by Tischendorf himself, and consists of the newly discovered portions of Barnabas, together with a careful collation of the Sinaitic with the previously known texts both of Barnabas and Hermas.

16. Of the eleven extant plays of Aristophanes the *Acharnians* is the earliest in date, and on the whole perhaps the most difficult. Herr Müller's new edition has been carefully compiled, and it gives a full explanation of the many difficult passages. But it is not very original; and where new views are propounded, they do not seem to us to be always very probable.

The editor has discussed in a good preface several literary points connected with the play. One is, the year in which it was acted; and here his researches only confirm the date which was generally received before, viz. 425 B.C. Another matter of some difficulty and interest is the part which Aristophanes himself took in the play. It is well known that this and the two preceding (but now lost) plays were not brought out by the author in his own name, but in that of another, who was either an actor or a poet, by name Callistratus. It is also well known that Cleon the demagogue prosecuted Aristophanes for having satirised Athens too freely in one of those preceding plays. The next play to the *Acharnians* was the first the poet brought out in his own name, as he tells us in the *Knights*, v. 512. It is singular, therefore, to find Diceopolis, the principal character in the *Acharnians*, speaking of *himself* several times as having been assailed by Cleon. We entirely agree with the present editor, that the poet makes that character speak as his representative; and that the Athenians generally, as well as Cleon, knew perfectly well that Aristophanes was the real author. Others have been of opinion that Callistratus acted the part of Diceopolis, and that the person prosecuted by Cleon was Callistratus, not Aristophanes.

We can only mention a few points on which we are compelled to differ from Herr Müller's views. In v. 26 the Prytanes, or members of the upper council, are said *καταρρεῖν*, "to flow down like a cascade," to the Pnyx. This word refers to their jumping down the low sides of the cutting by which the Pnyx was formed out of a sloping hill. Herr Müller renders it "concurrentes," adding, "præpositioni κατὰ hoc loco propria sua vis tribuenda non est."

He appears to us to be mistaken in saying, on v. 91, that Pseudartabas, the pretended ambassador from Persia, but really an Athenian in disguise, was a Persian. He misses the whole joke of the passage. The fellow had been taught to speak some gibberish, half Greek, half Persian, in order to deceive the Athenian mob; but he says his lesson so badly, that he makes it mean (what indeed is true, but contrary to the intention of his teachers), "no getting gold," i. e. you will get no gold out of the Persian king. Herr Müller says, "he would have made a sorry ambassador if he had told them that, when his duty was to persuade them of the contrary." He thinks that a false ambassador should have got up his part better.

In v. 318 he adopts the bad emendation of Hansing, *ὑπὲρ ἐπιξήρον θελήσω τήν γε κεφαλὴν σχῶν λέγειν*. This is worse than the vulgate, *τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔχων λέγειν*, though the dactyl in the fifth place is metrically objectionable.

In v. 339 he gives a well-nigh unintelligible reading, *ἀλλὰ νυνὶ λέγ', εἴ σοι δοκεῖ, τὸν τε Λακεδαιμόνιον αὐτὸν ὅτι τῷ τρόπῳ σοῦσσι φίλος*. We

hold to the vulgate φίλον, not φίλος, and translate, 'well then, *now* say, if you please (what you were saying), and also about the Lacedæmonian himself, whatever is agreeable to your humour.' This refers to v. 310, where Dicæopolis had declared he would speak on the unpopular side of the Spartan people. The τε is rather oddly used, but there is an example of it in v. 93.

In v. 446, εὐδαιμονοίης, Τηλέφω δ' ἀγὼ φρονῶ, Herr Müller seems to us to be not only wrong in reading εἰ σοὶ γάνοιτο from Antiphanes (who has another parody on the verse, which is from the *Telephus* of Euripides), but to be still more wrong in his idea that the last half of the verse "has no meaning here." The sense is, 'May you be lucky; but to Telephus—I won't say *what* I wish,' i. e. bad luck. Literally, 'but to Telephus what *I* wish.' The poet here, as elsewhere, ridicules the play under the name of the hero of it.

In v. 453 στυρίδιον διακεκαυμένον λύχνῳ means 'a basket with the bottom burnt through by the flame of a lamp.' The beggars used to protect their lamps from the wind, at their appointed stations, by inverting a basket over them. Herr Müller says, the words "significant tantum pessimum ac longo usu depravatum esse hoc instrumentum."

In 484 he renders οὐκ εἰ καταπίων Εὐριπίδην, 'have you not swallowed down Euripides?' and says οὐκ εἰ is not to be rendered *non ibis*. We differ entirely from him, and render it, 'go at once, now you have gotten Euripides in your stomach.' The Greeks pretended that certain qualities were imparted by the characteristics of certain animals used for food (see *Knights*, 361, where there is a joke in λαβρεύεσθαι and λάβραξ). The word next following, ἐπήνεσα, means 'no, thank you,' and is addressed by the speaker to his own heart, which is prompting him to a dangerous exploit.

In 542 Herr Müller gives ἀπέδοτο κλέψας on his own conjecture for ἀπέδοτο φήνας, which he calls "difficillima explicatu." Here φαίνεν is used as in v. 912, viz. 'to inform against' by the action called φάσις, a procedure against contraband goods.

In 717, which really is a very obscure passage, κὰν φύγῃ τις seems to us to be wrongly explained by ἦν μὴ πίθηται, and also ἐξελάυνειν by *in jus vocare*. The verse appears to mean, that 'for the future, if an old man is to be sentenced to banishment, or, if he absconds, to have a money-fine levied on his property, it must be done by the aid of an old counsel, and not by a youth who will brow-beat him and allow him no chance of a defence.'

On v. 1082 there is a long note, which results in a singularly unsatisfactory explanation. Dicæopolis the farmer, in taunting Lamachus the soldier, puts something on his forehead to imitate a crest, and asks Lamachus if he will fight with "a four-winged Geryon." The joke consists in his taking up one of the four-winged locusts he had just before purchased from the Boeotian salesman (v. 871), and placing it on his own head, as the Athenians of the old school wore golden grasshoppers. Thus accoutred, he calls himself "a Geryon," merely because that mythical hero was the antagonist of Hercules.

We cannot help thinking that there is a needless explicitness in the

notes, wherever the Greek text requires the veil of modesty to be thrown over it, rather than that it should be dragged forward into the very brightest light. Otherwise, this is a good edition of what is, perhaps, the wittiest comedy and the most severe satire that has come down to us.

17. Mr. Geddes remarks in the brief preface to his *Phædo* that it is the first edition of a Platonic dialogue that has proceeded from Scotland. That a nation so eminent for metaphysical studies should have done so little at least for Plato's Greek is singular enough. But this work, if we are not mistaken, will go very far indeed towards removing such a national reproach. Mr. Geddes seems to us in several respects singularly well qualified for the task which he has executed in so satisfactory a manner. He is an excellent and extensively read Greek scholar; he has the art of writing on dull subjects by no means in a dull style; he has a good acquaintance with both modern and ancient speculative philosophy; and he is a man of large mind and sound good sense. In a very excellent introduction of twenty pages—a moderate, yet sufficient length—he has said every thing that required to be said on the history as well as on the literary merits and the logical treatment of the *Phædo*. He compares it, in some respects, at least, with the *Symposium*, or Banquet of Plato. In our opinion the *Phædrus* is rather a counterpart of that beautiful dialogue than the *Phædo*; and we are disposed to think the latter stands nearly alone in the works of Plato. Mr. Geddes scarcely overrates it in saying that, “as a profound discussion upon the most solemn of all subjects, and an earnest grappling with the most absorbing problems of human destiny, it commands attention as being unquestionably, both from its literary finish and from its philosophical value, the most memorable monument of thought in the history of philosophy.”

In pp. xii. and xiii. of the introduction a most useful analysis is given of the heads of the argument used by Plato to establish the immortality of the soul. A still briefer summary is given in p. xx., as follows: A. “The cyclical argument, from the notion of a cycle of being.” B. “The Platonic, from reminiscence” (i.e. the gradual recovery of consciousness of a former existence). C. “The metaphysical from the unity and indiscerptibility of the soul.” D. “The psychological, from the divine prerogatives of the soul.” E. “The ideal, from the immanence of the eternal idea of life in the soul.”

On this Mr. Geddes wisely and candidly adds, “In judging of the relative force and weight of the arguments in this memorable scale, it is scarcely necessary to remark that, while the principle itself may be good, the reasons assigned for it may be, if not all incorrect, yet not all conclusive. This is certainly the case with those presented in the *Phædo*, for they are certainly not at all of equal force, nor have they all found an equal place of honour or acceptance in the history of thought.”

We go even further than this, and are of opinion that Plato, like all the ancient speculators, and some of the moderns, confounded *soul*, of which he knew absolutely nothing, with the *vital principle*, and the

closely allied faculties of intelligence and mind (*ψυχή* with *νοῦς*). Thus Lucretius, who argues on the other side, i.e. in favour of the utter annihilation of man, both physically and intellectually, by death, does not sufficiently distinguish between *animus* and *anima*. The only arguments to which Mr. Geddes thinks much weight is due out of the five are those headed C and D. They rest, he says, on firmer and more widely trusted foundations, involve less and fewer difficulties, and have obtained a permanent place in the armoury of thought. Still it is evident that even of these two the first is based on assumption rather than on known data; and the latter—evidently the soundest of the five, since it regards aspirations after heavenly things, longing for perfect knowledge, and the happiness found in virtue—does not yet go beyond the limits of presumptive evidence. Plato himself felt that nothing short of a revelation from God could settle the question of the immortality of the soul. Mr. Geddes has an excellent note on the celebrated passage about the *θεῖος λόγος* (p. 85 D), in one of his treatises at the end of the volume, p. 251. He concludes, however, that "it is not doubtful that the Platonic speculations failed, as all purely anthropological speculations must fail, to compass a complete demonstration."

He has given us a very excellent series of discussions, in the way of notes or excursions, on some of the most important doctrines connected with a future state, as held by the ancient philosophers. Of these we may mention with especial praise note E, "Phases of ancient feeling toward death;" note F, "Ancient views concerning suicide;" note K, "On the Platonic division of the virtues;" and note L, "On the dogma of metempsychosis." All these treatises are interesting, full of thought, reading, and research; and they will go far to place Mr. Geddes in the rank of the best Platonists whom Great Britain can now boast.

The Homeric age, Mr. Geddes has well shown, regarded death as a state of feeble and half-animate existence—*νεκρῶν ἀμεινὰ κάθηνα*, and *καμνέρες*—a gloomy and dolorous continuation of consciousness, without the enjoyments of life on earth. Thus it was exactly the reverse of the Christian view, which teaches that pain and woe here are to be the forerunners of joy and bliss hereafter. The *annihilation* theory, of course, regarded death as a release from pains and troubles. But one of the most remarkable peculiarities of the creed of the ancients respecting death, and one on which, if we mistake not, Mr. Geddes has not touched, is their vague feeling on the subject of *sin*. We much desiderate a good treatise on this subject. If "the sting of death is sin," as St. Paul tells us, and as we all feel, and all experience proves, it would have to be shown that the heathens felt and recognised the heinousness of sin, as a counterpart to, and indeed cause of, their dread of death. They do seem to have felt this acutely. It is rarely that the doctrine of *remorse* is met with in the ancient writers. We read with surprise, even in Plato (*Phaed.*, p. 113), that "the wicked" are pretty nearly limited to those who have ill-treated a parent, robbed a temple, put to death subjects as tyrants, or wronged a guest. Sensuous indulgences do not seem to have been much feared, except as bringing with them injury to health or fortune; and it is remarkable that nearly all the Greek words expressing

the grosser vices, especially those of sexual excess, primarily mean "folly." They valued temperance, σωφροσύνη, rather as a part of heroism, ἀνδρεία. This subject is especially interesting as bearing directly on the question of inherent conscience, which is supposed to guide men instinctively to right, but which, for obvious reasons, it is very difficult to detach from early educational convictions.

Mr. Geddes has a good note (pp. 261-3) "on poisoning by hemlock." He admits that there are medical difficulties in Plato's celebrated but remarkably brief account of the easy and tranquil death of Socrates, after drinking the bowl of hemlock-juice in the presence of his friends. There is room for grave suspicion that this scene is not historical, but dramatic. Scarcely a feature in the narrative is consistent with probability; nor is it very likely that a condemned prisoner, and such a prisoner as Socrates, would have been poisoned by the public executioner, in the midst of a party of friends, precisely as at a convivial meeting. A violent and painful death by convulsions must have followed the extinction of a hale old man by a sharp narcotic alkaloid poison. We are only told that he lay down and "moved," ἐκινήθη. Probably the death-scene was really enacted in secrecy; but the subject is a very perplexing one.

We will only add that Mr. Geddes's notes to the Greek text seem to us excellent, and not unreasonably long.

18. We have nothing to say against an attempt to whitewash the character of Tiberius; if it can be proved that he is not quite so black as he has been painted, and that two or three extra coats of pigment are due to contemporary malice or the misrepresentations of literary ideologists, we have no objection to be convinced; unhappily, he remains black enough after all. But the evident intention of Herr Stahr's book is less to exalt Tiberius than to malign Tacitus. The great historian, whose wisdom and moral nobleness have been the food of so many elevated and influential minds since the revival of letters, is entirely to forfeit our admiration and confidence because, in the loathing with which the character of Tiberius, as finally developed, inspired him, he failed to do adequate justice to various elements of good which it originally contained, and is not always consistent with himself in the judgment which he passes on his particular acts or lines of conduct. For Herr Stahr Tacitus is a "historical colourist" (p. 133), "a bad psychologist," full of "hostile prepossession" against Tiberius (p. 114). This is surely imperialism run mad. It is of comparatively little consequence whether Tiberius has been too harshly judged; but it is no small matter to be called upon to surrender our admiration for Tacitus, and adopt in the place of our old feelings the excited antipathies of Herr Stahr. So violent is his partisanship that one is tempted to ask whether any new sources of information have come to light which credibly attest the high character now ascribed to Tiberius. Nothing of the sort is pretended. Can it be denied that, at the bidding of Augustus and ambition, he repudiated his faithful and virtuous wife Vipsania, who had borne him two children; that he caused

Agrippa Postumus to be murdered immediately after his accession; that, if not wholly answerable for its rise, he encouraged and systematised the vile practice of delation; that he massacred innocent men, women, and children by wholesale after the fall of Sejanus; that he ordered his grand-nephew Drusus to be put to death by the lingering agony of starvation, and like a maniac gloated over and gloried in the deed? None of these things can be denied by Herr Stahr, for they are deposed to by the same authorities from which he gathers the materials for his hero's glorification. Let it be granted, then, that the frightful stories of profligacy at Capree, narrated by Tacitus and Suetonius, were the inventions of slanderous imaginations at Rome (though Mr. Merivale—a truly calm judge—does not venture to assume so much); that Tiberius suffered much from Agrippina's bitter tongue, and did not retaliate; that the suicides of Arruntius and Cocceius Nerva cast no shade on the purity of his character or the prosperity of his reign; lastly, that he had originally more integrity of purpose, and was to the end less vicious and hypocritical, than we should gather from Tacitus. All this, even if true, is far from making out the whole case which Herr Stahr attempts to establish for Tiberius; nor does it justify the language in which he indulges against a man of that commanding order of intellect which all cultivated minds revere. To admit that Tacitus did not anticipate the science of historical criticism, which generations of modern thinkers have slowly elaborated, is merely to say that he wrote seventeen centuries ago. What needed to be said on this head has been well put by Mr. Merivale:¹ "To the value of a critical examination of facts they" [the historical writers of Rome] "seem to have been almost insensible. Destitute of our mechanical means of verification by notes and references, the use they make of their authorities is correspondingly loose and trivial. The historian who was not required to guard every statement by clear and direct testimonies, was easily led to read carelessly, to quote from memory, and at random. Conscious that he could not be followed to his sources, and convicted of misusing them, he could scarcely resist the temptation to pervert or gloss the truth."

But admitting all this,—granting that there are minor inconsistencies in Tacitus's portrait of Tiberius,—and attaching small value to the hasty summary of the periods of his moral life which occurs at the end of the sixth book of the *Annals*, we yet maintain with Mr. Merivale² that his account of the tyrant is "not on the whole inconsistent;" certainly it is truer to nature than Herr Stahr's highly-coloured panegyric. Horror and tragic awe are the feelings which the contemplation of this terrible career—ever darkening, ever sinking—should excite in a healthy mind: they are those which the narrative of Tacitus awakens, and for which our author would substitute a sentiment of admiration tempered by compassionate sympathy. Tacitus does *not* disguise the better features of the character; he records many instances of the emperor's moderation and clemency (as in the cases of Silanus and Piso); he speaks of him as proof against the lust of wealth, and mentions several other things to his advantage. Of all these

¹ *History of the Empire*, vii. 307.

² *v.* 205.

favourable testimonies Herr Stahr duly avails himself, while it never seems to occur to him that if the historian had really been the venomous detractor that he represents him, if his "ruling idea" of hatred had been so over-mastering, he might easily have suppressed matter which told the other way. He had no need to fear being detected in such suppression by the critics of the age of Trajan. On the whole, there is no good reason to doubt his sincerity when, at the beginning of the *Annals*, he declares his intention of writing "*sine ira et studio, quorum causas procul habeo.*" He had no motives, he says, for passion or partiality. Even Mr. Merivale seems to have yielded a little to the temptation of over-theorising, in the analysis which he gives in his seventh volume of the motives and state of mind which governed Tacitus in the composition of his history. "The strong bias of nature" which Milton speaks of must have determined him to historic studies far more strongly than the exigencies of any theory. If he traced all the greatness of Rome to the supremacy of the oligarchy represented by the ancient senate in the times of the republic, it follows that he must have at heart desired the suppression of monarchy and the restoration of the system which preceded it. Yet this is inconsistent with an admission which Mr. Merivale makes somewhere in his fifth volume, to the effect that Tacitus thought monarchy, under existing circumstances, a necessity.

It is almost laughable to note the manner in which Herr Stahr's eager partisanship betrays him into the same sort of questionable handling and dressing-up of evidence which he is so fond of imputing to Tacitus. For instance, take the case of Agrippa Postumus. He unhesitatingly ascribes his murder to Augustus; he was, he tells us (p. 324), "executed at Planasia in 767, according to the latest instructions of Augustus." Now what are the authorities to which he appeals? "We see from Suetonius," he says, "that the dying Augustus had himself given the order for his execution." Suetonius makes no such assertion; rather the general impression which his statement conveys tends to throw the main responsibility of the deed on Tiberius. His account of the matter opens with the words, "He" [Tiberius] "did not make publicly known the decease of Augustus before the young Agrippa had been despatched,"—"non prius palam fecit quam Agrippa juvene interemto." Then, speaking of the order on which the tribune acted, he says, "As to these written instructions, it was doubtful whether Augustus left them when he was dying, in order to remove an occasion of civil commotion, or whether Livia, with or without the knowledge of Tiberius, dictated them in the name of Augustus." Further on he more distinctly connects Tiberius with the murder by saying, nearly in the same words as Tacitus, that the tribune who committed it reported to the emperor "that his orders had been obeyed." And though Tiberius repudiated the responsibility thus cast upon him, Suetonius implies that he did so from policy only;—"invidiam scilicet in presentia metuens. Nam mox silentio rem oblitteravit." But Herr Stahr has another witness. "Velleius indicat," he says (loc. cit.), "that the event happened before the death of the old em-

peror;" in which case, of course, Tiberius could have had nothing to do with it. Mr. Merivale says more cautiously, "*Velleius seems to insinuate* that Agrippa died before Augustus." In the passage in question, after speaking of the adoption of Agrippa by his grandfather, Velleius says that by his "*mirâ pravitatē*" he estranged his grandfather's affection from him, "*moxque, crescentibus in diem vitiis, dignum furore suo habuit exitum.*" This, as Mr. Merivale expresses it, amounts to nothing more than an insinuation; and when we have on the other side the emphatic statement of Tacitus that Augustus never carried his severity towards any one of his own relations to the pitch of capital punishment ("*in nullius unquam suorum necem duravit*"), together with the explicit testimonies of Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dion, all charging Tiberius with the deed, either as principal or agent, we think that only a very powerful "ruling idea" could have induced Herr Stahr to reject this mass of evidence upon grounds so flimsy. Were it worth while, it would be easy to point out the presence of the same distorting prepossession in his account of the suicide of Cocceius Nerva, and of the relations between Tiberius and Lepidus.

At page 316 he rather hastily assumes that the history of Mr. Merivale, so far as Tiberius is concerned, presents a general agreement in results with his own essay. The statement is incautious, not to say unfounded. Our countryman, the solidity and grandeur of whose work enables this generation to add a new, and not the most insignificant, name to the illustrious roll of English historians, thinks more worthily of Tacitus, and is not disposed to march in the same file with the "mere courtly panegyrist" Velleius Paterculus. He recognises in the narrative of the great moralist, in spite of blemishes and mistakes, that stamp of genius and power upon which the just Muses cannot but confer immortality. In relation to the very shortcomings with which Tacitus is charged, Mr. Merivale thus writes: "If he" [the normal Roman historian] "is a man of imagination, he paints the world from the type impressed on his own organ of vision. Whether or not the facts be correctly represented, they are at least true to him; he describes what he sees, or really fancies that he sees. Works that bear this stamp of imagination are immortal. Their details may be inexact; the genius by which they are produced may be uncritical; but the general effect is strong and vivid, and they leave a mark behind them which cannot be effaced." Of Tiberius he deliberately says in his last volume,⁸ when he must have had before him the efforts recently made to rehabilitate his memory, "From their position, from their circumstances, from their own special training, or want of training, it is but too probable that Tiberius, Caius, Nero, and Domitian were really monsters of profligacy and cruelty." He does not greatly differ from Herr Stahr in his estimate of Tacitus's value as a witness; but whereas the partial biographer infers from the gaps and inconsistencies in the evidence the innocence of the accused, and claims a verdict of Not Guilty, the cautious historian merely records Not Proven.

In quoting this last extract we do not mean to imply that Mr.

⁸ p. 304.

Merivale classes Tiberius, either intellectually or morally, with the vulgar tyrants and libertines who afterwards disgraced the purple. This "*tristissimus hominum*," as the elder Pliny calls him,—this author of the profound aphorism, "*Deorum injuriæ Diis curæ*,"—is not to be confounded with those who, having wallowed in lust and crime since they ceased to be boys, were consistent with their early selves during their term of power. All that we say, and what Tacitus in effect maintains, is, that the career of Tiberius exhibits the spectacle of a continuous and terrible declension. At the age of thirty he was perhaps a better man than Augustus at the same age; but while the nature of Augustus grew grander and deeper with his years,—was solemnised, and in some sense purified, by his ever-growing sense of the greatness of his mission,—the nature of Tiberius hardened, shrank, and, as one might say, *mortified* under the same pressure. Do not the lives of these two men present a commentary on the celebrated saying of William Humboldt, that the true object of each man's life is "the highest and most harmonious development of all his powers to a complete and consistent whole"? For a very few men—for the intellectual salt of the earth—the dictum looks as if it were true. Men with poised and symmetrical natures, and of great intellectual activity,—men like Augustus or Goethe, or even like the Humboldts or David Hume,—seem, as one reads their history, to have been independent of external aid, to have stood in need of no supernatural influences; they developed their faculties evenly and harmoniously because of the original happy tempering of their mental constitution. But a large proportion of mankind are one-sided from the first; their personal standard of truth, beauty, and goodness deviates fatally from the true standard; and "development" only increases this deviation, as lines that diverge from each other, however small may be the angle, increase their distance the farther they are produced. Tiberius was by nature mistrustful of his fellow-men; this mistrust led him, unlike Augustus, to refuse thorough confidence to able coadjutors, and endeavour to overlook the whole complex imperial system with his own eyes, using inferior men as mere agents. These inferior men, as was natural, often proved treacherous or incapable; whence the original mistrust in the emperor's mind gradually deepened into an incurable suspicion and ill opinion of mankind. From these feelings naturally arose a haunting fear lest treason and revolution should drive him from the throne; and suspicion and fear led as naturally to cruelty. But the exercise of cruelty drives a nature not intrinsically ignoble to despair; and this, as we know from his own lips, was the normal state of Tiberius's mind in his latter years. "*Quod scribam vobis . . . Dii me Deaque pejus perdant quam perire me quotidie sentio, si scio.*" But an absolute monarch, with despair consuming his heart, and no effectual external aid to look to, is but too likely to seek a temporary relief in sensuality. To the symmetrical natures religion is indeed a crown of glory; nevertheless, so far as this world is concerned, they can grow and prosper without it. But to the unsymmetrical minds religion

is a necessary condition of successful work even in this world; the weakness which they feel, and the mistakes which they commit, can only be supplemented and rectified by recourse being had to an infinite fund of goodness and justice,—external, invisible, yet ever present. The miserable Tiberius, had he known Humboldt's dictum, could not have profited by it; for harmonious development, by his own efforts, of ill-sorted and unequal powers was not possible for him. He consulted astrologers and soothsayers, who of course made matters worse. Only the religion of which his procurator, Pontius Pilatus, imagined himself to be trampling out the nascent spark on the hill of Calvary, would have enabled him to discharge with passable success the task which his mightier predecessor had bequeathed to him.

19. We fear that to the great majority of English classical scholars a work like that of Herr Corssen on the forms of the Latin language would be simply unintelligible. Comparative philology is recognised among us as a science; but the cultivation of it is entirely abandoned to German scholars. The *New Cratylus* and the *Varronianus* represent the highest flights of the science in this country, and they have certainly tended rather to puzzle than to enlighten English students. The German public, on the contrary, is familiar with the writings of many most accomplished scholars since the time that comparative philology was first raised to the dignity of a science by the labours of Bopp and Grimm. Of these scholars, Herr Corssen bids fair to become one of the most distinguished. He is already well known through an excellent work on the pronunciation, vocalisation, and accentuation of the Latin language, which won the prize offered a few years ago by the Royal Academy of Sciences of Berlin. The present work consists of a series of very careful enquiries into the received doctrines respecting the Latin forms. These doctrines had in their day been founded on inductions from what might fairly be considered a sufficient number of facts; but they, again, have in late years been considerably modified by the results of a careful study both of manuscripts and inscriptions. In examining the supposed law, for instance, that the letter *c* has a tendency to disappear between two vowels, or between a vowel and the letter *t*, it is important to know that the best manuscripts of Plautus and Terence read *percontari*, and that the reading *percunctari* is to be traced to a false etymology from *cunctus*; and also that instead of *sectus*, the ancient manuscripts of Plautus, Terence, Virgil, and Fronto, besides two inscriptions anterior to the time of Augustus, read *setius*. The reading *cocturniz* can be shown to be a mistake for *cōturniz*; and when a few such instances of this or any other supposed law are proved to be deficient in authenticity, the law itself becomes doubtful, in virtue of which, for instance, *res* was assimilated to the old German *racha* through the intermediate *reces*, *dies* with the Germanic *tag* through *deces*, or *fieri* connected with *facere*. The great value of Herr Corssen's investigations lies in his close adherence to authentic facts, and the chief force of his criticisms on the hypotheses of other scholars lies in the proof that their conclusions go far beyond legitimate inferences from fact. Although of

course as thoroughly convinced as any other good scholar of the close affinity of Latin to Greek and Sanskrit, he will not allow a law either of Greek or Sanskrit to be applied to Latin without demonstration from the Latin itself that such a law may legitimately be applied. And he protests most justly against the illogical identification, not only of Latin and Sanskrit roots, but of Latin and Sanskrit suffixes, an assumption which leads some writers to see the Sanskrit *-ant* in Latin forms no less varied than the following: -ont, -unt, -ent, -ento, -et, -it, -t, -ud, -ud-o, -id-o, -und-o, -end-o, -on, -en-in-a, -in, -n, ōs, -ōs, -us, -es, -is, -ōr, -ōr, -ur, -er, -er-o, -ul-o, -āi, -oc, -āc-o, -uc-o, -u, -o, -ē. In strong opposition to speculations of this kind, Herr Corssen's book is characterised by a severity of scientific method which places it in the highest rank of recent contributions to Latin philology; and though it is quite impossible to keep absolutely free from error in an undertaking like his, where the greatest scholars have often felt unequal to the task which lay before them, there is but little doubt that the majority of the conclusions at which he has arrived may be considered as permanent acquisitions to philological science.

20. Although Caspar Zeuss, who by his *Grammatica Celtica* in 1853 laid the foundation of a truly scientific knowledge of the old Celtic dialects, was carried off by an untimely death, other German scholars are vigorously proceeding on the path struck out by him. Foremost among these is decidedly Hermann Ebel; and Professor Sullivan has therefore done well to give an English translation of the more important of Ebel's papers on Celtic philology, originally published in Kuhn's *Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung*. After the investigations of Pictet, Prichard, Bopp, and Zeuss, it could no longer be doubted that the Celtic is a branch of the Indo-European family. Zeuss had further proved that among the Celtic languages themselves, the old Irish, as found in the manuscripts of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, is relatively the oldest; that is to say, it occupied, with regard to Gaelic, Manx, modern Irish, Welsh, Breton, Cornish, the same position as Gothic among the Teutonic languages, or Italian in the Romance family. Notwithstanding the unmistakable family likeness between the old Irish and the other Indo-European languages, there appear at first sight differences sufficiently great to cause our astonishment. Ebel has the great merit of having shown the identity of the Irish declension, both in its bases and case-terminations, with the other Indo-European languages. It is true the syllables originally final are in most cases dropped in old Irish; but Ebel succeeded in restoring these prehistorical forms from the phonetical changes which they have wrought either in the body of the word before them, or in the initial letters of the words following. Thus, he concluded, for instance, that a noun, nom. and acc. *ball*, gen. *baill*, dat. *baull*, must once have been declined, nom. *ball(a)s*, acc. *ball(a)n*, gen. *balli*, dat. *ballu*. Since then his reasoning has been fully borne out by old Gaulish inscriptions, unknown to Ebel at the time, in which a corresponding declension has been found with a nominative in *os*, acc. *ou*, gen. *i*, dat. *u*. We have too few Gaulish inscriptions to be able to confirm all Ebel's

conclusions in this manner by ocular demonstration ; but it is clear that we may safely assume their correctness in most of the other cases where such manifest proof is unfortunately wanting.

Besides the paper on the Celtic declension, we have in Professor Sullivan's book the translations of two other remarkable essays of Ebel, —on the position of the Irish with regard to other Indo-European languages, and on phonology in Irish,—not counting certain minor articles of his which the English translator has joined with the larger papers. By "phonology" is meant, in this case, the mode in which the original sounds were changed in Irish,—as, for instance, the dropping of an initial *p* (compare old Irish *athair*, a father, with Latin *pater*), &c. The other essay enumerates the special coincidences (apart from the general Indo-Germanic characteristics) observable between the Celtic and other Indo-European languages, with a view thereby to determine the question, of late much discussed in Germany, whether the Celtic is more nearly related to the Teutonic or Italic branch of the family. Ebel, without giving a dogmatic opinion, seems inclined to the belief that it occupies a position midway between the two. The attention of the English reader should be specially directed to the list of old Celtic words that are borrowed from the Latin (p. 99), because it shows how careful German philologists are to distinguish between these foreign intruders and the original common property of the Indo-European languages.

Professor Sullivan has added an introduction, which is well adapted for the purpose of preparing the English reader for the understanding of the technicalities of the German linguistical school. In his preface he gives an interesting account of the manner in which the Celtic languages were taken possession of by the science of comparative philology. The whole volume is sure to be of use to those who wish to study critically the ancient languages of Great Britain and Ireland.

21. Dr. Todd is well known as one of the most active members of that small band of scholars who laboured with the late Professors O'Curry and O'Donovan, in the Irish Archæological Society, and is well versed in Irish manuscript literature, at least in that portion of it which did not require the profound knowledge of O'Curry; for all the very old Irish was intelligible to him alone. There is, we think, no one in Ireland who could bring to bear upon any historical or archæological subject a greater amount of varied and accurate knowledge than Dr. Todd; and the scholar-like elegance of the memoir of St. Patrick which he has just published fully bears out this opinion. The work of such a qualified scholar deserves serious attention; and though we cannot devote to it all the space which it merits, we will endeavour to point out the chief results at which the author has arrived, and the mistakes we believe him to have committed.

The title of the work is inexact, for it can scarcely be considered "a memoir" of St. Patrick. It is rather a dissertation, in two parts: the first on the character and some of the usages of the early Irish Church, and the second on the materials for a Life of St. Patrick which still exist. The space given to the period from the Norman invasion to the

present time is so little that it hardly justifies a mention on the title-page at all, except, indeed, that the whole book may perhaps be but a preface to those few pages.

Dr. Todd considers St. Palladius to have been a Gaul, and connected with St. Germain of Auxerre, and admits that he received a mission from Pope Celestine, by whom he was consecrated first bishop of the Scots, that is, of the Irish; for it is now universally admitted that the term was at first applied to the Irish only. According to the chronicle of St. Prosper of Aquitaine, this event took place in the year 431. Palladius landed in Leinster, most probably near the present town of Wicklow, made some converts, and founded three churches; but, as one of the ancient Lives tells us, not having been predestined to bring the Hibernian people from the errors of heathenism, he again left the country. Tirechan, one of the oldest of the Irish annalists, states that he suffered martyrdom; while the traditions of North Britain carry him thither. We know not, in fact, what became of him. According to general belief, St. Patrick also received a mission from Pope Celestine subsequent to that of St. Palladius. If this be so, it must have taken place early in 432; for Celestine died in that year, and the Irish annals unanimously fix the date of the arrival of St. Patrick in the very same year. Here, then, we have but two alternatives; either St. Palladius and St. Patrick were the same person,—and it is curious that the former was also called Patrick,—or the chronology respecting St. Patrick is wrong; and if so, there is no authority for his Roman mission. Dr. Todd takes the second alternative; that is, he believes that St. Patrick was not St. Palladius, and that he received no mission from Rome; and he seems inclined to give him a British rather than a Gaulish origin. In this latter opinion, it is true, he is borne out by a great number of Irish traditions. He is disposed to fix the date of his mission about the year 439 to 442.

Oudin doubted the authenticity of the Confession of St. Patrick, and of his Epistle to Coroticus, chiefly because of the rude and barbarous Latinity; since he thought it would be difficult to believe the Roman Pontiffs “so stupid” as to entrust the instruction of others to missionaries who were themselves barbarous, and incapable of writing pure Latin. Here the mission from the Pope is assumed as unquestionable, while the documents are doubted. Dr. Todd assumes their Latinity to be a proof of their authenticity, and therefore questions the Roman mission,—not, to be sure, on the absurd ground that the Pope in selecting a missionary would give him a Latin exercise, but because the missionary, in his Confession, does not mention the circumstance. He thinks that if he had had a Roman mission, he would at once have announced it, as that would have been a sufficient defence—for the Confession is a kind of defence—for his having undertaken his Irish work. We believe the reverse. Wherever the Roman power had been felt, the announcement that a missionary had been sent from Rome might carry weight; but of what force would it be to a people composed of several races, among whom the principle of unity under a central authority was very weakly felt, and who only knew Romans as enemies, against whom they had

waged war as the allies of the North Britons? Dr. Todd says that St. Patrick makes no claim to primacy or archiepiscopal jurisdiction in Ireland; and that he never speaks of Armagh or of any other episcopal see in that country. St. Patrick calls himself, in general terms, a bishop in Ireland, deriving his commission directly from God: "Hiberione constitutus episcopus, certissime reor a Deo accepi quod sum." Now this appears to us to be quite in harmony with his having been "constituted" bishop by the Pope: at all events, it is not evidence that he was not. Dr. Todd forgets that at p. 835 he is inclined to think that St. Patrick received a mission from St. Germain and the Church of Gaul; and at p. 405 he adds, that the story of the Gauls who are said by Tirechan to have accompanied him tends to confirm the theory of his Gaulish mission. But there is not a word about such a mission in the Confession. Why, then, assume a Gaulish mission which is not mentioned, and deny a Roman one because it also is not specifically referred to?

St. Patrick tells us in his Confession that he was sixteen years old when he was carried into slavery, in which state he spent six years; so that he was twenty-two years old when he regained his liberty and began a course of liberal education. This is the true reason of his rude Latinity. He also tells us of a dream, or rather nightmare, which he had, in which he called out "Helias." "I know not," he says, "how it came into my mind to call upon Helias,"—a most natural remark, which any Catholic might now make of himself under similar circumstances. Nevertheless Dr. Todd says, "Do not these words very clearly prove that to invoke saints, or at least to invoke Helias, was a somewhat unusual thing in St. Patrick's time?" This logic is not worthy of our author; indeed, it is not better than Mr. King's hypothesis that he cried "Helios" (the sun), which is help to subsequent extravagant theories about the Culdees,—a name which some of the extinct school of antiquaries connected with Persians, but which is merely Irish for "a servant of God" (*Celé De*), a very natural name for a monk. It is surprising that real scholars like Dr. Todd and Dr. Reeves (in his edition of St. Adamnan's Life of St. Columba) should seriously refer to Mr. King as an authority. In connection with the subject of Culdeeism, we may add, that Dr. Todd points out the absurdity of the opinion that the early Irish Christians had something like the *endura* of the Paulician Manichees of Languedoc. He does not, however, grapple boldly enough with this theory. In a note (p. 456) incidental to this odd opinion, which it appears was put forward by the late Mr. A. Herbert, he says that the visible objects of the worship of the ancient Irish, beside the heavenly bodies, were not idols properly so called, but pillar-stones, remarkable hills, wells, and other natural objects; and that the Irish had no knowledge of the *Dii Gentium*, Saturn, Jupiter, &c., or the female deities, Juno, Venus, &c., under Celtic names. Very little has yet been done for Irish mythology; but the little that we do know is directly contrary to this opinion, for it is quite certain that some one of the many Irish races had them. If Dr. Todd will consult Grimm's *German Mythology*, he will find that the ancient Germans worshipped nature too;

and that if we had not the Norse traditions, and were obliged to construct German mythology out of modern superstition, we might have denied that the Germans had *Dü* like the Greeks and Romans. We fear this betrays the operation of the Finnish hypothesis. Perhaps to the influence of the same ideas may be attributed the observation which our author makes in another note at p. 511, where he says, "It is now well ascertained that the Ogham characters are later than the time of St. Patrick, and derived most probably from the Scandinavian runes. His authority for this is Dean Graves. It is more than probable that the Irish Ogham and Scandinavian runes are closely related; and they must certainly have had a common origin. But it is directly the reverse of proven that their use in Ireland is later than St. Patrick. There is positive philological evidence that this could not have been so. Dr. Todd has, however, fully admitted that writing was known in Ireland before St. Patrick, to whom he has attributed, as we think, properly, the introduction of what is now called the Irish alphabet, but was really the Latin alphabet then in general use.

In his dissertation on the character and some of the usages of the ancient Irish Church, Dr. Todd has put forward views which differ very much from those usually received, but which we think are nevertheless well worthy of consideration. He holds, for instance, that the Irish Church was clannish, and that consequently archiepiscopal and diocesan jurisdiction scarcely existed before the twelfth century. This clannish organisation was not only due to the clanship system, but also to the fact, as he assumes, that the conversion of Ireland by St. Patrick was to a great extent confined to the chiefs, that it only slowly pervaded the masses, and even was not universal among the chiefs. Hence arose monasteries, which were, in fact, clans in another form. This view is borne out by the fact, which Dr. Todd has not noticed, that all the early saints belonged to the families of the great chieftains. The abbot was sometimes a bishop and sometimes not. In the latter case, there was often a bishop in the monastery who was subject to the rule of the abbot. This was even the case with the bishop who performed the episcopal functions for women, that is, he was subject to the abbess. The term *Ardepscop* did not imply the metropolitan dignity of an archbishop: it was simply a title of honour, meaning an eminent bishop. This absence of diocesan jurisdiction and local episcopal successions in the early Irish Church is the cause of much of the confusion in the lists of early bishops. It also accounts for the great number of bishops that existed in Ireland at the same time, and supplies the reason of the objection to them, when, during the Danish invasion, they emigrated in great numbers to the continent and to England.

Another explanation of the confusion in the lists of bishops, and of the mistakes into which non-catholics have fallen respecting the marriage of the clergy, is to be found in the facts that the rights of chieftaincy were transferred with the grants of land, and that there were two distinct successions, the ecclesiastical, or that of the *Coarb*, which means literally 'co-heir,' and the lay, or that of the *Airchinneach* or *Herenach*, who represented the founder's kin, who exercised the rights of steward-

ship, subject to the ecclesiastical Coarb. Ussher, Ware, and Lanigan confounded the ancient Coarbs with Chorepiscopi, and Herenachs with archdeacons. Colgan, who knew well the functions of the latter, nevertheless fell into the same mistake. The land granted for a church was not conveyed to a bishop, as such, but to the Coarb, who may not have been a bishop. The succession of Coarbs would naturally be kept up, while that of bishops would not. Hence most lists of early bishops are in reality those of Coarbs, many of whom were bishops, but many others not; and some may have been usurping laymen. It is unnecessary to discuss seriously the hypothesis that after the English invasion there were two Churches in Ireland, each ignoring the other as much as possible, an Irish and an Anglo-Norman one, the former of which was gradually merged in the latter, and both in the Reformed Church; while a third and foreign Church came in after the Reformation, which is now the Catholic Church of Ireland. The Irish ecclesiastics without the pale were no doubt politically opposed to the Anglo-Norman within the pale; but Dr. Todd might as well say that there are two Churches among Catholics in Ireland at present, because some bishops may differ politically from others. The Irish bishops of both the pale and the Irish territories frequently met in synod; and the very Parliament of Kilkenny which passed the infamous statute he alludes to had both Irish and Anglo-Norman bishops in it. It is no doubt true, as the celebrated remonstrance of Domhnal O'Neill, King of Ulster, to Pope John XXII. shows, that the Anglo-Norman clergy wished to seize upon the churches of the Irish, and to get hold of their sees, and that some at least of the religious orders, the Franciscans and Cistercians among others, aided them. Perhaps we may add that the court of Rome was disposed before the Reformation to favour English political interests rather than Irish ones. But political differences of this kind do not entitle any one to speak of two Churches.

If we had space we should have liked to point out Dr. Todd's mistakes about the land-laws of the ancient Irish; for it is quite clear either that he does not know what were the laws regulating the tenure of land among the clans, or that he does not quite understand the feudal tenure.

On the whole, although he has not settled the point whether Palladius and Patrick were the same person, and although here and there he has not been sufficiently candid,—which may be forgiven to a man in his position,—his book has set at rest completely the question as to the character of the ancient Irish Church. He tells us that it differed not at all in doctrine, and scarcely in discipline, from the general Church of Europe, and that any irregularities which might have existed in it, were due to the isolated position of the country, which kept them in existence after they had been abolished elsewhere. The establishment of this truth is so great a gain that it may outweigh many serious faults.

22. In consequence of the inroads made by the barbaric tribes of central Asia upon the territories of the Greek Empire and of Armenia, successive tides of emigration brought a considerable number of Armenian settlers from the banks of the Euphrates to the mountainous regions of the Taurus and to the plains of Cilicia. The Byzantine court,

far from offering any obstacles to their establishment upon its territory, encouraged the warlike strangers, who were likely to serve as powerful auxiliaries against Moslem invasion, by granting fiefs and titles of honour to the chiefs of the Armenian emigration. Several of their chieftains were charged with the care of the principal fortresses of Cilicia. The Armenians had, however, really come into the country as invaders, and they gradually expelled the Greeks from all its towns and fortresses. In 1080, Rupen, an Armenian of the royal blood of the Bagratides, had conquered a large territory in Mount Taurus: his son Constantine, who died in 1100, greatly extended his domains, and his successors, after a series of bloody wars with the Greek emperors, became the undisputed sovereigns of the entire province. Under Leo II. the Armenians, who had till then been considered as vassals of the Greek empire, attained complete independence. The kingdom of Leo at the time of his coronation extended from the confines of the Euphrates on the east to Isauria and Lycaonia on the west. During these struggles for independence, the Crusaders had passed through Asia Minor on their way to the Holy Land; and the Armenians, finding in them fellow Christians and auxiliaries against both Greeks and Moslems, joyfully lent them aid in overcoming the terrible difficulties of the mountain passes, and in procuring food for men and horses. From this moment the most intimate relations commenced between the Armenians and Franks: Leo II. was recognised by the Emperor of Germany as King of Armenia, and this title was confirmed by the Holy See, and borne by all his successors till the fall of Leo VI. in 1375. One of the results of the close intercourse between the Armenians and Franks was the assimilation of the Armenian kingdom to the Frankish principalities of Jerusalem, Antioch, Tripoli, Edessa, and Cyprus, and the introduction of the European feudal system into it. Another very important result was the reunion of the Armenians with the Catholic Church. But this reunion always remained imperfect. The princes of the house of Rupen and their barons, particularly during the Crusades, were most zealous in their efforts to bring the national clergy to acknowledge the authority of the Holy See. Their efforts, however, only met with partial success. The inhabitants of Cilicia, who had most intercourse with the Franks, endeavoured to imitate them in all things, not only in religious doctrine, but in the ceremonies of religious worship. The Armenians of the eastern provinces, on the other hand, offered the most lively resistance to the introduction of Catholic doctrine and usages.

The impulse which the Crusades gave to commerce was immense. European navigators had formerly been only tolerated in the ports of Syria, and their speculations had been entirely at the mercy of a sultan or an emir; but the Christian princes of Syria granted numerous privileges to the merchants of Genoa, Venice, Pisa, Marseilles, and other great cities of the Mediterranean. The Christian kings of Armenia followed the example of their Frankish neighbours, and their kingdom became the centre of an extremely flourishing trade between Europe and the Asiatic continent. This trade had reached its greatest extension at the very time when the Moslem invasion put an end to the dynasty of the house of Rupen.

Most curious and interesting details, many of them now published for the first time, concerning the social, political, ecclesiastical, and administrative organisation of this remarkable kingdom and its relations with the Franks will be found in the introduction prefixed by M. Victor Langlois to a collection of authentic documents, emanating chiefly from the chancery of the Rupenian kings. These documents are for the most part preserved in the principal archives of Europe, particularly at Venice, Genoa, Turin, Valetta, Paris, Madrid, and Berlin; and they are written in different languages, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, Armenian, Arabic, and Syriac. They consist chiefly of grants and confirmations of privileges to the Knights of St. John, the Temple, and the Teutonic Order, to the three maritime republics of Italy, to the towns of Montpellier and Madrid, and to the banking company of the Bardi at Florence; and they conclude with a series of treaties of peace between the kings of Armenia and the Mussulmans.

We have a contract of marriage in French of the year 1252 between an Armenian princess and Julian lord of Sidon, in which the dowry of the bride is valued at 25,000 byzants, or 300,000 francs, a large sum in those days. The privilege to the people of Madrid was granted by the unfortunate Leo VI., who, after his liberation from the prisons of Cairo, was made by the king, Don Juan of Castille, lord of Madrid, Villareal, and Andujar. He held the lordship of Madrid for eight years, and rebuilt the tower of the Alcazar. He was buried in the church of the convent of the Celestins at Paris, and his will, written in the French language, is given us by M. Langlois.

We have only to add that the present work is printed at the Mekhitarist convent of San Lazzaro, and that it is in every way worthy of the press to which we are indebted for the *Chronicle* of Eusebius, and so many other important publications.

23. The beauty of Mr. Doyle's illustrations, the typographical splendour, and the opportunity of the publication among the Christmas books, will ensure a fashionable popularity for a narrative of English history in the Middle Ages, which, if not faultless in all details, is irreproachable in its style and spirit. Considering the class of readers for whom it is written, this is a far more important merit, and constitutes a service both to society and to literature. Mr. Doyle will be chiefly read by those who either read no long and learned books at all, or who are not yet awake to the attractions of Hume, of Lingard, or Knight. The passive impressions and borrowed judgments of these unlearned readers quickly settle into obstinate prejudices. The text of Mr. Doyle is so judiciously composed that it will never encourage the formation of unreasoning judgments, or put impediments in the way of improved knowledge of matters of fact. Sismondi used to construct his account of historical events directly from the original authorities before he consulted the modern writers. Mr. Doyle has set to work in the same way, only he has not proceeded beyond the first stage. He has written from the sources, and has not been biased by more recent writers; but he has not been assisted by them in weighing testimony and in applying the

rules of criticism. His method reminds us of the remark made on Luden's history of the Middle Ages, by a much greater historian, that there is a difference between reading the sources and studying them. Hence it appears to us that the result of his labours is not equal to several chronological abridgments that exist in the literature of other countries, and that it is still less equal to the real historical capacity of the author; for Mr. Doyle has shown in this work that he possesses the self-restraint and the contempt for secondhand information which constitute one of the rarest attainments of writers on history.

24. The *History of the Holy Cross* is a very interesting specimen of early block-printing, and a worthy companion to the *Speculum Humane Salvacionis*, published under the same auspices and in a precisely similar form. It is a precious remnant, and one that has barely escaped utter extinction (three copies of it only being known to exist), of the devotional Catholic literature of the fifteenth century. The engravings, sixty-four in number, though extremely rude, are highly curious, and exhibit a series of designs little, if at all, known to us from glass-painting or frescoes. There appear, indeed, to have been some similar designs discovered in 1804 on the walls of the parish-church at Stratford-upon-Avon, a town which is known to have had an influential guild of the Holy Cross; but we believe the legend itself, which seems to be as early in its origin as the fourth century, is very little known. It contains a history of the wood of the Cross from the time of Adam to the time of its restoration to Jerusalem, after the recovery of it by the Empress Helena. At the foot of each page are four descriptive verses, apparently executed in moveable type, in Dutch characters. The legend itself also exists in Ms. in old French, and is in part contained in the *Legenda Aurea* first printed by Caxton. The author has given us the parallel narrative from these sources, and has further added the Dutch legend printed in modern characters, with a corresponding French and English metrical version.

It appears to us evident that, though Veldener first printed this work, in its present form at least, in 1483, the engravings themselves are of much earlier execution. The well-marked character of the armour in plate liv. points to the early part of the fifteenth century. Veldener seems to have procured the original blocks, and divided them into separate portions, adding for the first time the verses under each cut in moveable types. We think the engravings are, without exception, the earliest yet known. The style is much ruder and the execution coarser than in the *Speculum*. The designs are unartistically drawn and hatched on the wood in rough black lines. Nevertheless they are extremely valuable, as marking the first stage of the art.

In the first and second plates Adam and his son Seth hold converse, and the latter receives from an angel three seeds, which Seth is to bury in Adam's grave. This is seen in plate iii.; and in plate iv. three tall shoots, something like lighted tapers, are seen growing up from the tomb. A long period is then passed over, till Moses carries off the three trees into the desert. In plate viii. he performs a miracle by dipping the holy trees into the brackish water of the desert, and so making it

sweet. They are finally planted (plate ix.) in the land of Moab, whence David is ordered by an angel to remove them to Jerusalem. In plates xi. xii. and xiii. we see David carrying the young trees in solemn procession to Jerusalem, and performing various miracles with them. Planted in the king's garden they grew into one; and the tree is now represented with a single shaft, but a triple head (plate xv.). The tree is next cut down by Solomon for the building of his Temple, but it is rejected as not suiting the proportions of the work (plates xviii.-xxi.). In plate xxii. the Sibyl is seen prophesying that Christ shall hang upon that tree. For this she is scourged to death by the Jews, in plate xxiii. In contempt for the tree, the Jews lay it as a plank across a stream; but the Queen of Sheba will not tread on it, and prefers to ford the river with naked feet (plates xxiv.-xxvi.). Then Solomon attaches to it some precious jewelry, and conveys it to Jerusalem, where it is placed over the door of the Temple, to be blessed of all men. Abias takes off the jewelry, and profanely uses the wood in constructing the pool of Bethesda, where its miraculous virtues are displayed in the healing waters (plates xxix.-xxxii.). In plate xxxiii. Christ is seen standing habited as a bishop in Pilate's house. A man is pointing out to Him the wood which has risen from the bottom of the pool. In the next plate a cross is being framed out of the material. Plates xxxv. and xxxvi. are the conventional designs of Christ bearing the cross, and the crucifixion. In plate xxxvii. devils are being cast out from crowds of possessed persons, who are seen kneeling between the three crosses. This is a curious design; the devils or imps are seen as flying out of the mouths of the possessed. Then we have the burying of the cross, and its recovery by the Empress Helena, plates xxxviii.-xl. One Judas, who appears to have been instrumental in burying the cross, is let down into a well alive by order of the Empress, and kept there till he reveals the secret. The true cross, when found, is distinguished from the thieves' crosses by raising the dead to life (plates xlv.-xlvii.). Helena divides the cross, and gives half to her son Constantine, who presents it for worship at Jerusalem (plate xlix.). Cosdras, a heathen usurper, carries off the true cross and exposes it to the insult of false worshippers. But a valiant Christian knight, Heraclius, meets the infidel in battle, and rescues the cross (plates lii.-liv.). In plate lvi. Cosdras is beheaded by Heraclius; and then follows the baptism of Cosdras's son by order of Heraclius (plate lvii.). The cross is once more removed to Jerusalem by Cosdras II., the son; but an angel shuts against him the gates of the city, telling him that he must enter barefoot with the humility of Christ (plate lxi.). Accordingly, Cosdras enters with a solemn procession headed by cross-bearers. In plate lxii. we have a rather interesting picture of an altar with the triptych or painted super-altar. In plate lxiii. some merchants are seen in a ship; the mast and sail are broken off in a storm, and they are praying to the true cross to be delivered. The last plate is described thus:

"Thank-offerings then the merchants brought,
And gave God thanks, as all men ought;
And let us also Him beseech
To keep us from the devil's reach."

Here the true wood is placed erect on the altar ; one of the merchants is standing with an offering in his hand, and the rest are kneeling around.

The designs in facsimile appear to have been represented with the most scrupulous fidelity even to the nicest points, including the texture of the paper and the colour of the ink. To Mr. Stewart are due the grateful thanks of all those who are interested in Catholic antiquities.

25. Mr. Cowden Clarke has recast a series of lectures upon the subordinate characters of Shakespeare into a volume of Essays. His aim is to draw out the ethical design of each play, and to exhibit the internal harmony and self-consistence of the lesser persons of the plot. This design is on the whole executed with sense, and with a competent knowledge both of Shakespeare and of his commentators. The worst part of the book is the affectation of its language, pardonable perhaps in the lecture-room, unpardonable in one who addresses the common sense of men. Neither is Mr. Clarke's vision always sharp enough to decipher Shakespeare's meaning. "Like a provincial-bred man," he says, "Silence thinks no heroes can be so great as those of his own neighbourhood. When, therefore, Pistol, in announcing the death of Henry IV., says to Falstaff, 'Sweet knight, thou art one of the greatest men in the realm,' Silence assents from politeness, but with a reservation—'By'r Lady, I think he be; but goodman Puff of Baron ——'" Mr. Clarke does not see that goodman Puff is a provincial Daniel Lambert, whom Silence judged to be greater in girth than the fat knight, not, as Pistol meant, in place or in heroism. Such mistakes are the natural penalties of an attempt at over-refinement in criticism; as twaddle is the natural consequence of gilding the refined gold of Shakespeare's ethics.

26. Professor von Liebig having filled the office of President of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Munich, selected last year as the subject of the discourse which it is customary for the president of that body to deliver on the anniversary of its foundation, "Francis Bacon of Verulam, and the History of the Natural Sciences." The object of this discourse is not only to demolish the character of Lord Bacon as a philosopher, but to prove that his so-called inductive method is of no value, and that the true method pursued by scientific men is diametrically opposed to it. In maintaining these views, the author has only given form and expression to the opinion entertained by all scientific men who have read Lord Bacon's works unbiassed by habits of thought and authority respecting his claims as a philosopher. It is true the number of scientific men who have read them is very small indeed. It requires some preparation to do so ; it is necessary to be accurately acquainted with the previous history and actual condition of the physical sciences when Bacon wrote, and to have mastered his barbarous terminology, his "idols" and "instances." But all persons so qualified, who will industriously study the *Novum Organum*, or the *Historia Naturalis*, and in good faith, as Liebig says, "pursue one of his ideas with the necessary patience and perseverance through all the by-ways and turnings, will

unfailingly find that at its source it resembles a gladsome bubbling fountain, which promises in its course green flower-bedecked meadows, shady cool woods, leading to a brook that turns mills, and at last to a river that bears ships; but which only conducts the wanderer who follows it to a desert without life, and at last loses itself in parched sand. At first one thinks that this is only an accident, and that a second or third experiment will lead in other directions somewhat more profitable; but at length we become convinced that every thing is mere theatrical decoration. We at length discover the process, and feel ashamed at having allowed ourselves to be so grossly deceived."

Bacon himself tells us in his *Novum Organum* that until he came all knowledge was hollow, empty, and unfruitful; that no one had struck out the right road, which was to go to the facts themselves, and become acquainted with their arrangement and connection. The majority of people have taken all this upon trust, especially as those who have believed in Bacon, after reading his works, have been rather learned men than scientific men, or at all events persons who were, as a rule, wholly unfitted for judging of his claims, because they had not made the history of the rise and progress of the natural sciences their especial study. Bacon's position was given to him by lawyers, theologians, and men of classical education, and was accepted by the mass of the people because he was the apostle of that utilitarianism by which wealth was to be made. What is curious in the matter is, that the position thus assigned him has been allowed almost without a challenge for more than 200 years. Liebig truly observes, that "it frequently happens with errors and false views in science, as with fashions in dress, which, after the higher classes have long laid them aside, are still preserved for centuries in the costume of the people. So, too, the ideas of men which the times bring forth have their regular course through all the strata of society. The errors and false views of a past age may long continue to rule the mind of a nation, although their roots are already dead. From the old cast-off garments of science Bacon cut for his countrymen a new costume; and although it did not cover their nakedness, each one nevertheless found that it was convenient, and stood well. And as by his endeavours the old lies strengthened themselves in the possession of the soil, the new truths brought in later by Newton, Harvey, and Boyle had the more labour in fighting their way." All this, however, applies to the general public, but not to scientific men, who surely, it might be said, ought to have protested before now. That they have not protested hitherto simply shows the separation which exists between what are called philosophical studies and the investigation of nature; to which we must add the fact that, with the extraordinary growth of physical science, students of nature are compelled to become specialists, and consequently forget the whole in the part. This separation is so wide that no coördination of views is ever made between the metaphysical and physical sciences; and the students of the latter especially regard the former as something quite foreign to their pursuits, and are prepared to accept the statements of its students upon trust. Then, too, the works of Bacon have always been regarded by scientific men as belong-

ing to the domain of "philosophy," while the philosophers have credited them to physical science. It has thus happened that no one has challenged his pretensions, and they have been admitted by prescription.

The extent of the separation between metaphysical and physical science may be measured by an assumption which Liebig makes in the present lecture, but which has been put forward before—namely, that modern philosophy has not given any assistance to physical science; nay more, that the peculiar conceptions of metaphysical philosophers, which are wholly loosened from the soil of physical knowledge, could, in fact, exert no influence upon the investigation of it, and that in the history of the natural sciences their names have not won a place. This may no doubt be true of their direct action, but surely not of their indirect action. Every period has its philosophical atmosphere, which the minds of men respire, as the body does air, without analysing it; and in this way a philosophical system may influence all the ideas of a nation in physical science, as in every thing else, without the name of its author being even known to the most successful discoverer of the laws of nature. Again, are not the labourers in both kinds of knowledge working in the same field, except that one is endeavouring to acquire a knowledge of the whole by the separate study of the parts, and the other of the parts by the study of the whole? One day they must encounter each other, and the two become one, though that day may yet be far off. In the mean time points of direct contact are rare, and must escape the attention of those who are still under the influence of the reaction which took place against the exclusive study of metaphysical philosophy, of which reaction Bacon was the principal demagogue.

Lord Bacon lived in the most remarkable century of our era, when great discoveries had produced a mighty movement in the minds of the people of Europe; he was the contemporary of Kepler, Galileo, Stevin, Gilbert, Harriot, the founders of our modern astronomy, physics, mechanics, hydrostatics, optics, electricity, and magnetism. "The history of natural science has, in respect to the men who have taken part in its progress and investigated its deeper meaning, an advantage over other branches of history,—that the meaning of their discoveries, and the influence of their ideas on the labours of their time and of our own, admit of being measured and weighed with a certainty. The facts and discoveries which were the subjects of their investigations or their reflections are in themselves imperishable; they are still to-day open to our observation and tests, as they were centuries ago; each of their experiments is capable of repetition; we can place ourselves with facility in all the conditions and positions in which it was made; we are able to judge what their understanding read out of the phenomena which they explained, and what their imagination put into them; what preceded their ideas, and what later linked itself on to them."

"From Bacon's writings on natural science it must therefore be possible to determine, with the greatest certainty, the part which he had in the great questions of the time: whether he stood within the intellectual current, or without it; how the discoveries of the great astronomers and physicists acted upon his mind; whether they were germs

for his ideas; whether in fact he understood them and judged them aright." The *Historia Naturalis*, or *Sylva Sylvarum*, which may be said to represent all the results of Bacon's reading, observation, experiments, and in fact his entire knowledge of nature, is, in the opinion of Professor Liebig, the best work to which to apply the principles of criticism just laid down. In his *Novum Organum*, he says, Bacon has developed the principles of enquiry, and the methods of investigation of natural phenomena; while the subjects treated of in the *Historia* must be looked upon as the practical examples of his methods of investigation. By their aid we can therefore accurately judge how far his principles agree with their application, or his practice with his theory. To study facts, and become acquainted with their arrangement and relations, was to be the principle of all fruitful investigation. The true method, Bacon said, does not go from random off-hand experiments, but from well-understood classified facts. Professor Liebig has selected examples for criticism, not, he says, because they are specially adapted to serve as specimens of Bacon's method, but because they are short, and therefore more suited for a lecture; all, however, are of identical nature and character. We might give others still better suited for illustrating Liebig's views than those which the form of his work has compelled him to select. It would indeed be difficult to find a single explanation of Bacon's own that is not, we will not say erroneous, but far behind the contemporary science of his day; and we are not surprised that our author should speak as he does of some of Bacon's explanations of the simplest phenomena of nature, such as the temperature of wells in summer and winter, and of air in cellars. Adopting the popular error that they were warmer in winter than in summer, he explained the phenomena by supposing that bodies under the earth had a certain amount of heat, which being firmly shut up in them in winter made them hotter, while in summer it perspired out. This explanation of the very simplest things and occurrences, says Liebig, ought to prove completely that Bacon did not at all really know how to set about examining a fact, and that he by no means looked upon the establishment, and especially the observation, of it as at all necessary for his explanation.

With reference to an experiment which is not true and could not be made, though from the context in which Bacon mentions it we must infer that he intends to convey the impression that he had actually made it, our author has this observation: "The following would be unintelligible if we did not bear in mind that Bacon made all his investigations of nature in his study, that he got the facts of which he speaks out of books, and that the experiments and their results, which are employed by him as proofs, are for the most part invented. He makes an explanation of a phenomenon, then he bethinks himself of a controlling experiment, and then lets us believe that his fancied experiment was a real one. Bacon, for example, assumes that spirit of wine has a latent or hidden warmth; he proves this in this way, that white of egg introduced into it coagulates as it does when boiled; and he adds, that bread introduced into it is roasted, and gets a crust like toasted bread. The latter is an imagination." Of his processes for making gold—for Bacon

pretended to be an adept—Professor Liebig says, “In this receipt we have the whole Bacon, the man and all his works. All the means which he gives to make gold are error and deception, and his axioms which make up his theory are groundless imagination.”

Having disposed of the materials upon which the *Novum Organum* may be said to be founded, Professor Liebig next proceeds to examine that book itself, or rather the inductive method, of which it is an exposition. He argues that, as nobody could expect to produce more with it than Bacon himself, and as he has accurately described his use of it in his enquiry into the nature of heat, we have the means of clearly understanding it by the study of that part of the book. The discourse contains an analysis at some length of this induction, in the course of which the theory of “instances” is also developed. We must content ourselves with giving a single paragraph, which contains Liebig’s opinion of the whole enquiry, which, by the way, is one of the most important examples of the inductive method in Bacon’s works. “Bacon crowns his investigation into the nature of heat with a concluding statement, which is certainly the finest the book contains, namely, a receipt to produce heat. ‘If,’ he says, ‘you can excite a movement in natural bodies to expand or enlarge themselves, and repress and turn it upon itself, so that expansion does not take place uniformly, but partly occurs, and is partly thrown backwards, you will without doubt produce heat.’” To our minds, it results from this receipt, the product of his own work with his new instrument, that Bacon, its discoverer, could kindle no fire therewith, and that no oven could be heated with meaningless phrases twisted into a puzzle. Bacon promises to lead us to a way to solve the highest questions on the nature and condition of things, and when we go with him he leads us about in a labyrinth whose exit he knows not himself. His inductive method leaves him perfectly helpless in the establishment of the very simplest conceptions; at the end of a broadly planned enquiry we learn what we knew in the beginning; he turns himself around in a circle, and gives us the views which he has formed on the things which he sees from a distance, but he does not quit the small spot on which he stands; *he is incapable of elevating himself to the simple conception of temperature, or to that of the unequal propagation of heat, of good and bad conductors, of radiation of heat*; and it is difficult to conceive in the case of a man of some good will for observation,—who institutes an enquiry on heat, and who knows that cold contracts, so that iron nails in a wainscot lose their hold in intense frost, who has observed that in Drebbel’s thermoscope air expands on warming and contracts on cooling,—how the change of volume of bodies by change of heat, as a general property of them, could have escaped such a man.”

Bacon was equally obscure and helpless in his views and observations on gravity, weight, and motion; *in fact, he had not a true idea of weight or of the lever*. In criticising his hypotheses, we must not judge

¹ “Si in aliquo corpore naturali poteris excitare motum ad se dilatandum aut expandendum; eumque motum ita reprimere et in se vertere, ut dilatatio illa non procedat æqualiter, sed partim obtineat, partim retrudatur; procul dubio generabis calidum.”

them from the point of view of our present knowledge, but we must place ourselves in the position of his contemporaries. He asks the question whether, if one arm of a balance were longer than another, but both arms were of equal weight, the first would incline. And yet, in 1577, Guido Ubaldi had explained the laws of the lever and of the centre of gravity. So, too, during his lifetime, Kepler had suggested the cause of the tides; Simon Stevin had established some of the principal laws of the motion and equilibrium of fluids; Galileo had made his celebrated experiments on the pendulum and on the fall of bodies, and discovered the satellites of Jupiter; Harriot had discovered the spots of the sun, and given the first correct explanation of the colours of the rainbow; Agricola had published his great compendium of the knowledge of the time on metals, ores, earths, and stones, *De Re Metallica*;—and many important substances had been discovered by the chemists of the time; Gilbert had studied some of the more important phenomena of frictional electricity and magnetism; and the rude blows given by Paracelsus to the Galenian system of medicine were beginning to produce fruit in a new physiology. Of all these great discoveries Bacon either knew nothing, denied their truth, or sneered at them. He denied the rotation of the earth, and its motion about the sun; in fact, as Liebig says, he looked upon Copernicus as a swindler—one of those men who thought nothing of inventing every thing in nature, when it only suited their purpose. He denied the materiality of sound, and attributed its propagation through the air to a particular kind of spiritual movement. He believed in the sympathy and antipathy of things; in the elixir of life; and, as we said before, he pretended to be an adept in the making of gold.

But it may be said, granted that Bacon was ignorant of the great discoveries of his contemporaries, or that he did not understand them, and that his use of the instrument which he said he invented was bad, did he not, nevertheless, invent such an instrument? Has he not introduced into science the true method of enquiry into nature? Professor Liebig says that his instrument is valueless, and neither is nor could be used in science; that the true method does not proceed by induction from many individual cases which we know to the general which we do not know, but that we find by the investigation of many individual cases that which is common to them. We investigate the rusting of iron in the air, the oxidation of metals in the fire, the burning of candles with flame, the processes of nitrification, acetification, and respiration, the bleaching of colours, and the processes of decay of organic bodies: each of these individual cases includes something peculiar to itself, and something that is common to all. By the latter, which is the general, the category is determined—there is no other general in nature. The particular in the individual cases is produced by other laws; and through these they belong again to another special category of cases, in all of which again there is something common. In natural science all investigation is deductive, or *à priori*; experiment is only an auxiliary to the thinking process, just as calculation is; the thought must in all cases, and necessarily, precede it, if it is to have any meaning whatever. An

empiric investigation of nature, in the ordinary sense, does not exist. An experiment which is not preceded by an idea bears the same relation to an enquiry into the phenomena of nature as the rattle of a child's clapper does to music. The method of modern physical science is the old Aristotelian one, only used with much more skill and experience.

Bacon's method is that of induction from many individual cases. And, as each natural phenomenon, each occurrence, is always a whole, of whose parts our senses know nothing; and as Bacon looked upon experiment as a mechanical tool which, set in motion, produces the work out of itself; his individual cases linked by no idea are ciphers. And thousands of ciphers, no matter in what order they be put, do not make a number. His process of induction consists in the marshalling here and there of undetermined perceptions of the senses. The result to which one must come by his method must always be a zero; the particular cases point to a centre of gravity, or middle point, and stand in connection, as he supposes, with this point by longer or shorter lines; but his hand moves the index, and he names the point where he wishes them to meet the required law. Such a procedure can never lead to the discovery of a truth. The true method shuts out all influence of chance or of the mere will of the enquirer, and is diametrically opposed to Bacon's method.

The work of Bacon's contemporary Gilbert is an excellent example of the way of investigating nature which has been followed by all scientific men. Does the method there pursued agree with the principles of Bacon? We have Bacon's own testimony that it does not. He looked upon Gilbert's results as fables: "nam electrica operatio (de qua Gilbertus et alii post eum tantas excitarunt fabulas) non alia est," &c. Again, he says, "The empiric method of investigation is the most unformed and monstrous of all, because it rests on the narrow basis and the darkness of individual experiments. This kind of investigation, which those who are daily engaged with such experiments think so certain and probable, is for others incredible and empty. "*Cujus exemplum notabile est in chemicis, eorumque dogmatibus; alibi autem vix hoc tempore invenitur, nisi forte in philosophia Gilberti.*" Our method, says Professor Liebig, is Gilbert's, which Bacon condemns; and consequently Bacon's method cannot be ours. Had his *Novum Organum* never been written, physical science would not have missed it: had not Gilbert laboured as he did, the science of electricity and magnetism would now be in a different state from that in which we find them.

All investigations in physical science are not deductive, as Liebig states, neither are they inductive; but they present a combination of both elements. Every complete investigation consists in reality of four stages—the observation, the induction, the deduction, and the verification. A complete investigation in this sense is rarely carried out by one man; and as the whole science develops according to the same sequence of stages, it may happen that almost every investigation which an experimenter may take up has already advanced to the deductive stage. Thus, for example, every treatise on chemistry contains abundance of isolated

observations, the results of experiments often made in the pure Baconian method; but more frequently they are the incidental results, or, as we might say, the secondary products, of other investigations. Some of these observations offer analogies with each other, or with others better known; and these are pointed out, and a hypothesis suggested to explain them. Here we have the induction. This may be, as Liebig says, the study of many individual cases, in which we find by comparison what is common to them; but is not the detection of the general from many particulars an inductive process? We admit that it is not strictly the induction of Bacon, and that the process must necessarily hold only a secondary place in scientific investigations, especially in the higher ones; but it is still an essential part of the whole method. From the nature of the majority of Professor Liebig's own investigations, which were taken up in what may be called the third stage, that is, after the inductive part had been performed,—and it is now difficult to select any line of investigation in chemistry in which the subject has not already passed into the deductive stage,—we can well understand his overlooking the function of induction. It certainly is true that the majority of the experiments of chemists and physicists are made for the verification of theories, and are therefore truly, as Liebig describes them, auxiliary to the thinking process. But all experiments are not and cannot be so; in the early stage of every subject there will be empiric experiments.

With Liebig, however, we agree that Bacon's inductive method leads to no discovery, and that no important result has ever been achieved by its sole use. The method by which the enquiries of physical science are made is the natural instinctive logical process of the human mind, which mankind has used at all times, and which is not the invention of any one. Induction is an essential element of it, but where it is the predominant one there is no science. Philosophy and science grow in proportion as the higher faculties of man come into play, that is to say, as the inductive becomes subordinate to the deductive. Liebig is therefore right when he terms our method the old Aristotelian one. But it is more. It is the logical instrument by which every real addition to human knowledge has been made; and in proportion as any one has been successful in investigating the phenomena of nature, so has been his knowledge of the method. Bacon added no single fact to science; he has left us no rational fruitful explanation of natural phenomena; and he cannot be said to have known an instrument which he could not use, much less to have discovered its use.

But although the physicists, astronomers, and chemists of his time, for whom he wrote his *Novum Organum*, did not recognise him as a philosopher, and although no single discovery can be directly traced to the influence of his book during more than two hundred years—still Bacon has not been without an influence on society. He may be looked upon as the father of utilitarianism. According to him, the sole end and object of science is utility, the power of man over nature; but *truth*, in the sense in which it is now understood, does not appear, as Professor Liebig remarks, in his scientific dictionary. The influence of Bacon's teaching, while wholly imperceptible in the physical and natural sciences, is

plainly visible in the methods of enquiry, and especially in the tendency of the so-called social sciences. His method, says our author, ceases to be unintelligible when we recollect that he is a lawyer and a judge, and that he conducts a natural process exactly as he would a civil or criminal case. The whole literature of sociology, which as yet is an appurtenance of lawyers, is a striking example of the truth of this observation. Until the subjects included under that term pass from the domain of *nisi prius* into that of pure science, and have for object truth, and not mere utility, they will continue to be barren of all positive results. The spirit of Bacon is precisely that of the extreme utilitarian spirit which has taken so fast a hold of the English people. Under very favourable circumstances, it has produced great results; but, like the philosophy of which it is the expression, it has no principle of progress. It has produced the gladsome green meadows, the mills upon the brooks, and the richly laden ships upon the rivers; but further on it may lead to a barren intellectual and moral desert. The end, the object of science is not utility, not power over nature, though these are the immediate consequences of its progress. The Baconian spirit is not, and cannot be, favourable to the advancement of real science: on the contrary, it is in direct antagonism to it.

Professor Liebig believes that the works of Bacon prove that ethical laws have the same force in science as in life, and consequently that one who is dishonest in the ordinary transactions of life can be no better in science. Of his opinion of the whole man, let the reader judge from the following passage: "In the midst of Bacon's career death came upon him; and if it be true, as his biographers relate, that he brought on his last sickness by an experiment, and that one of the last words which the dying man wrote to a friend was that 'the experiment has succeeded,' this shows how true to himself he remained to the end. Already as a boy, the art of the conjuror was an object of his studies; *his experiment to cheat the world had succeeded for him*. Nature, which so richly adorned him with her finest gifts, had denied him the feeling for truth and candour; to him who approached nature with the lie in his heart, she did not reveal herself or hearken; his experiments could deceive men, but in her domain they could not help him. As a natural philosopher, every thing in him was unreal. We cannot deny to him a lofty active intellect, which had only receptivity for the false, and no feeling for the true. As he was in life, so he was in science; it was perfectly impossible for him to pass beyond his accustomed circle of ideas. Bacon subjected science to the same objects which he pursued in life, and to which he devoted all his faculties—*utility, power, and rank*."

27. Lord Lyttelton has devoted some of those spare hours which learned leisure never leaves unemployed, to the elaboration of a scholar-like version of Milton's *Comus* into Greek tragic metres. In a graceful Latin dedication he inscribes the result of his labours to Mr. Gladstone; and in a brief and modest Latin preface he tells us that the present work was partly written many years ago, and is now published in a form as complete as he could find time to make it. "*Bene vero necne,*" he

adds, "lenius velim judicent illi, pauci quidem, qui talia adhuc non dedignantur." We are sure that the "pauci quidem," who alone can appreciate the difficulty of the task, will have no other feeling than that of pleasure and admiration in reading the book.

Something might be said, perhaps, by those disposed to judge such a work on the most rigid and pedantic principles of Porsonian criticism, on the license the author has allowed himself of adopting rather freely words of a much later coinage than the tragic age. We are disposed, however, to agree with him, that the *spirit* of Greek tragedy is not violated by such a free adaptation. Very many words which occur in later writers (in the Greek Anthology, for instance) were not even in existence in the tragic age; and it would be a bold theory to maintain that the tragic writers would have rejected them if they had known them. For, as Horace says,¹

"Si forte necesse est
Indiciis monstrare recentibus abdita rerum,
Fingere cinctutis non exaudita Cethegis
Continget, dabiturque licentia sumpta pudenter,
Et nova factaque nuper habebunt verba fidem."

So marvellously close and literal a version of the English could not have been carried out without an extensive Greek vocabulary. We can safely say, without upholding the absolute accuracy of every line, that a remarkable versatility is shown by the author, and a command of language combined with a skill in versification which few modern scholars could surpass.

As specimens of very felicitous rendering we select the two following passages :

"But their way

Lies through the perplexed paths of this drear wood,
The nodding horror of whose shady brows
Threats the forlorn and wand'ring passenger;
And here their tender age might suffer peril,
But that by quick command from sovran Jove
I was despatched for their defence and guard." *Prologue*, 36-42.

οἶμος δὲ τοισιδ' ἀγροῖσιν ἐν στίβοις
κεῖται δι' ἔλην ἔξυλον δυσείρετον
νέβει τε δεινῶς δαφνῶν βαθύσκιος
φρίκη, πλανηθέντ' οἷον ἡρημαμένον
φίλων ἀπειλαῖς ἐκφοβοῦσ' ὁδοκέρρον.
ἦβη δὲ παῖδων νήπιος τάχ' ἂν τίεσσι
κινδύονεν εἰς ἄφαντον, εἰ μὴ κοῖραν
Ζεὺς εἰσέπεμψεν εὐσταλῇ τομπῇ ἐμῇ,
ναυαῖσιν ἕρμα καὶ σωτῆρ' ὁδοῦ.

Perhaps ἀλλὰ would read better than εἰ μὴ in the seventh verse, with a colon after ἄφαντον. *Comus*

"At last betakes him to this ominous wood,
And in thick shelter of black shades imbowered
Excels his mother at her mighty art,
Offering to every weary traveller
His orient liquor in a crystal glass
To quench the drought of Phœbus." *Prologue*, 61-67.

¹ *Ars Poet.* 48.

τέλος δ' ἐς ἄλην τήνδε δόσφινον πρῶτον,
θάμνων πυκασθεὶς ἐν κατασκήνῳ στήγῃ,
τέχνῳ δεινῶς ὑπερέχει τῆς μητέρος,
ἀεὶ καμόντι παρατιθεὶς ὁδοπτόρῃ
ἐκπυμάτων ἔφον βαλὼν γάτον,
παυστήρα φοίβου καυμάτων μεσημβρινοῦ.

These are admirable lines: and we make no apology for giving in one or two places what we conceive to be a better punctuation, and for correcting two or three misprinted accents, as in τοῦσιδ', φρικῇ, τεχνῶσι, ᾧων, μεσημβρίνου. The prologue generally, and the anapaestic ode following it, to v. 178 of the Greek and v. 144 of the English, are well and closely rendered.

In v. 16 (of the Greek) τίνας (especially if so accented) will not stand at the beginning of the verse for the indefinite "some." We suggest ἄλλ' εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ οἱ, &c. We have doubts too whether ὁρθοὶ τρόποι for "due steps" should not rather have been ὁρθοὶ τρόποι. In v. 23 πηλὸς ἐπίτριπτος is hardly a Greek phrase for "sin-worn world." Perhaps γῇ or χθὼν πολύφθορος would have been better.

The lines (prologue 22, 23),

"That like to rich and various gems inlay
The unadorned bosom of the deep,"

are not very well rendered:

αἶγ' ὥσπερ ἀστράπτοντα δαυδέλων λίθων
ποικιλίαι' αἰόλλου' ἀκισθήλου μέγα
στήθος θαλάσσης.

The use of αἶγε for the simple αἷ is epic, not strictly tragic; and neither αἰόλλειν nor ἀκισθήλου is a well-selected word. The following would have been a simpler and easier version:

αἷ τιμίαις ὁμοῖα ποικίλαις λίθοις
κοσμοῦσ' ἔρημα νῶτα ποτῆας ἀλός.

In v. 60 the final ι in νεωστὶ should not be elided. The same must be said of πολλάκ' in v. 666. In v. 67, τίς δῆτα Κίρκην ἄγνοεῖ, the δῆτα is objectionable: rather, Κίρκην τίς οὐ κάτοιδε; τῶν Κίρκης ποτῶν, &c. In v. 91 μμούντες seems destitute of authority. We should prefer

κάτρου τρέγουσ τε δασύτριχας μμούμενοι.

Just below, v. 98, οὐδ' ἀπαξ should rather have been μηδ' ἀπαξ, though the οὐ may perhaps be defended by Eurip. *Hel.* 108, ὥστ' οὐδ' ἔχρος γε τειχέων εἶναι σαφές.

Two rather more serious errors occur at vv. 200 and 205. It is not Greek to say εἴ ποτε ἤφατο, ἡγήσεται, "if ever she touches, she will think,"—the idiom requiring ἦν ποτε ἀψηγται. And the line,

"And hearken, if I may, her business here,"

cannot be rendered by

ἀκούσομαι δ', εἰ 'ξεστ', δ' ἂν δρᾶσαι θέλῃ.

This means "whatever she may choose to do, I will hear it." We want to express "I will hear what she intends to do,"—a very different sentence, and one which should be rendered either by ὅσα δρᾶν θέλει, or by ὅσα μέλλει δρᾶσθαι or τελεῖν. The elision of the ι in ὅτι is not metrically permissible, nor, in our opinion, is εἰ 'ξεστ' for εἰ ἐξεστι.

We shall be pardoned for transcribing the following very pleasing passage (v. 182-7):

"My brothers, when they saw me wearied out
With this long way, resolving here to lodge
Under the spreading favour of these pines,
Stepped, as they said, to the next thicket side
To bring me berries, or such cooling fruit
As the kind hospitable woods provide."

δέμας γὰρ ἄρρωστοῦσαν ἐκ μακρᾶς ὁδοῦ
ξυνοῖς ἀδελφοὺς εἰσιδοῦσά με,
ἐλατὼν ἔκριναν ὅδ' ἐναυλίζειν ὑπὸ
τῆς εὐσκαίου φυλλάδος· φρούδοι δὲ τῶν
ἔχοντες ἢ κόκκων τιν' ἢ καρπῶν τροφήν,
θάλλουσ' ἀναψυκτῆρά μοι· τοιαῦτα δὲ
ὅλη προθύμως πορρυνεῖ φιλόθεος.

We have ventured to write με for the emphatic ἐμὲ at the end of the second verse, and have corrected a wrong accent in ξύνωρις (*sic*).

In v. 236 μηχανῶσα, and in 244 ἔτρησε, are not forms of a good tragic coinage. But we may overlook these and one or two other purely epic words in the author's charming version of the whole of that passage beginning "This is the place, as well as I may guess," to the end of the soliloquy. In the last verse but one τλήσω is a questionable form for τλήσομαι.

In v. 316 ἔκστασις γλυκὺς (for γλυκεία) has epic rather than tragic authority. In v. 318 ἐσωπότης seems to us a word altogether objectionable, both as unpoetical, and as belonging to a debased period of the language. In v. 336 ἐξέλειψαν for ἐξέλιπον is, we fear, a barbarism.

Milton's well-known expression, "thy long levelled rule of streaming light," is supposed to have been borrowed from Eurip. *Suppl.* 650, λαμπρά μὲν ἄκτις ἡλίου, κανὼν σαφὴς, ἔβαλλε γαῖαν. Lord Lyttelton was not perhaps mindful of the resemblance. The English in this part is very difficult to render; and the translator is so much the more justified in borrowing several words from other than tragic sources.

In v. 429 we fear the α in φενακίζω (not a tragic, but a comic word) cannot be made short. In v. 457 φιλεῖ seems a better and a clearer reading than φιλεῖν, ἐύμφορμῳ being detached from the construction by a colon.

In v. 487 χατεῖ rather offends an ear used to the tragic style, and the more so in a passage so admirably rendered as this is. We should have preferred

δέχται δ' ἥματις οὐ βοηθείας τόσον
δὸν νομίζεις.

And we think Lord Lyttelton will at once admit that, in his splendid translation of vv. 506-20, οὐδ' ἂν would be very much better than οὐδ' ἄρ' in v. 510. We should even prefer σθένειν ἂν to σθένειν τι in v. 512. Why does he give ἰσχνὰν πελιδνὰν for ἰσχνὴν πελιδνὴν? In v. 547 τότε δυσομῶλε ξυμπαγείσα τῇ νόσῳ is a very inharmonious verse, because the initial tribrach is composed of more than one word. In 601 we think οὐδ' εἰ—δοκεῖ would be better Greek than καὶ εἰ δοκεῖ. From 679 to 683 are very pretty verses; but they contain an inaccuracy in the use of the interrogative πῶς instead of the proper particle denoting an exclamation,

ὥς. The same must be said of πόσῃν, v. 821. In v. 685 ἐν τὸ ῥῆμα is perhaps a misprint for ἐν τι ῥῆμα, which the syntax requires. Perhaps, however, the author means οὐδ' ἐν to signify 'in nothing.' From this passage to v. 720 there are also very clever verses. We look with great suspicion, however, on such elisions as ὄση 'ρῶθῃλές (v. 726), σίτου 'ρυσίβης (v. 746), εἰσαεῖ πιτάρροθον (v. 255), λόγχῃ 'πίσσυτος (v. 756), of which license there are by far too many instances admitted. The same might be said of such *crases* as κἀρινύων for καὶ Ἐρινύων, v. 746. In v. 740 ἀρβύλαι γομφούμεναι would mean 'shoes in the act of having wooden pegs put into them,' as in Aristoph. *Equit.* 462, ἀλλ' ἡπιστάμην γομφούμεν' αὐτὰ πάντα καὶ κολλώμενα. "Clouted shoon" would be ἀρβύλαι or ἐμβάδες ἡλωτοί. Theophrastus gives it as one of the characteristics of a rustic that he knocks hobnails into his shoes, εἰς τὰ ὑποδήματα ἥλους ἐγκρούει.

In v. 762 ἐκφεύξονται is a barbarous form, the future in use being ἐκφεύξεται or ἐκφευξέται.

The very fine but difficult speech of Comus to the Lady, where he wishes her to drink the magic cup (v. 666 to 689 of the English) is rendered with great spirit, accuracy, and closeness to the original. In v. 781 we presume the punctuation was intended to be καταρρεῖ λεπτόν, ὥς, &c. A full-stop is also omitted after γάνει in v. 786. These typographical blemishes, added to a rather numerous list of false accents, seem to show that the press has been somewhat hastily corrected. We must observe too that οὐ 'πὶ in v. 798 is not Greek for οὐκ ἐπὶ.

The whole passage from v. 809 to 885 (of the Greek) will be read with delight by every true scholar. In v. 821 we would read ὄσῃν for πόσῃν, and in the next verse we propose τῶν παντοσέμων οἱ Στωῆς διδασκάλων, or even τῶν παντοσέμων τῆς Στωῆς διδασκάλων κλίοντες, οἱ τὴν χλαῖναν. Our objection is to the phrase οἱ δῆτα, which is here inapplicable. In 853 we should prefer νόθος το νοθῇ (*sic*); and in v. 876 ἔχοι, not ἔχη, is required by the construction.

The lines (772-4),

"Nature's full blessings would be well dispensed
In unsuperfluous even proportion,
And she no whit encumbered with her store,"

are really the only ones in the entire poem where a word or a sentiment of the original seems to have been evaded or passed over. Here the last of the three is not rendered at all; and in the first, of them ὥς ἦν should have been ἔν' ἦν without the ἄν, *e. g.*

ἔν' ἦν τὰ μὴ περισσὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γένη
λαχέειν ἐκάστω.

In v. 909, as elsewhere in this translation, τὸ παρθένον is wrongly used as an adjective with a neuter termination, whereas it is always ἡ παρθένος as a substantive, even in such combinations as παρθένος πηγῇ, &c.

In v. 915 the ugly elision of the εἰ in ἐν may be remedied by simply omitting the preposition. We protest against the same license in v. 886 and v. 962; and we think we have noticed it elsewhere. In 886 it would be easy to read

οὐχ εἰλόμην ἄν ἐν καταπύσσῃ τόπῳ.

We cannot resist quoting the very happy version of the lines following (939-41):

"Come, come, no more:
This is mere moral babble, and direct
Against the canon laws of our foundation;
I must not suffer this; yet 'tis but the lees
And settlings of a melancholy blood."

ἄφες σὺ τήνδε φιλάρετον φλυαρίαν
οὐ γὰρ ξυνῆδει τοῖς καθεστῶσιν νόμοις
καθ' οὓς ξύνεσμεν, οὐδ' ἔμοιγ' ἐστέα·
τὸ δ' οὐδὲν, εἰ μὴ κακοφύους τιν' αἵματος
καθάρματ'.

If any should object, that *κακοφύες αἷμα* is "not a tragic phrase," let them consider the extreme difficulty of rendering such a combination as "melancholy blood," and congratulate themselves that the Greek language, in the hands of a master, can express it so well.

The trochaic verses which follow at v. 947 contain some metrical inaccuracies. Lines like the following, of which there are several,

νόμασιν παρέθηκε πιστεύουσ' ἀκράτον δέμας,

and

αἶψα τὴν δ' ἐνώλεος χλιδῶσιν ὑδρηλῶ' ὕβριος,

are violations of the tragic laws. One single verse, we believe, of the latter rhythm is to be found in Greek tragedy, viz. *Æsch. Pers.* 167,

ταῦτά μοι διπλῇ μέριμν' ἄφραστός ἐστιν ἐν φρεσίν,

and that has been corrected by Porson. V. 967 has a double error, the form *ἔχεν* for *ἔχεν*, and *πάντας εἰσόδους* where *πάσας* is required. The aorist *ἔχευε* is purely epic, and the diphthong is the result of the digamma. Euripides, we admit, has the epic form *ἀποχεύονται* in *Ion*, 148.

We will not go into further details in critically discussing the choral metres at the end, consisting chiefly of glyconics, anapestics, and Anacreontics. The favourite and beautiful ode, "To the Ocean now I fly," is very poetically and literally rendered. We confidently hope for a new edition of this masterly work, in which the few blemishes we have pointed out may be removed, and the accentuation throughout carefully revised.

28. Father Mathew was prepared for his public mission by five-and-twenty years of zealous and unobtrusive labour as a priest in Cork. He was a Franciscan friar attached to that "little friary" which was once the home of Arthur O'Leary. Both these men were faithful ministers of the Catholic Church, lovers of Ireland, haters of turbulence, and strenuous champions of religious toleration. They both died in disappointment, and both, strange to say, in receipt of a pension from the English Government. But these points of resemblance are outward merely. O'Leary was a man of powerful intellect, a well-read theologian, and a scholar of large attainments. He was the first Catholic priest who, under the penal laws, had dared to make his voice heard upon public questions; and he spoke with such strength of reasoning, such breadth of view, and such soundness of judgment, that he soon made all Ireland his audience. He was elected by acclamation a

member of the fraternity of the Monks of St. Patrick, of which Curran and Barry Yelverton were the presiding spirits, and which, amid the freedom and jollity peculiar to the time, represented much of the best aspirations of Ireland at that day. To the "illustrious fathers and reverend brethren" of that order he inscribed the dedication of his *Essays*—a dedication full of natural pride in the great prospects then dawning on his country, and in the contrast presented by the short-lived union of all her sects to the scenes of violence and persecution which in that year (1780) disgraced England and Scotland. We can still read with pleasure his answer to Wesley, whose defence of the Protestant Association, conceived as it is in a spirit of the most vulgar bigotry, made him morally an accomplice in the scenes of June. O'Leary's plea for tolerance is a masterly refutation of the sophism which pretends to confine toleration to truth and deny it to error. His style was logical, trenchant, caustic. To all these qualities Theobald Mathew had no pretension. His understanding was certainly not above the average either in strength or breadth. In theological learning, or, indeed, learning of any kind, he was deficient, although he had the literary tastes of a cultivated man. The root of his character was a thorough goodness of heart and a sweetness of disposition. The testimonies brought forward by Mr. Maguire in the biography he has just published of him dwell almost without exception on his being essentially a gentleman. Nature gave him in a degree beyond most men a delight in conferring pleasure, and an extreme reluctance to causing pain; and he had a prompt and delicate discernment of and sympathy with the feelings of others, which taught him at once how to administer that oil and balm which he rejoiced to bestow. These gifts were cultivated and matured by the habits of a Christian priest. He bore his kindness of heart in his face and voice; and such was the training he gave himself, that the good which his presence promised was sure to be fulfilled in deed. Qualities like these speedily endeared him to all classes. He was very hospitable, and took especially a gratification in giving feasts to children and young people. With a disposition and manners suited to charm any society, he chose by predilection and without a shadow of ostentation to devote himself to the poor. He rose daily at five o'clock; and the greater portion of his day was spent either in hearing the confessions of the poor, who flocked to him not only from the city but from all the quarters round it, or in ministering to their wants—for he was lavish in his charities.

He thus became the idol of Cork; and his power over the poor was unbounded. He strove unremittingly to repress amongst them the vice of drunkenness, then the disgrace of Ireland; but it was long before he could be brought to adopt the views of the teetotallers. An elderly Quaker, William Martin, who was devoted to the cause of total abstinence, has the honour of having first enlisted him in the cause. He impressed upon him that with a people like the Irish nothing short of a radical cure would be effective. He at length yielded to the persuasions of his friend, and began to preach total abstinence and to administer the teetotal pledge. Then commenced one of those strange phenomena

of moral electricity which are manifested from time to time amongst nations, and of which the Irish nature is peculiarly susceptible. There lay, no doubt, deep in the breasts of the people a consciousness of the extent to which habits of drink had contributed to their degradation, and an unconscious aspiration to a conquest over the evil, mixed with a despair of ever attaining to that conquest. As soon, then, as the tidings began to spread that by saying a few words to one of their own priests, the darling of the poor, and by receiving his blessing, the drunkard was at once transformed into a sober and self-respecting man, that, as it were, the hopeless struggle and effort against the tyranny of recurring habit was rendered unnecessary, and that the change was as easy and rapid as it was immense, a perfect mania for self-regeneration seized upon the people. They flocked to Father Mathew in tens of thousands; so that the hours of the day did not suffice for the work. From Cork the flames spread to Limerick, to Waterford, all over the South of Ireland, then through the midland districts, to the metropolis, and to the north and west. Every where the people prostrated themselves before the apostle of temperance, believing profoundly in the virtue of the pledge taken at his hands, and attributing to him not merely the moral miracles which he truly wrought, but, in spite of his earnest disclaimer, the power of working physical miracles also. It was a manifestation which, taken for all in all, forms one of the brightest spots in Irish history, and the effects of which have been permanently beneficial. Although at present teetotalism has greatly decreased, and it was not of course to be expected that such an extreme should be enduring, yet, as Mr. Maguire has with great truth pointed out, the reformation in the habits of the people remains. Drunkenness is with all classes a disgrace; and the stigma of cherishing and glorying in that vice, which once rested upon Ireland, has been removed apparently for ever.

It happened to Father Mathew, as to other men, that the hour of his glory and success brought the destruction of his happiness. He became deeply involved in debt, and that spectre pursued him to his grave. He was lavish by nature; and even in his early days what money reached him went at once in charity: but when he became the centre and director of a great movement, the organisation and management of which required considerable outlay, his expenditure exceeded by thousands what he received. He was arrested in the middle of Dublin for a debt due to a manufacturer of temperance medals,—the bailiff pretending to kneel and take the pledge when he gave him the writ, and Father Mathew aiding the pretence that he might save the life of the bailiff, who otherwise would have been torn to pieces by the people. Added to this, came the inevitable shafts of calumny. He was accused at this time of making a fortune by the temperance medals which he was unable to pay for. He felt it all keenly, but it could not succeed in souring his disposition. He remained as hospitable and gentle, but hardly so bright and joyous, as before. Then came the famine, during which his efforts and suggestions for the relief of the people were unceasing. In 1850 he was cheered and excited by a visit to the United States, where he received marked honour

from both Houses of Congress, but was involved most reluctantly in the slavery controversy. His health, which had been previously impaired, broke down soon after his return; and he died tranquilly at Cove in the autumn of 1856.

We are greatly indebted to Mr. Maguire for his book, which, besides the portraiture of his hero, contains incidentally much that is valuable and interesting with regard to Irish affairs. He has some very striking pages on the Great Famine; but he says truly that the history of that crisis has still to be written. May we suggest to him that, if it is to be written by any one of the present generation, it is upon himself particularly that the task devolves?

29. Mr. Kinglake has added a large body of notes to the fourth edition of his *History of the Invasion of the Crimea*, leaving the text in all respects unaltered. His reasons for adopting this method of introducing into his narrative such modifications as he thinks necessary are perfectly good. It draws the reader's attention to any corrections in a more marked way than if they were silently incorporated into the body of the work; and it would certainly be undesirable that a book which has given rise to so much controversy should, while the controversy is still going on, be "a shifting thing—a thing shifting this way and that, under stress of public scrutiny." The criticism to which the work has been subjected, Mr. Kinglake tells us, is of two kinds—"authoritative," that is, addressed directly to the author by men who have "been actors in the scenes described;" and "anonymous," that is, contributed by the periodical press. It is only with this latter kind that we are concerned.

In reviewing¹ that part of the first edition which treats of the causes of the war, we had occasion to notice four inaccuracies in the narrative. Mr. Kinglake alleged that the Cabinet of Lord Aberdeen helped to originate the war, by their subservience to the will of the French Emperor. In proof of this subservience he asserted that on four distinct occasions—"the 13th of July," "the 19th of August," "the 21st of September," and "the 15th of December"—Napoleon III. pressed England to consent to certain hostile movements of the allied fleets, and that "these demands were always acceded to." We pointed out that, instead of these four distinct movements of the fleets, there had been only two. This was the first correction. Of these two actual movements of the fleets, the first, their entry into the Dardanelles, was stated by Mr. Kinglake to have been in obedience to Lord Clarendon's special instructions to Lord Stratford, in his despatch of the 23d of September. In point of fact, Lord Stratford never acted upon these instructions. The order to the fleets to enter the Straits was not given by Lord Stratford until the 21st of October; and he expressly says that he gave it in accordance with his original instructions, and with no reference to those contained in the despatch of the 23d of September. This was the second correction. As one of the proofs that the action of the English Government after the affair of Sinope was due to French pressure, Mr. King-

¹ *The Home and Foreign Review*, ii. 398.

lake stated that Lord Palmerston's resignation in December 1853 was only withdrawn after the Cabinet had reversed, in deference to the French Emperor, their original determination to take no new measures against Russia. We pointed out that Lord Palmerston expressed his willingness to remain in office before the Cabinet met to discuss the French communication; and on Mr. Kinglake's assertion, "this"—i.e. the adoption of the French scheme—"being resolved, Lord Palmerston consented to return to office," we thus commented: "He did not 'consent' to return to office; he offered to do so. He did not offer to return to office, 'this being resolved;' but two days before 'this' was even considered. His return did not 'coincide with the adoption of the French Emperor's scheme;' it preceded the discussion of it." This was the third correction. Mr. Kinglake spoke of the French scheme as having been adopted "with a slight addition." We pointed out that the modification thus characterised, without being described, as a "slight addition," involved, in the eyes of the Cabinet, a fundamental difference,—a change so important as to extract the sting from the French proposal. This was the fourth correction.

There can hardly be two opinions as to the importance of these corrections. The question they involve is one not merely of erroneous inferences, but of facts. Now how does Mr. Kinglake deal with them in this fourth edition? They are not among the number of 'printed challenges upon questions of fact with which he has not become acquainted.' They can hardly be among those 'which he has heard of and forgotten.' They are not among those 'which he has hitherto seen fit to adopt.' And they are certainly not among those in answer to which he has 'supplied a sufficing portion of the proofs by which he supports his statement.' Three of them,—the first, the second, and the fourth,—he passes over altogether in silence. As to the third, he adds a note in which he simply reproduces his text in a tabular form, omitting all notice of the additional fact we supplied. The following is an extract from his table:

"Friday the 16th. Lord Palmerston's resignation announced in the *Times*."

"Saturday the 17th. Despatch from Lord Clarendon to Lord Stratford, intimating that, notwithstanding the disaster of Sinope, 'no special instructions as to the manner in which they [the Admirals] should act appear to be necessary.'"

"Sunday the 18th. The government receive the French proposals."

"Tuesday the 20th. The government had not on that day yielded to the pressure of the French government."

"Thursday the 22d. The Cabinet meets and yields to the pressure."

"Saturday the 24th. Lord Palmerston withdraws his resignation."

We will next arrange these same events in a tabular form, with our correction inserted; and the reader will then see its full significance.

Friday the 16th. Lord Palmerston's resignation announced.

Saturday the 17th. Pacific despatch from Lord Clarendon.

- Sunday the 18th. The government receive the French proposals.
 Tuesday the 20th. The intentions of the government still pacific.
 Wednesday the 21st. *In consequence of an intimation having reached the Cabinet that Lord Palmerston had reconsidered his determination, two members of the Cabinet have an interview with him, in the course of which he expresses his willingness to remain in office.*
 Thursday the 22d. The Cabinet meet to discuss the French proposal.
 Saturday the 24th. Lord Palmerston withdraws his resignation.

We are now in a position to appreciate Mr. Kinglake's meaning when he says that in his "determination to insist upon strict accuracy" he is "steadfast and pitiless."

30. Dr. Manning has recently published a volume of sermons on ecclesiastical subjects, of which three were delivered at Rome, one in Paris, and the rest in England. Criticism has no light word to say upon discourses the object of which is to promote the eternal interests of man; and if we are compelled to express our regret at some things which appear in this volume, it is only because the writer has not always remained above on the firm ground of religious didactics, but has descended into the dark and troubled field of human politics and the interpretation of history. There are three points particularly insisted upon in various parts of the book. The first is, that ever since the schism in the sixteenth century, every thing connected with the religious life in this country has been going from bad to worse; that England has been continually multiplying her misbeliefs, and is now fast falling into unbelief. The second is, that, on account of the part which her government has taken on the question of the temporal power of the Pope, England deserves to be held forth as the chief and most malignant enemy of the Holy See and of Catholicism in the world. The third—which does not seem very consistent with the second—is, that it is piously probable that the return of England to Catholic unity may burst upon us, "like a beautiful vision," much sooner than most of us expect.

We cannot follow Dr. Manning through his historical sketch of the religious deterioration of England. Too much of it, of course, is sadly true. But is there nothing to be said on the other side? Is it well to dilate on the developments of rationalism, and represent England as increasingly hostile to Catholicism and Christianity, and yet not at the same time thank an overruling Providence that, in times of such difficulty and trial, faith in God and in a moral government of the world still stands up so firmly amongst us, and that the leading and educated classes in England have still so strong a hold on at least some form or view of Christianity? Without concealing the dark side of the picture, might not Dr. Manning have permitted some indication to appear of the existence of a brighter one?

No new light is thrown in this volume on the momentous question of the future relations of Italy to the temporal power of the Papacy. But

the author's apparent inability to distinguish between the things of Cæsar and the things of God in relation to this question, his attempt to protect the weak and earthly element by lifting it into the sphere of the spiritual and eternal, leads him to give a distorted picture of the state of opinion prevalent in this country. The majority of moderate and religious English Protestants are hostile to the Papal government, because they believe it to be a bad and oppressive government, not because the Holy Father is the head of the Catholic Church. They may be wrong as to their data; but, as they sincerely believe themselves to be right, they cannot justly be charged with hostility to Catholicism, merely because they build upon those data what seems to them the logical conclusion. After all, the temper of the country is not so utterly changed since the time, not sixty years ago, when England stubbornly vindicated the temporal sovereignty of the Holy Father against the assaults of its enemies. Religion was not the motive for the protection then, nor is it for the hostility now. Dr. Manning should try, before condemning them, to place himself in the position of those who, standing outside the Catholic Church, cannot be expected to see, as Catholics see, how extremely important it is to the interests of religion to maintain the Holy See in a status of external independence, and upon whom, therefore, the obvious liberal reasonings in favour of Italian unity operate with their full force.

It seems ungracious to quarrel with speculations which anticipate a consummation longed for alike by all Catholics—the restoration of England to the unity of the Church. And when—as in many passages of this book—Dr. Manning recognises the true grounds of hope in the peaceful but partial triumph of faith—here a little and there a little—in the erection of new altars, the multiplication of religious, the activity of the Christian priesthood, secure in its orders and mission, and wielding, in the Sacraments, mighty and incommunicable powers,—we are carried along with him completely. But it is idle, or worse than idle, to raise the faintest presumption, or build the slightest argument, in favour of the sudden and collective return of England to Catholic unity, upon the effects produced in the Roman world by the conversion of Constantine (p. 82), when a moment's reflection would show that the entire set of circumstances in the two cases is different. In the first place, the "slow accretion of individuals" *had* preceded, and was, humanly speaking, a necessary pre-condition of, the official conversion of the Roman empire. Secondly, no other form of Christianity at the beginning of the fourth century had a twentieth part of the intrinsic force and mass, relatively to Catholicism, which the Protestantism of Europe has at the present day. Thirdly, the power of an English sovereign over the religious convictions of the nation is inconceivably and infinitesimally small, compared to that which the divine Cæsar exercised over his servile and degenerate subjects.

The introductory sketch of the "Relations of England to Christianity" may perhaps have some rhetorical value; viewed as criticism, it is unimportant. It abounds in that kind of hasty and unsound generalisation which the historical student of the present day has grown weary of, and rejects. The enquirer will not find here what the Established

Church of England really was in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For that he must wait till some calm and thoughtful mind has projected upon the page the image of the Protestant ecclesiastical life of those times in language as pure, in proportions as just, in colours as vivid and true, as Mr. Pattison has used in his well-known essay on the Anglican Church in the eighteenth century.

But though we are compelled to dissent from some of Dr. Manning's political reasonings, and to doubt the value of his guidance in history, it is impossible to be blind to the excellence which he attains in a certain department of preaching, in which the faith, the sorrows, and the sufferings of the past are turned to account, in order to purify and ennoble the religious life of the present. There is a rare beauty and felicity of style, for instance, in the sermon entitled "Strength in Weakness," preached in Rome on St. Patrick's day. Enlightened by the strength of his sympathy, the Englishman here evinces an intelligent appreciation of the state of Ireland and the feelings of Irishmen, which, if it could by some miracle be imparted to the great body of our proud and self-satisfied countrymen, would clear the political horizon of the future of much of its gloom. For all the world can see the wrongs of Ireland except the people which, next to the sufferers, is most interested in seeing them; and in this respect an English Catholic finds it easy to place himself at the general Continental stand-point, and to signalise the infatuation which makes a nation, so sensitive to the woes of Naples, blind to the injustice which, within its own limits, it has committed for ages, and still commits. And yet, as we said, it is not the truth of its political views, but the searching vigour and mystical depth of its religious lessons, which chiefly recommend this admirable sermon. The sermon preached on St. Boniface's day (p. 415) is also worthy of special note; though, by a strange oversight, the missionary work of the saint in Germany is made to appear as if it followed upon the inroads of Charlemagne, instead of preceding them by nearly a century.

31. In Belgium, where, in spite of the encomiums lavished on the constitution by the speakers at the Mechlin Congress, the liberal constitution is but the wish, while the tyrannous *Code Napoléon* is the will of the nation, the convent-question is very difficult to solve. If each inmate of a convent retains his individual right of possessing, his property on his death must be divided among his relations according to the provisions of the code. If the whole community becomes proprietor, then the law of mortmain applies, and it has no right to inherit or to claim. If by a fiction certain members of the community become trustees for the whole, the code qualifies the act as one *de dol et de fraude*, and annuls it. On the other hand, if the members of the community are to take solemn vows, it is commonly held that they must give up all right to their property, and that the community becomes the corporate proprietor. If this view is correct, the continued existence of such communities in Belgium becomes impossible. If they pretend to hold in common, the law of mortmain dissolves them; if by trustees, the code annuls the fiction as a fraud; if they pretend to hold as individuals, not only do

they give up the solemnity of their religious vow, but they become incapable of leaving their property to their convent, away from their family, after their death.

This question was to have been discussed at the Congress of Mechlin. What was said there was very little to the purpose. But if we may consider the pamphlet of V. D. B. as a memoir presented to the congress, it is by itself sufficient to vindicate the importance of that meeting. It is not the first of the author's writings on the subject. He had already in 1862 printed a book entitled *De solennitate votorum, præcipue paupertatis religiosæ, epistola*, which was sent to Rome for the purpose of making known there the economical difficulties of religious foundations in Belgium. The author proves that it would be extremely rash on the part of the members of any community to call themselves proprietors *ut universi*, but that certain of the members must be made, not trustees for the rest, but absolute proprietors, *ut singuli*, before God and their own consciences, as well as before the law; so that the other members of the community should have no right, and should simply enjoy a precarious usufruct, depending on the good pleasure of the proprietor-members. He owns that this condition is hard; but he shows how rash it would be to endeavour to escape it. He recommends the suspension of the ecclesiastical law which forbids religious persons to be real proprietors *ut singuli* without breach of the tenour of their vows.

The present pamphlet carries on the argument, and examines the question in its political aspect. The solution finally recommended is that the legislature should authorise each community to hold in common, and to transmit to their successors the site of their establishment; and that it should at the same time obtain, through negotiation with Rome, a bull or brief forbidding religious persons (1) to possess in common other real estate than the principal seat of their establishment, or (2) to make out of what they inherit any excessive donations to the other members of their community, or to other houses of their order. The term "excessive donation" he wishes to be accurately defined, by fixing some minimum which any one, whatever his possessions might be, should be allowed to give; and by allowing this minimum to be exceeded up to a certain aliquot part of the whole property of the donor in the case of a rich person; the rest to go to his relations, unless he has none, when he ought to have full right to do what he likes with his own.

The pamphlet is written with rare moderation, and seems to hit on a middle term which ought to satisfy not only the consistency of the lawyers, but the exigencies of the families who complain that convents are enriched at their expense, and contrary to the spirit of the Code.

32. M. de Molinari is the director of the *Economiste Belge*, an organ of the school of Adam Smith, Bastiat, and Cobden; and he is also one of the most sensible advocates of the *déclassement* and reconstruction of the two parties which, under the name of Catholic and Liberal, distract the politics of Belgium. He has experienced the oppression of the so-called Liberals; expelled from a professorship at the *Athénée Royal* of

Paris by the revolution of 1848, he returned to his own country, and finished his course of political economy at the *Musée d'Industrie* of Brussels, where, we believe, he has not been altogether well treated by the Liberal ministry. This gives a personal significance to his protest against the nomenclature of the two parties, which falsely implies that the one comprises all that is religious, and the other all that loves liberty, in Belgium. One who has experienced the tyranny of the partisans of centralisation and universal administration says, with no less feeling than truth, "Whether despotism is exercised in virtue of the principles of 1789, or in virtue of the absolute principles of divine right, it is no less despotism."

M. de Molinari's course of political economy is distinguished from others by the prominence he gives to a law destined, as he believes, to be the refutation of the socialist school of universal administration. "I have attempted to demonstrate," he says, "that the world of the economist, in which socialism can find no regulative principle, is governed by a law of equilibrium which tends incessantly and irresistibly to maintain a necessary proportion between the different branches and the different agents of production. I have endeavoured to show that under the influence of this law order establishes itself spontaneously in the economical world, as it does in the physical world by the law of gravitation." The only things which prevent this law attaining its full development are—1. The uncertainty of the seasons; 2. The insufficient knowledge of the state of the markets; and, 3. Monopolies. Now it is clear that the administrative systems proposed by the socialists could not rectify the first obstacle, would be a most clumsy machinery for rectifying the second, and would rather increase than diminish the third. There is therefore no ground for the pretence that in order to maintain equilibrium between production and demand, we must employ the foresight of an army of administrators and surveyors, whose duty it should be to prescribe what every produce should provide, and consequently how much each consumer should enjoy. Inhabitants of our metropolis see every morning an ample but not excessive provision made for its 3,000,000 inhabitants, and this without any previous direction or settled plan; the utmost order and regularity result from the natural economic law of the supply and demand finding their equilibrium spontaneously; whereas we might look for a chaos tenfold more chaotic than that of Balacava, if the problem were left to the arrangement of administrators or directors of social labour and consumption.

In common with all who undertake to write a course of any special science, M. de Molinari has been obliged to seek his proper place in the circle of philosophy, and to attach himself, by proper transitions, to the proximate sciences. In this he has failed from want of any general philosophical culture. He has no idea of the metaphysics of political economy. Man, he says, in the eyes of the economist, is a being with material, moral, and intellectual needs; his body requires food, clothing, shelter, and protection; his mind is athirst for knowledge; it wants to be ever receiving new impressions; his sentiment requires the pabulum of love, of beauty, and of religion. And this world, the world of the

economist, is sufficient to supply all these wants. "Le globe que nous habitons, l'immensité dont nous avons la perspective, la société au sein de laquelle nous vivons, renferment tous les éléments nécessaires à la satisfaction de nos appétits matériels, intellectuels et moraux." But the material wants come first; and by the time the economist has done with them, his course is finished, and he has nothing left to say on the satisfaction of our intellectual and moral wants. Thus he gives occasion to his enemies to say that with him our animal wants are all in all. There is more reason to accuse him of forgetting the truth that body and soul are distinguished chiefly in this, that while the body has only wants for us to supply, the soul has duties to fulfil; and that these duties are so harmonised with our wants, that the faithful performance of the one ensures the supply of the other. The moral foundation of political economy is not the satisfaction of appetites, but the fulfilment of duties. Labour, patience, justice, peace, and self-denial are the mainsprings of economical production, and the metaphysical basis of the science is not in a philosophy which reduces religion and learning to a mere satisfaction of an appetite, like eating or drinking, but in the verification of the promise, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His justice, and all these things"—the necessities of life—"shall be added unto you."

33. There is a fundamental unity in all that Mr. Herbert Spencer writes, which gives a systematic character to his most detached thoughts. The thread which runs through his second series of Essays is the vindication of the idea of physiological growth, in opposition to that of mechanical arrangement and construction, as the central idea of all philosophy and science. He argues that the stellar universe grows, but is not built up; that it came to be, "not by manufacture but by evolution;" that every natural existence follows a like law; that political systems are not imposed by the will of an external power, but grow up out of the habits of the populations; that trade obeys a similar rule, flourishing not under the régime of rules and restrictions, but under that of free growth. These elementary "first principles" he applies in a way which will not always command the same assent as the principles themselves, because his assumptions of supposed facts are often false. It is not true that all believers in a Creator have conceived Him under the childish figure of an anthropomorphic being moving and fashioning a mass of matter at a certain distance outside himself: this is the conception which St. Augustine mocks at. Again, when, in accordance with his fundamental idea, after dividing morality into the *à posteriori* morality of relative right and the *à priori* morality of absolute right, he defines the latter to be "conformity to the laws of complete life," and the "regulation of conduct in such a way that pain shall not be inflicted," he clearly falls into the vice of all systematisers, and elevates minor or even doubtful characteristics of a truth into its *differentia*, in order to bring it within his peculiar terminology. Through these defects he often makes the unhappy mistake of opposing the truth by the misuse of ideas essentially true.

34. All great writers are necessarily egotistical. "Mon dessein," says Descartes in the beginning of his famous *Discours*, "n'est pas d'enseigner la méthode que chacun doit suivre pour bien conduire sa raison, mais seulement de faire voir en quelle sorte j'ai tâché de conduire la mienne." Bacon begins his *cogitata et visa* with the sentence, "Franciscus Baconus sic cogitabat." Hobbes's *Leviathan* is so egotistical that Corbet designed to extract from it a volume, to be entitled *Hobbius de se*. The greatest poets, by the side of their masterpieces which bear the impress of universal humanity, have written down in enigma their own most concentrated personality. Beside the *Divina Commedia* stands the *Vita Nuova*, and Shakespeare's plays are followed by his sonnets. But it would be wrong to call Descartes or Bacon, Dante or Shakespeare, egotistical writers. The title is due rather to those who seek to communicate to their readers a whimsical, maggoty, freakish, capricious way of looking on life and the world, a method of their own, the adoption of which constitutes their disciples a school of humour, often taking its name from its text-book and code, like the fellowship of Pantagruelists, or that of the Shandean. Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton seems bitten with the ambition of founding a school of this kind. Though he would be loth to confess to this utilitarian age that he seeks no more useful end than Montaigne or Sterne aimed at, and though his essays are full of what are meant for practical hints and general observations on men, morals, and manners, yet his supreme admiration for those authors, no less than the internal evidence of his writings, shows that his place is in the same class as theirs. He labours, however, under comparative disadvantage. Rabelais and Sterne took the precaution of clapping the cap and bells on their fictitious oracles, and wrapping up the bitter pill of wisdom in the sugary covering of foolery; and Montaigne, who speaks in his own person, withdrew himself from the world, sounding forth from the hidden recesses of his chateau like an incorporeal voice, and paraded himself, not as a model of wisdom, but as a chartered libertine of eccentricity. But our present guide and philosopher takes his duty seriously, and blazons his Caxton—that is to say, himself—and his Caxtoniana, or individual Bulweriness, before our eyes, as if he thought it a solemn thing to be the book, glass, and guide of a new generation of influential gentlemen. We can pardon this assumption when coupled with the retirement of a Montaigne, but it is not taken so kindly from one who struts before our eyes on the stage of society and politics. A man, moreover, whose life has been broken in two by a conversion finds his claims as a teacher subject to no little suspicion. Whether Sir E. Lytton has ever been converted we cannot say. It is clear, however, that in some sort *The Caxtons* was accepted as a confession that he had looked on truth askance and strangely in his earlier works. Whether he had really changed his mind, or whether his original ideal of a gentleman was found practically to be a failure to be replaced by something more acceptable to the public, it equally follows that his beginning and his end do not correspond, and that he is as it were but a cracked looking-glass.

He is a remarkable writer, however, and deserves an attentive

study. Of no logical depth, and with a minimum of power of observation, by the force of an imagination which, when fed on the creations of other writers, stands him in stead of both reason and sight, he has managed to elevate himself almost into the front rank of contemporary English literature. For a writer of such real power, his notions of what constitutes an argument are both ludicrous and astonishing. No rural philosopher who ever studied psychology in flowers, or ontology in the clouds, has put together greater nonsense than the following: "When thou gazest on the track of light which the moon makes on the ocean, that track to thy vision seems the one luminous path through the measureless waste of the darkness around it; but alter the course of thy bark, and the track shifts with the course—those waves are illumined which before were rayless, and those in darkness which before were bright. For the dark and the light vary still with thine own point of vision; and in truth the moon favours not one wave more than another. Truth makes on the ocean of nature no one track of light—every eye looking on finds its own" (i. 248). "Truth, as humanity knows it, is not what the schoolmen call it—one and indivisible; it is like light, and splits not only into elementary colours, but into numberless tints. Truth with Raffaele is not the same as truth with Titian; truth with Shakespeare is not the same as truth with Milton; truth with St. Xavier is not the same as truth with Luther; truth with Pitt is not the same as truth with Fox. Each man takes from life his favourite truth, as each man takes from light his favourite colour" (ii. 70).

We are not sure that he knows what mastery his imagination has over his reason. He is, however, fully aware that it is stronger than his power of observation; and he asserts that he possesses a faculty of habitual clairvoyance, or seeing through other organs than the eyes. "I have had sometimes to describe minutely scenes which, at the time of describing, I had never witnessed. I visited those scenes later. I then examined them with a natural apprehension that I had committed some notable mistake. . . . In no single instance could I ever find, after the most rigid scrutiny, that the clairvoyance of imagination had deceived me. . . . I am not sure, indeed, that I could not describe the things I imagine more exactly than the things I habitually see. I am not sure that I could not give a more truthful picture of the Nile, which I have never beheld except in my dreams, than I could of the little lake at the bottom of my own park" (vol. i. p. 50). To define is a kind of intellectual creation. It is therefore easier to describe an imaginary Nile than a real pond; for the describer makes his Nile, but not the pond. But to assert that a man can generally describe what he has not seen more truthfully than what he has seen, is to say that his original observations are not of equal value with those which he compiles in his memory and digests in his imagination from the observations of others—that he is a reader of books more than a reader of nature or of men.

Sir E. Lytton is aware of this, as he shows in the following passage: "In these essays," he says, "I know that I cannot fail to say much that is original, whether I will or not, because I am here simply

expressing my own mind, as formed by life and by reading. No other human being in the world can have gone through the same combinations of experience in life, or the same range of choice in reading" (i. 238). He is original, but not simply for the reasons he gives, which would make out a star in a kaleidoscope to be original, because no star precisely similar has ever appeared in it before, or will appear again. He is original because he has an exceptional imagination, a greater power of reading in himself than most men have, though he has very little ability to tell whether the things he reads there are general truths or personal fancies. This gives him a kind of girlish feeling of being misunderstood and uncomprehended by his contemporaries. "Certain I am," he says, "that every author who has written a book with earnest forethought and fondly-cherished designs will bear testimony to the fact, that much which he meant to convey has never been guessed at in any review of his work; and many a delicate beauty of thought, on which he principally valued himself, remains, like the statue of Isis, an image of truth from which no hand lifts the veil" (i. 190). Again: "How poor and niggard compared with my early hopes have been my ultimate results! How questioned, grudged, and litigated my right of title to every inch of ground that my thought had discovered or my toils had cultivated! . . . I flatter myself that my purposes linked my toils to some slight service to mankind; that in graver efforts I was asserting opinions in the value of which to human interests I sincerely believed, and in lighter aims venting thoughts and releasing fancies which might add to the culture of the world!" But "not till at least a century after his brain and his hand are dust can even critics begin to form a rational conjecture of an author's or a statesman's uses to his kind."

The activity of his fancy, combined with the torpor of his reasoning powers, suggests to him not only the old complaints about the inability of language to seize and fix the rich variety of thought, but a more original complaint about the tyranny of the weaker sister over the stronger, and the sad trick of language in snuffing out, tripping up, or running away with the imagination. "So much," he says, "is suggested in so small a point of time, that were it in my power to transcribe all that passes through my mind in any given half-hour of silent reverie, it would take me years to write it down. . . . When, having sufficiently filled the mind with a chosen subject, and formed the clearest possible conceptions of what we intend to say on it, we sit down to the act of writing, the words are never exactly faithful to the preconceived ideas. . . . By a tyranny we cannot resist, while we leave unuttered much that we had designed to express, we are carried on mechanically to say much of which we had not even a conscious perception the moment before, as an inevitable consequence of the thought out of which another thought springs self-formed and full-grown" (i. 211). Even in telling his stories he is subject to this tyranny, and never knows how his tale will end. Hence he says the dramatist ought to take a known legend, because he "is much more alive to faults and merits in the story he does not invent, than to those of a story which

he cannot see clearly before him till, in fact, he has told it" (ii. 273). This inconvenience, however, might be avoided by first telling the story in the rough, and then dramatising it.

In order to comprehend the nature of a subjective writer like Sir E. B. Lytton, we ought to compare his method, as described by himself, with that of a realistic writer, such as Balzac. When he had once made up his mind to produce a new book, Balzac's first proceeding was to think it out thoroughly before he put pen to paper. He was not satisfied with possessing himself of the main idea only; he followed it out mentally into its minutest ramifications, devoting to the process just that amount of patient hard labour and self-sacrifice which no inferior writer ever has the common sense or the courage to bestow on his work. With his note-book ready in his hand, Balzac studied his scenes and characters straight from life. General knowledge of what he wanted to describe was not enough for this determined realist. If he found himself in the least at fault, he would not hesitate to take a long journey merely to ensure truth to nature in describing the street of a country town, or in painting some minor peculiarity of rustic character. In Paris he was perpetually about the streets, or penetrating into every haunt of men, to study the human nature about him in its minutest varieties. Day by day, and week by week, his note-book and his brains were hard at work together, before he thought of sitting down to his desk to begin. When he had finally amassed his materials in this laborious manner, he at last retired to his study; and from that time till his book had gone to press society saw him no more. He wrote and rewrote his books at least three times, and therefore had no need of adopting old stories, because he did not know whither a new one would carry him.

We have only spoken of those parts of *Caxtoniana* in which the author gives us glimpses of himself. They must not be taken as complete specimens of a number of remarkable essays, containing much excellent criticism, and much that is artistically charming. The essay on the "Superior Man" is full of satiric humour; that on "Posthumous Fame" is a respectable chapter of ethical philosophy, accidentally interesting from its implied refutation of an opinion held by some Catholics that the moral philosophy of Protestants gives an equal, or perhaps superior, importance to intellectual as compared with moral perfection. Of the critical essays, that on knowledge of the world, as found in the writings of some great authors, is the most remarkable. But there is scarcely one which is not worth reading. There are not in the book many ideas which we have not seen elsewhere; but the old are often presented in new combinations. And we may admit that though the author has not annexed other men's thoughts by the right of natural sovereignty over the sphere to which they apply, yet, on the other hand, he has not plagiarised like a pickpocket.

35. Those who had experienced the delightful urbanity of Raffaele, and the rudeness of his great rival Michael Angelo, naturally preferred the works of the gentle youth to those of the old bear; but not content with their own preference, they turned the stream of tradition, and have

made it difficult even now for a man to avow that he prefers the Titanic prophets and sibyls of the Sistine Chapel to the Cartoons of Hampton Court. The publication of Mendelssohn's letters looks like a similar attempt on the part of his friends and admirers. They are taking us by storm, and forcing us to avow that because he was such a good fellow, so modest, so kindly, so honest, so well read, such a perfect gentleman, therefore his music must be better than that of the bear Beethoven, the *petit-maitre* Haydn, the frivolous Mozart, or the gobbling Handel. It is a method of forcing Mendelssohn's music into higher fashion than the intrinsic merits of the music itself warrant. But it is a very pleasant method; and as we can keep our own ideas about Mendelssohn's place as a composer, while we willingly subscribe to his admirers' opinion of the man, we only hope that his family will give us still more of this charming correspondence.

Mendelssohn seems to have divided the life of a composer into two parts; the first that of a student,—a learner and imitator; the second that of a man who cuts himself loose from his moorings, and strives to express, not other people's ideas, but his own inmost heart. It is only in this latter phase that he considers the musician really such. But we question whether Mendelssohn was not greater in the days of his imitation, when he was still lashed to Beethoven's Pegasus—in the days of the Octett, and the *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, and his early quartetts and sonatas—than he was in the days of his originality. He was entirely opposed to all the art-talk which has become so fashionable, and he considered that words and music were incommensurable methods of expression; music being to his mind far more precise than language. He had no belief in theories as tending to help people to compose. His one recipe was work; first, practice and imitation of other masters' music, then, a laborious endeavour to express one's own self. The only sphere where he allowed theory to prevail was in his notion of church music. Nothing worthy the name existed, he said, but the old compositions for the Papal Chapel. All existing masses were scandalously operatic, and evidently written without an idea of their purpose. Here he allowed his own temperament to overcloud his judgment. When the Sacred Harmonic Society performs his Hymn of Praise by the side of Mozart's Requiem, we can all hear that his notion of religious joy is much more gloomy, perturbed, and misty than Mozart's notion of the religious awe expressed even in the profound triads of the *Dies iræ*. His divine gaiety has a touch of the Walpurgis Night in it. No wonder that he thought the clear sparkling flow of Haydn's Masses "scandalously gay." He would have been a greater musician if he had gone on developing what he had learned out of Beethoven and Bach, than he has become by his attempts to transcribe his own heart and soul, beautiful as these were in themselves. Here he failed, either through the want of profundity in his genius, or through his inability to invent the means of expressing what he really felt.

36. Professor Ansted chooses the moment of our giving up the protectorate of the Ionian Islands, to register the results of our rule, to note

the political elements of the population, and to judge of the probability of the English plans being carried out after the islands are incorporated into Greece. He says also, "I should be able at a turning-point of their history to observe and study the physical geography and geology of the islands and the customs of the people," as if the natural features of the land and people were in danger of being changed by the "peaceful revolution" about to take place. The book is the production of a scholar and geologist, who notes with observant eyes the antiquities and the natural curiosities of the islands. The political reflections are sensible but not novel; the remarks on the state of agriculture and the comfort of the population are those of a man who knows how to use his eyes; and the observations on their inner life are just those which we might expect of a man who does not speak the language, and cannot converse with the natives. No general culture will quite make up for this deficiency; and we progress through this thick volume with the continual expectation of finding something more striking than it really contains.

37. The interest of *A Winter in Upper and Lower Egypt* is chiefly to be ascribed to the fact that the author has visited that country twice, in 1832 and in 1861; and, even in the East, thirty years make some changes which are worth noting. As far as the Egyptian antiquities are concerned, these changes have all been for the worse. There has been a constant demand on the part of travellers for sculptures to carry away with them; and the Arabs have cut them from the tombs so recklessly, and with such inferior tools, that they have destroyed ten times more than they have sold. The brilliant colouring with which the walls were formerly decorated has, in most instances, been destroyed by the practice of taking off impressions on moist paper; and Mr. Hoskins considers no tombs now worth seeing except those which, from being only recently opened, have not yet been subjected to this process. At Karnak, several of the columns in the great hall have been thrown down in making a carriage-road into the ruins; and a great portion of "the most interesting historical sculptures in the valley of the Nile" has been covered with rubbish. The number of European travellers has had its usual result in greatly increased prices. Fifty pounds is now asked for a mummy which might formerly have been had for ten shillings; and there is a brisk trade carried on in sham antiquities. The general belief that the English will buy any thing has penetrated even to Nubia, where the natives coolly asked Mr. Hoskins to buy pebbles which they had just picked up from the ground before his face. The expense of the voyage up the Nile is also very much greater than formerly. Provisions are still cheap; but the price of boats and the wages of the servants are so high as to force many invalids who have intended to go on into Upper Egypt to spend the winter at Cairo. A great deal of money has thus been brought into the country; and, as the Arabs have not lost their frugal habits, many of them must now be very rich. But they have no confidence in the Government; they do not hold a single Treasury bond; and they still bury their treasures, and borrow money from the Jews, in order more successfully to plead poverty to the tax-gatherer. In the

country villages Mr. Hoskins noticed occasionally that the peasantry wore rather more clothing than when he first visited them; but in other respects their condition seems to have undergone little change. They are so needy, that they can only obtain seed by pledging the expected crop; so that any rise of prices, or any increased demand for a particular class of produce, such as there has been for cotton since the American war, too often only goes to enrich the middleman, without any part of it finding its way into the hands of the cultivator of the soil.

38. It is hardly possible that any writer save one can combine in a single book so much affection for Mahometans, hatred of missionaries, knowledge of Africa, respect for the writings of Captain Burton, and contempt for those of all other travellers, as the F.R.G.S. has contrived to bring together in his *Wanderings in West Africa*. It was hardly worth while to throw a veil over his identity, unless he was prepared to give some care to the suppression of the internal evidence of it. The title of the book is really a misnomer, for the author's "wanderings" are confined to the few hours he was able to spend on shore in the course of his outward voyage; but he is so quick an observer, and adds to his observations so much information from other sources, that, with apparently little material, he has produced a very satisfactory book.

His first halt was at Madeira. The prospects of this island, once so dear to wine-drinkers, he does not paint very hopefully. In the best days of its trade the yearly production of wine amounted to 20,000 or 25,000 pipes, the pipe being worth from 25*l.* to 85*l.* The "Madeira," properly so called, was a mixture of several varieties of grapes, both light and dark. The best wine was grown along the southern coast, on a dry soil, consisting of "decomposed basalts and red and yellow tufas." The ground had to be very carefully prepared. There was no produce for the first three years; and after every twenty years the whole vineyard had to be replanted. In 1825, 14,432 pipes were exported; in 1854, 1860. A remedy has been found for the *oidium* in the application of powdered sulphur to the white fungus in which the disease consists, and subsequently keeping the spot sprinkled with lime. But it is not easy to bring an extinct industry back to life. Of late years the natives have been applying themselves to sugar-planting; but the amount of good land is limited, labour expensive, and capital scarce. Even the export of the cochineal insect is coming to an end, its use being superseded by Magenta and the other coal-dyes.

The chief purpose, however, of the book, is to dispel the prevailing belief in the necessary unhealthiness for Europeans of the West-African coast; and the author has certainly shown that the extreme mortality which gives these settlements so evil a name may be accounted for without attributing it to any natural, or at least to any irremediable, disadvantages. Beginning at St. Mary's, Bathurst, he describes the town as built on an island, the soil of which is in parts below the sea-level, with brackish water oozing out from the surface, and the whole site apparently selected "for proximity to mud, mangrove, miasma, and malaria." Only eight miles off is the out-station for invalids, placed on

the higher ground of the mainland, open to the sea-breeze, and protected from the poisonous wind which blows from the swamps along the coast. In Sierra Leone, Freetown, the capital of the colony, stands on a soft sandstone, which absorbs the tropical rains and returns them to the air as noxious vapours. The heights behind the town, though only 900 feet above the sea, enjoy a wholly different climate. At Cape-Coast Castle there is the same mistaken situation, and the natives have, in addition, a habit of burying their dead beneath the mud-floors of their houses, while even the European cemeteries are placed in the middle of the town. There is ample room for the whole station on the summit of a hill to the north-east of the present one. The first lesson which the settlers on this coast have to learn seems to be the very simple one that, when there is a choice of climates, healthy and unhealthy, it is better to live in the former, even at the loss of a possible change of air, than to live in the latter, and keep the former to do occasional duty as a sanatorium.

Two things only are wanted, according to the F.R.G.S., for the development of the West-African trade,—the removal of the white population to the higher ground, and greater industry on the part of the black race. The palm-oil trade is capable of great extension; and a species of coffee, preferred by the French traders to Mocha, grows wild on parts of the coast. But the great object of future, as of past, commerce will probably be gold. The Kong Mountains run from east to west, nearly parallel with this part of the coast, and at some distance from the sea. Hitherto only about a quarter of their southern slope has been explored; but, judging both from American analogies, and from the fact that the metal is found in greater quantities and in larger particles the farther we go into the interior, it is probable that the richest yield will prove to be in the neighbourhood of the central chain. At the beginning of the last century the export was estimated at three millions and a half sterling; and though it has now fallen to less than a sixth of that sum, it must be remembered that only one-eighth of the expected gold-producing area has ever been worked, and that the natives do not use either machinery or quicksilver.

The F.R.G.S. certainly makes out a *prima facie* case for a change in our system of dealing with the black population of West Africa. The line we have hitherto adopted seems to unite the opposite evils of neglect and indulgence. It is impossible to conceive any thing more revolting than the picture which this book gives of the condition of the native tribes along the coast; and Sierra Leone is described as a species of Negro Alsatia, where the home-grown vices of the indigenous race are found in combination with the imported vices of the liberated slaves. English constitutionalism and missionary petting seem hardly the treatment best adapted for such a population. A more severe discipline would no doubt do them good; but that even a gold fever would make a West African industrious, is another and a less probable conclusion.

39. Professor Sullivan and Mr. O'Reilly have published in a separate form, and with the addition of a very complete index, three papers on

portions of the geology of Spain, which appeared in the last volume of the *Atlantis*. The first is the more considerable, being in fact an essay on the geology of the whole province of Santander. The following are the chief conclusions at which they have arrived:

1. They recognise with other geologists the existence of rocks belonging to five formations in the province: *a*, eocene (nummulitic group); *b*, cretaceous; *c*, jurassic; *d*, triassic; and *e*, carboniferous. The cretaceous rocks form three horizons, each represented by limestones, sandstones, and clays, and well characterised by fossils, and corresponding to those of M. d'Archiac, except that while he does not think the lower green sand is represented in the province, the authors do. They do not think that the cretaceous rocks are as thick as M. de Verneuil states. With him they believe in the existence of a considerable development of jurassic rocks; but they have shown that these underlie the whole cretaceous rocks, and crop out every where in the valleys where they have been uncovered by denudation. They consider that the jurassic rocks commence with a bed of dolomite, which in some places is from 300 to 400 feet thick, and appears to represent the upper jura. They also believe that the highest peaks of the Cantabrian Pyrenees, which hitherto have been looked upon as carboniferous, are jurassic. They have drawn attention to the curious platforms which form the Asturian coast; they explain them as the result of the upheaval of the Iberian Peninsula; and as those platforms are usually looked upon as carboniferous, they account for rocks of that age being in contact with nummulitic beds, by supposing a great fault to extend in a N.E. and S.W. direction from the sea towards the mountains of Cavadonga, in the Asturias. The extension of the jurassic rocks has necessarily diminished the area of the triassic formation hitherto supposed to exist in the centre of the province. Although the authors have coloured part of their map as triassic; they consider the area assigned to the rocks of that period as provisional, and requiring investigation.

2. They divide the zinc ores of the province into two classes, according to the rock in which they occur; the brown ores, which are the most important, being formed in joints in the dolomite, which form a sheet of rock covered in part by cretaceous rocks, and which extends, as they believe, into the province of Biscaya. The white ores are formed in joints of limestone. The metals they consider to have been precipitated from solution by double decomposites, with the carbonates of lime and magnesia of the rocks; and consequently they believe the carbonates of zinc, lead, &c., to have preceded the sulphides, or blende, galena, &c. As the dolomite contains a good deal of carbonate of iron, they explain the production of brown zinc ores by that circumstance; and further, they believe that the whole of the iron ores of the province are derived from the decomposition of the dolomite, and suggest that the celebrated carbonate of iron of Somorostro, in Biscaya, has had a similar origin.

3. They have shown the existence of sulphates of the alkaline earths in blendes and galenas, and established that the sulphate of barytes of the veinstone is of later origin than the carbonates, and consequently

that the sulphides have been produced by the metamorphosis of carbonates.

4. They consider the halloysites, or clays which accompany zinc ores, to be nothing more than fine alluvial mud, carried into the joints by engulfed streams, the clay being afterwards sometimes modified by the action of mineral springs. This action has been confirmed by a direct relationship having been established between hot springs and some of the mineral deposits.

5. They have explained the manner in which mammillated reniform, globular, and botryoidal structures in minerals are produced, and shown the peculiar action which carbonates of manganese and iron perform in the decay and pseudomorphism of minerals.

6. The hydrocarbonate of zinc of Spain, they say, is not the zinc blüthe of mineralogists, and is identical with the Marionite of Dr. Elderhorst, found in Arkansas. Its true formula is $8 \text{ ZnO} + 3 \text{ CO}_2 + 5 \text{ HO}$, and is identical in composition with Schindler's artificial compound, the formula of which they think ought to be written as above. They identify the zinc blüthe with the artificial carbonate prepared by Bonsdorff. The peculiar amorphous silicates combined with carbonates they look upon as compounds of dicarbonate and disilicate of zinc; which they consider to be isomorphous, and capable of entering into endless combination. The silicates are produced by the double decomposition of carbonate of zinc by alkaline silicates derived from clays.

7. The discovery of the bone-cave of Dolores, containing teeth and other remains of an elephant (*Elephas primigenius*, or perhaps *E. antiquus*) buried in hydrocarbonate of zinc, fixes, in their opinion, the age of zinc ores, which it would thus appear were formed, in part at least, during the post-tertiary period. This is, perhaps, the only instance on record in which it has been found possible to fix the age of ores.

The other papers relate to the province of Madrid. The first is an account of a remarkable deposit of massive Thenardite or anhydrous sulphate of soda, of which we believe no account had before been published. This paper is illustrated by a map, sections, and views of the valley of the Jarama, where the deposit is found. The paper consists of an elaborate discussion of the chemical changes by which this salt was produced. Its exact age has not yet been determined, but it is probably pleiocene or post-pleiocene. The authors have shown that this salt can only be formed within a very limited range of temperature, which, curiously enough, is almost the same as that existing on the plain of Madrid at present. This fact is of great importance in connection with the glacial theory.

The second paper is an account of the analysis of a singular fresh-water dolomite, which is saturated with hydrated silica, and the composition of which completely explains the production of meerschaum.

The essay on the geology of the province of Santander is almost a complete monograph on the mode of production of zinc ores, and affords the most satisfactory evidence yet published of the aqueous origin of ores in general.

40. The phenomena of glaciers have latterly gained in importance from the dynamic functions attributed to them during the post-tertiary period by geologists. Their study is also interesting to the physicist, because it advances our knowledge of congelation, and of molecular properties of water and ice, and leads to a more detailed investigation of the meteorology of the Alps. That great nodal mass may be regarded as a kind of laboratory, wherein physicists can observe on an almost experimental scale the causes of variation of temperature, and the consequent variation in the radiation, formation of clouds, rain-fall, snow, and winds. The results of such investigations of Alpine meteorology afford us useful keys in determining the more general laws which govern the motions of the air over great regions. Alpine researches also add many valuable facts to physiology, especially about the effects of variations of temperature, moisture, rarefaction of air, sunlight, &c. on the growth of plants, their geographical distribution, and the diseases incidental to the peculiar meteorological conditions under which man lives on high mountains and in deep escarped valleys. The scientific literature of the last hundred years contains a great deal upon all these subjects. Much of the older part of it is now of course obsolete; but scattered through it are many valuable observations. From the extent of the whole literature, the comparative inaccessibility of a good deal of it to the majority of scientific men, and the great labour required to separate the small quantity of rich ore from the large quantity of gangue, many valuable observations are lost, or rediscovered continually. The results of modern investigations are, if possible, much more scattered through works and journals in various languages, and upon subjects often so little connected that the student of one is not likely to come in contact with the works relating to the others.

It was with pleasure, therefore, that we learned that so competent a geologist as M. Dollfus-Ausset had undertaken to extract the "glacial ore" from the immense heap of scientific literature, and give it to the public in a compendious form. The work is to consist of five volumes, the first of which is devoted to the writers who have treated on the high regions of the Alps, and glaciers and subjects connected therewith; the second to the high Alps, meteorology, &c.; the third to erratic phenomena; the fourth to ascensions; and the fifth to glaciers in activity; the whole to be accompanied by an atlas of meteorological tables and illustrations of glacial phenomena. Three volumes have been published, of which we have, however, at present only seen volumes ii. and iii. Vol. ii. contains notices of the character of the human inhabitants, the plants, animals, geology, mineralogy, the transparency of the air, fogs, clouds, winds, temperature of the air, of rocks, lakes, caves, springs, soils, &c.; hygrometry, barometry, evaporation, atmospheric electricity of the higher Alpine regions, and the sensations experienced in those regions, extracted from Saussure's *Voyage dans les Alpes*; the causes of cold in high mountains, by M. Ch. Martins; subterranean hydrography, and congelation of vesicular vapour, by M. Fournet; natural glaciers, by Professor Thury; and the orography of the Alps in relation to geology, by M. E. Desor. Vol. iii. contains the chief results on the

glacial and erratic phenomena of the Alps and Switzerland generally, of the Vosges, of the valley of the Rhine between Basil and Coblenz, of the Meuse, Aar, Jura, Black Forest, lower basin of the Rhone, &c. by Messrs. J. de Charpentier, H. B. de Saussure, A. Guyot, Ed. Collomb and Hogard Escher von der Linth and Oswald Heer, Emile Benoit, Carl Vogt and Dollfus-Ausset, and R. Blanchet. For the purpose of comparative study it also contains notices of the erratic phenomena of Scandinavia, North America, the Po, and England, by Messrs. Desor, Martin L. Agassiz, Hogard, and Ramsay; and lastly, notices of the glaciers of Spitzbergen, by M. Ch. Martins; and the ancient and modern alluvions of a part of the basin of the Rhine, by M. A. Daubrée.

The title *Materials* does not imply that the work pretends to be a complete collection of all that has hitherto been done on the subject; and therefore it may not be fair to criticise it for its shortcomings as a complete work. Still we cannot help expressing our disappointment at the general result. We do not understand the principle upon which the writer has made his selection of authors; but it is a pity that, having formed his text from them, he did not give, as notes, extracts by way of commentary, of the chief results and opinions of other old and new writers. This would, no doubt, have enlarged the work; but that was not of much importance when it had already reached the extent of five large volumes. There is a total absence of all information upon many purely physical questions, and upon all chemical ones; and there is much room for additional physiological facts, especially on the distribution of life.

With all its defects, however, this work will be found useful. Although a mosaic of many fragments and different shades, it affords a good picture of the phenomena described. The marginal notes form a very convenient analytical table of contents, which much facilitates reference; but we hope there will be a good index in addition.

M. Dollfus-Ausset has added a note to M. Ch. Martins' "Essay on the Applications of Meteorology," which we cannot help noticing. It is as follows: "The persevering man who makes meteorological studies his speciality, is he authorised, is he right to foresee, to predict, to stigmatise in advance? My personal opinion, which is also that of meteorologists, who are observers, is thus formalised—No!" (vol. ii. p. 184.) And he adds, in a foot-note: "The men of science (*savants*) by reading still *predict* in their cabinet, in the 19th century, that which is conventionally called the weather (*temps*); personally I would say to them, You have predicted so much that I believe you could not do better than never again to predict." We do not know whether he alludes here to the system of telegraphic weather-signals which is now in use, and which, whatever may be the actual practical value of the results hitherto obtained, is an experiment in meteorological science of the very highest utility, which we hope to see fully supported by the nation. The remark savours too much of a certain school, who think science consists only in experiments and observations, and do not recognise any merit in those who contribute ideas.

41. Since the foundation of the *Bibliothèque Universelle*, nearly seventy years ago, a table of meteorological observations made at Geneva has been published in each number. Professor E. Plantamour has collected these observations for the period between 1826 and 1860; those of the years before that period having been made in a different place, and, for other reasons also, not being comparable. Having corrected any errors of press or of calculation which may have crept into them, he has prepared a report on the temperature, barometry, hygrometry, hydro-metry, and winds of Geneva for the period in question. This report, which likewise includes all the memoirs on meteorology which the author had previously published, is very well done. Unfortunately he has not given the actual daily observations, on the ground of their voluminous character, but only the calculated monthly means and observed extremes. We do not set much value upon tables of calculated means. It is doubtful, indeed, whether they are not rather injurious than beneficial. At all events they have done all the good they are capable of doing; and we have now passed from generalities to the minute study of meteorological phenomena, in which the actual observations alone are of value. But we want more than the daily observations of all the chief observatories of Europe: we want them simultaneously made. To know the height of the barometer, the temperature, the direction, and force of the wind at (say) three o'clock every day in a number of places, is not what is required, but those data for fifty or a hundred points of Europe and America at exactly the same moment. Two or three years' observations of this kind would be worth all those hitherto made. M. Plantamour's book, however, contains much that may be useful in the study of Alpine meteorology.

42. Herr von Bunnigsen-Förder has given us in fifty-six folio pages the matter of a good-sized volume upon the superficial deposits of North Europe, which are now attracting attention in connection with the antiquity of the human race, and which constitute the materials of agricultural soils. He thus classifies these deposits:—1. Alluvial or recent period: *a*. Recent alluviums, of which forty-one varieties are described; *b*. Old alluviums, Swedish glacier moraines, northern erratic blocks, which with M. Desor and others he separates from the true Boulder drift. 2. Quaternary, drift, glacial or ice period: *a*. Loam formation,—English loams, Danish *Leer*, Belgian *limon de esbays*, French *limon rouge*, Upper *Loess* clay of the Rhine, Bone-cave loam, &c.; *b*. Loam marl,—Hoxne and St. Acheul beds, Potsdam argillaceous loam; *c*. Old Quaternary till or drift clays and gravels. 3. Tertiary period: *a*. New Tertiary—marine clays; *b*. Old brown coal series.

In his recent and glacial periods he agrees practically with the classification of Sir Charles Lyell. In the Tertiary period he has not followed the classification founded upon palæontological data, or its modification by Beyrich into eocene, oligocene, miocene, and pleiocene, because he considers that that classification, which is admirably adapted for the classical basins of Paris and London, as not suited to the thin and widely-spread arenaceous argillaceous beds of the North, among which,

and also among the calcareo-arenaceous beds of the South of Europe, including the nummulitic series, the basins in question are exceptional intercalations. His attempt to establish a stratigraphical sequence by the coördination of beds so local must, of course, be subject to many corrections hereafter. He has done good service by laying down a basis for himself and others to follow up, and thus given us what is much required, a complete description and coördination of the European recent and post-pleiocene deposits.

43. In pursuing his lectures on Stratigraphical Palæontology, M d'Archiac has been occupied during the past year with the quaternary series, and consequently has had to treat of the discovery of stone implements in them, and of the human jaw found at Moulin Quignon. The immediate importance of the subject has led one of his auditors to publish a summary of the lectures of the 12th, 17th, and 19th of June last. Few persons are better qualified to discuss this subject than M. d'Archiac. An excellent palæontologist, he has not only made the stratigraphical succession and coördination of rocks his especial study, but was the first to point out the existence of quaternary deposits in the north of France in his *Essai sur la coördination des terrains tertiaires du Nord de la France*, published in April 1839 in the *Bulletin de la Société Géologique de la France*. He was also president of the meeting of English and French geologists who assembled at Paris to examine the human jaw found at Moulin Quignon, and ultimately visited that locality. It is important therefore to have his well-weighed and dispassionate observations on this subject, in addition to those of Mr. Prestwich, Dr. Falconer, and others already published.

He first gives a brief history of the geological investigation made in the part of France in question; then of the discoveries of the stone implements by M. Boucher de Perthes, and the apathy displayed about the matter in France until Mr. Prestwich read his paper to the Royal Society, of which he gives an abstract. He next tells the history of the Moulin Quignon fossil, which is so well known by the letters of Dr. Falconer to the *Times*, and by the controversy which resulted from them. M. d'Archiac admits the contemporaneity of the stone implements and the jaw-bone with the deposits in which they have been found, and consequently of man with the extinct mammalia of the quaternary period to which he refers the gravels of the valley of Somme. He thinks, however, that the age of these river-gravels and of similar limited deposits can only be accurately determined by coördinating them with the well-marked deposits of the Netherlands and of England. We are sorry to perceive that he not only has adopted the classification of stone, bronze, and iron ages, but even follows Mr. Worsaa in dividing the stone age into what may be called the "rough" stone period and the "polished" stone period. We are quite satisfied that M. d'Archiac would reject in any other department of geology a hypothesis founded upon so few data, so unnecessary, and so premature. But not only are the data upon which a conclusion could be framed few, but even the few facts which are known are diametrically opposed to

any such division. When will scientific men give up making hypotheses which are not necessary for the development of a subject, and, not being necessary, must be injurious?

44. Although M. Demarquay's book on glycerine belongs strictly to the literature of the *Materia Medica*, and is likely to be therefore considered as professional and outside the domain of what may be called public literature, we cannot help directing attention to it, because the numerous medicinal applications of glycerine, which as an article of commerce is not ten years old, must have a special interest for all who are engaged in visiting or attending upon the sick, or who feel an interest in public hygiene. In his preface the author mentions an example of the appreciation of its properties, which may perhaps have weight with some persons. M. Natalis Rondot, whose name is well known in connection with commerce, wrote from Russia a few years ago to him, "The Empress of Russia has had a great quantity of small bottles of glycerine brought from a candle manufactory at Odessa, which she has caused to be distributed in all the schools and among many poor families. I found some of these small bottles even in the miserable villages on the frontiers of the Caucasus. The glycerine serves in the country for the dressing of cracks in the skin, which during winter are very deep." M. Demarquay was the first to use glycerine in the treatment of hospital gangrene with considerable success, and hence is an enthusiast for its use. Like all other remedies, its value has fluctuated, being now extravagantly praised, and then equally depreciated. Its real uses are now, however, becoming known, and they are of a kind which it is desirable the public should know. M. Demarquay's book contains a history of the utilisation of glycerine, the methods of preparing it, the way of determining its purity, its solvent power, some of the more successful preparations which have been tried, and, lastly, its therapeutic history.

45. The Chemical Society of Paris has had the happy idea of getting some of its members to give each year one or more lectures on the subjects which they have themselves investigated, or to the development of which they have paid special attention. Each of these lectures may therefore be looked upon as a condensed and more or less popular exposition of the present condition of the subject, by the person most competent to treat of it, and was therefore well worth publishing. The lectures of 1860 were by MM. Pasteur, Cahours, Würtz, Berthelot, Sainte-Claire Deville, Barral, and Dumas. Those of 1861, by MM. Jamin, Debray, Lissajous Cloez, Edm. Becquerel, and Pasteur. The lectures of 1862, which have recently been published, contain two lectures on the highly important subject of the "Mechanical Theory of Heat," by M. Verdet, and two on "Saccharine Bodies," by M. Berthelot. M. Verdet's lectures contain besides a brief history of the theory, an exposition of its principles and applications, which is sufficiently popular to enable any educated person to understand the character of this remarkable theory. The lectures of M. Berthelot form a complete

treatise upon the chemistry of the sugars, to which the author has himself contributed so much.

46. It is singular that, considering the many notices of Bernard Palissy which have appeared in France, not one of them should have been specially devoted to the subject of his *terres émaillées*, or have given a good catalogue of all his principal works. M. Tainturier has attempted to supply this want. Besides a short biographical notice, his book contains a careful sketch of his labours as a potter, and a catalogue of 221 ceramic specimens attributed to him, and now contained in the principal collections in France and England. He has also given a catalogue of eight pieces of stained glass attributed to Palissy by MM. Lenoir and Dusommerard, two of which are engraved in the magnificent work of the latter, *Album des Arts du Moyen-Age*. M. Tainturier very properly expresses a doubt about the authenticity of these works. There is in reality no authority for considering Palissy a maker of stained windows; and they ought to have been left out altogether. We should have been glad to have a more complete notice of the imitators of Palissy; for now that the works of the latter are in repute, and will gain in value as they become rarer, it will be necessary to know who have been most successful in imitating them, and to study their peculiarities. He mentions the late Ch. Avisseau of Tours, whose remarkable plate containing fish at the International Exhibition of 1862 was a triumph of technical and artistic skill. He has marked with an asterisk such of the pieces in the catalogue as he considered the work of the imitators of Palissy. We think he might have added the same mark to some other pieces. His catalogue is on the whole very carefully prepared. There are but three illustrations, one a photograph from a rectangular plate in the possession of Sir Anthony Rothschild of London, and supposed to be a portrait of Bernard Palissy himself. It strikes us that photographs of each important article would be valuable additions to a catalogue of works of this class. The want of illustrations is, however, about to be supplied by M. Carle Delange, author of the magnificent work on the *Faïences de Henri II.* In conjunction with M. Bornemann he is about to bring out a *Monographie de l'Œuvre de Bernard de Palissy et de son École*, designed and coloured after the original, and with an historical and critical text by M. Sanzaz of the Louvre, and M. Henri Delange.

47. M. Albert Jacquemart has published, in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, and since separately, a notice of the Majolica ware in the Campana collection, now in the *Musée Napoléon III.*, which contains much interesting matter on the history of the art. Among other things he has drawn attention to an enamelled and painted brick, marked with the date 25 October 1300, but which M. Jacquemart states was evidently retouched and badly copied, and was originally 1390. This shows incontestably that painting on *marzacotto* was practised before the time of Luca della Robbia, notwithstanding that Vasari tells us that he saw the first attempt at painting on *marzacotto* in the workshop of Luca.

della Robbia himself. Another point of interest in the history of ceramic art is the fact which he tells in support of his opinion, that the employment of colours with metallic lustres was an imported art in Italy. M. Signol has transmitted to him the formal evidence of Professor Tarente, of the Academy of Calatagirone, who pointed out to him in that locality the ruins of an ancient potter's oven, from which were obtained not only brilliant specimens with a blue ground sprinkled with golden foliage, but also plates and vases with a white ground and ornamented with auro-cuprous designs. This important fact shows that in Sicily and parts of Southern Italy either pottery was made by Moorish colonists, or the Italians themselves attempted directly to imitate the Arab work. We are of opinion that the date of the origin of the manufacture of enamelled ware in Italy must be carried back much farther than it has hitherto been.

48. Professor Zeuner of Zurich has published the results of his investigations upon a subject of very considerable practical and theoretical importance, which no one has hitherto experimentally treated, namely, the connection between the arrangements for using the exhausted steam for producing a draught in the flues of locomotives, and the volume of air sucked through. He made two series of experiments, one to determine the connection between the position, dimensions, and pressure of steam in the blowing or exhaust tube, the height and diameter of the flue-pipe, and the rarefaction or vacuum produced in a closed chamber; and the second to determine the volume of air which would enter such a vacuum through tubes of certain dimensions. We shall merely mention a few of the results at which he has arrived, and first those made with the closed chamber. He concludes that the position of the orifice of the steam exhaust-tube with respect to the plane of the flue opening does not much influence the draught, except that it should not, of course, enter the flue, nor be too low down; that the cubic capacity of the smoke-box has not any important action on the suction—the result being however incidental, as he made no direct experiments on the subject; that the length of the flue-pipe, between very wide limits, is without influence on the rarefaction in the enclosed chamber, or, what comes to the same thing, upon the amount of air sucked through. If d be the diameter of the exhaust pipe, and F its section, d_1 the diameter of the flue, and F_1 its section, and m the ratio of the two sections, we have

$$m = \frac{F_1}{F} = \left(\frac{d_1}{d} \right)^2$$

The rarefaction in the smoke-box, that is, the excess of external pressure over the internal, increases regularly with the value of m . With a constant value for m , that is, for the same orifice for the exit of the steam and for the same flue-pipe, the excess of external pressure is nearly proportioned to the high pressure of the steam in the exhaust-tube as the result of graphic representation. It may consequently be assumed that within certain limits, for example to one atmosphere of high pressure, the rarefaction in the chamber increases directly as the

high pressure under which the steam escapes. This is, however, approximative, as in any case we have to do with curves whose convex sides are towards the abscissa axis. A more complete study of the graphic representation shows that there is an economic value for m ; that is, for a steam orifice of a given section there is a given section of the flue-pipe with which the rarefaction or vacuum in the chamber is greater than for any other section. On theoretical grounds he assumes that this maximum would be $m=2$.

The following are the chief results with an open chamber: If the diameter of the tube or tubes admitting air be d_2 , and the section F_2 , the diameter and section of the steam-pipe being as before, and n the ratio of the exhaust or steam and air pipes, we have

$$n = \frac{F_2}{F} = \left(\frac{d_2}{d}\right)^2$$

The values of m and n being constant, that is, with determinate widths of the air and steam orifices and of the flue-pipe, the excess of pressure of the external atmosphere over that in the chamber increases with the pressure of the steam. Under otherwise similar conditions, the vacuum is nearly proportionate to the rate of velocity, which corresponds with the rapidity of the escape of steam. This is perfectly in accordance with a previous assumption of Redtenbacher (*Gesetzen der Locomotivbaues*, § 59). Another important result arrived at is, that the difference between the external atmosphere and that of the internal chamber depends only on the ratios

$$m = \left(\frac{d_1}{d}\right)^2 \text{ and } n = \left(\frac{d_2}{d}\right)^2$$

but not upon the absolute values of the sections of the steam, air, and flue pipes. He also finds that each given value of n corresponds to an economical value of m , that is, when the vacuum is greatest, and consequently also the volume of air sucked in a maximum. And lastly, that with the same orifice of steam-pipe, and the same flue-pipe, the quantity of air sucked in is directly as the square-root of the high pressure of the steam.

These experimental results are confirmed by his theoretical investigation of the subject. In this part he gives formulæ for determining the volume of air which is carried through the fire by the suction, and for determining the modifying effects produced by narrowing the blowing-tube orifice; that is, by diminishing F , by widening or narrowing the flue or F_1 , by closing or covering one or several rows of fire-tubes,—that is, diminishing F_2 ,—by varying the amount of hindrance or impediment which the gases encounter in their way through the grate to the smoke-box, by opening or closing the ash-pit door, or increasing or diminishing the bed of fuel on the fire-bars.

The application of the author's investigations is by no means confined to the blowing apparatus of locomotives. The general equations which he has given for the sucking action of jets of liquids give us the theory of several other machines,—among others of the apparatus for ventilating by steam,—and they likewise explain, the author tells us,

some of the more interesting hydraulic observations of Magnus and Von Feilitsch. The present book, as well as a former one, *Die Schiebersteuerungen, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Locomotiven Steuerungen*, 2^{te} Aufl., Freiberg, 1863, are the first volumes of a series of works on the locomotive which Professor Zeuner proposes to publish from time to time.

CURRENT EVENTS.

THE Austrian scheme of Federal Reform, as it was carried at Frankfort, left an opening for the Prussian Government to manœuvre in two ways,—by insisting on perfect equality with Austria, who had claimed the right of presiding, and by proposing a more popular mode of direct election, whereby the people should be represented in electoral districts, instead of the parliaments of the several States. Conferences were held at Nuremberg by the representatives of the Frankfort princes to consider the Prussian reply; and an Austrian circular declared that the direct election of deputies would subvert the federal character of the Germanic system. But the hostile attitude assumed by the government of Prussia against the Frankfort project of reform was viewed with great favour in that country; and the Bismarck ministry took advantage of the moment of its popularity to dissolve the parliament. The new Chambers met early in November, and showed a small increase of ministerial supporters, but a still overwhelming majority on the side of the Opposition. Time was not given to obtain favour and confidence by prosecuting the intended federal execution in Holstein, which had been decreed by the Diet, in consequence of the Patent of March.

On the 13th of November, the policy of the Eider-Danes definitively triumphed at Copenhagen. The new constitution was carried in the Rigsaad by a majority of forty-nine to sixteen. The object of the measure was, by entirely separating Holstein from Schleswig, to incorporate Schleswig with Denmark; and it was hoped that, on the whole, it would add solidity to the monarchy and conciliate the German Diet, at the sacrifice only of the ancient union of the Duchies. Among the Schleswig votes a majority was given in its favour; and the strongest opposition was made by Algreen-Ussing, the advocate of the absolute unity of all the provinces. The law only required the royal sanction; but the king died within two days. His successor was placed in a painful dilemma: his claim to the succession, even in Denmark, was not hereditary, but artificial; and the royal family of Sweden, to whom the Danish nationality looked for support in the threatening crisis, was his rival rather than his ally. If he assented to the new law, it was probable that he would not be recognised in the Duchies; if he refused, it was certain that his elevation would be opposed in Denmark by the party which was in office and ruled the Chambers, by the democracy, and by the Scandinavian nationalists, who were ready to throw themselves into the arms of Sweden. The ministry dexterously used all the difficulties of his position in order to coerce him: they declared that they would resign if the royal sanction was refused, as they had before declared that they would retire if their measure should be rejected in the Rigsaad. The excitement was so great at Copenhagen that their retirement would have changed the dynasty. On the second day of the new reign a vast crowd surrounded

the palace, when the municipality presented an address to the king, praying him not to refuse his assent. The king replied that time for consideration was required. His answer made so bad an impression that the agitation increased to tumult; and on the following day he yielded.

It was already known that his succession would be disputed in the Duchies. The Prince of Augustenburg, representing the younger but male branch of the house, had already issued a proclamation, as hereditary Duke of Schleswig-Holstein; and Germany was in a flame. The Diet had never acceded to the treaty of 1852, but had for fifteen years been defending the rights of the Duchies, which Denmark continually injured. It was doubtful from the first whether it would recognise the new dynasty; and the first act of the king told strongly against him. A great opportunity for united action was offered to the Germans in vindicating the rights of Schleswig-Holstein, and avenging an unquestionable wrong. Several States had never acknowledged the claims of Christian IX. In others the pressure of public opinion speedily overwhelmed the resistance of the governments, and all parties concurred to swell the triumph of the democracy. Austria and Prussia alone were strong enough to withstand this powerful movement. Both governments declared in the Chambers that they deemed themselves bound by the stipulations of 1852, whilst they held Denmark bound by the engagements entered into in the previous negotiations. These, it was admitted, had not been fulfilled; but neither Count Rechberg nor Count Bismarck considered that there was yet just cause for war, and neither would recognise the claims of the Prince of Augustenburg. The sense of the Austrian Parliament was decidedly expressed against the policy of the Government; and the municipality addressed the emperor on behalf of energetic measures. Francis Joseph replied in a tone which proved that he would not be coerced; and the Government, which had just been strengthened by the entrance of the Transylvanians into the Reichsrath, was able to surmount a ministerial crisis, and maintain its policy. At Berlin the Chamber passed a resolution in favour of supporting the claims of the Prince of Augustenburg, and the Government obtained only sixty-three votes. The strict alliance of the two great powers on this question prevailed in the Diet against those who wished that Schleswig should be invaded, and war declared, for its separation from Denmark. The simple execution in Holstein was decided on; and the King of Denmark announced that it would not be resisted, and withdrew the Patent of March.

This resolution of the Diet—which appeared to be dictated by the interests of Austria, who cannot desire the establishment of an independent State in the Duchies, which would give Prussia the command of the sea—destroyed the prospect of a reconciliation between the Prussian Parliament and the king. To the smaller States it is the beginning of a new and serious danger. The democratic movement, to the impulse of which they had yielded, finding itself baulked in the effort to liberate Schleswig, has become only more formidable, and, being diverted from a legitimate object, threatens to turn against the

feeble Principalities of Central Germany. Whatever the issue may be in the Duchies, and if the powers, by adhering to the Treaty of London, succeed in preventing a general war, it is certain at least that a great change is being prepared in the position of the smaller States, the attitude of the political parties, and the conditions of Federal Reform.

Long before the meeting of the Chambers pacific counsels had prevailed in France, and the attitude of England and Austria had succeeded in averting for the present the peril of a European war. The unpopular expedition in Mexico had overtaxed the financial resources of the year; and the weakness and failure of the Imperial policy made the Government dread the prospect of debates in which the orators of the Opposition would be supplied with the materials for telling attacks. The death of M. Billault deprived it of its most eloquent defender, and of the only Imperialist who had contended in the front rank of the old parliamentary battles, and had borne himself with credit in skirmishes with Guizot. M. Rouher, the negotiator of the Commercial Treaty, and the brilliant advocate M. Chaix-d'Est Ange, were charged with the championship of the Emperor's measures against the expected assaults of the newly-organised Opposition. The verification of the Returns was a matter which was to occupy the Legislative Assembly many weeks; so that the anticipated discussion of the institutions and policy of the Empire could not begin until after Christmas. The Emperor opened the Chambers on the 5th of November, with a speech which promised to divert the minds of men from constitutional grievances, by directing them to the affairs of all the rest of Europe.

The proposal of a European Congress for the revision of treaties, and the peaceful solution of all the problems which continue to endanger the general tranquillity, furnished a convenient retreat from the difficulties of the Polish question, as well as a starting-point for a more enterprising policy. The terms in which the scheme was announced to the Chambers were at first interpreted as a menace; but the tenour of the letters which the Emperor addressed to the European sovereigns converted the French people to the idea, and the nation identified itself on this occasion more completely than it had ever done before with the measures of the Government. Before answers had been returned by the Courts of Europe, the proposed Congress had obtained great applause in France, and had accomplished one important practical part of its intended purpose. Those governments whose interests were not likely to afford topics of discussion generally entered into the Emperor's proposal. It was adopted most ardently by the Pope, as an opportunity for asserting his claim upon his lost dominions, and also of promoting throughout Europe the interests of the Catholic religion; and, inasmuch as his reply implied the recognition of France as the protector of the Church, it was probably the most acceptable of all the answers which

reached Paris. But, setting aside the warm adhesion of the Holy See, and the consent of unimportant States; the reception of the proposal was not gratifying. Russia used it merely as a text for dilating on her rights and merits; Austria met it with much reserve; and England, after obtaining some explanations, contemptuously rejected it. A second proposal for a more restricted conference, in which England should not be represented, received no encouragement from the great powers, but served to confirm the impression of the moderation and the sincerity of Napoleon III. The Senate unanimously supported the Emperor's scheme; and the feeling of the French people was so decidedly on his side that he recovered the ground he had lost by his failure to support the Poles, and strengthened the position of his government in the Chamber. The growing complications of the Danish question and the national movement in Germany will soon show how far the policy adopted by the Government of the Queen has weakened the alliance between France and England.

THE

HOME AND FOREIGN REVIEW.

APRIL 1864.

THE IRISH EXODUS AND TENANT RIGHT.

AFTER nearly ten years of comparative quiet and prosperity, Ireland has once more obtained an unfortunate prominence, and has received of late almost as much attention, and quite as much and as varied advice, as in the days of Catholic Emancipation or of the potato blight. The whole press of this country has been occupied with her affairs. The statistical reports bearing on her agriculture and mineral wealth, her manufactures, her trade, her poor-law system, her bank deposits, her emigration returns, her railway investments, her general taxation, actual and comparative,—all have been sifted and analysed by lecturers and pamphleteers, to support pet theories or serve the purposes of party. From Arthur Young and Wakefield down to Perraud and Lasteyrie, the writers, both French and English, who have treated of Ireland have been studied with almost unexampled attention. Men the most dissimilar—Mr. Maguire and Mr. Whiteside—have in two successive years pressed the subject of her distress and decline on the consideration of Parliament at the very beginning of the session. Whilst her tried and trusted friends have proclaimed her sufferings, those who represent the hereditary foes of her Catholic people now profess to deplore the tide that carries them from her shores. The fact of her recent retrogression is so universally admitted that even the hopeful Chief Secretary has ceased to ignore or deny it.

The present social condition of Ireland is indeed one that furnishes food for very serious and very painful reflection. The distress which existed in many parts of the south and west dur-

ing the winter of 1861-62 has been aggravated by a third deficient harvest, and has extended to parts of the country hitherto comparatively prosperous. Along with the recurrence of extreme destitution, there have been many instances of agrarian outrage, often attended with circumstances of more than usual atrocity. The diminution, too, of the agricultural wealth of the country—which, whatever efforts may have been made to conceal or explain it, is an ascertained fact—is a symptom of decay that has aroused the fears of the timid, and called forth forebodings of ruin, natural perhaps, but needlessly gloomy. Finally, the alarming impetus given by an aggregation of social causes to the movement now so generally known as the Irish Exodus, has not only excited the feelings of the “friends of the people,” but absolutely frightened some of the very exterminators of 1848 into expressions of alarm lest the land should become a waste from want of hands to till it. Not the least remarkable part of this change of tone is to be noticed in the way in which the most anti-Irish portion of the English press has lately learned to treat the subject. Those who once thought it an excellent thing that the Celts were gone—gone with a vengeance!—now tell us that their departure must, on all principles of social and political philosophy, be considered a misfortune. The Solicitor-General for Ireland indeed, in an able speech lately delivered in Dublin, declared his belief that the stream of emigration must continue to flow for years yet to come; and Professor Ingram, whose late address to the Statistical Society of Ireland has been frequently quoted, neither rejoices nor grieves at it, but rests satisfied with endeavouring to account for the exodus on strictly economic principles. Among the national and Catholic party in Ireland, the continuous emigration is looked on as an unmitigated evil. The Bishops in their addresses to their clergy, the clergy in their discourses to the people, all agree in this. The Attorney-General for Ireland lately declared in the House of Commons that “he stood appalled before the gigantic emigration in progress from her shores.” There is, moreover, a considerable party in Ireland, adequately represented in the press, which, for the last three years, has been at issue with those who direct Irish affairs about the reality of the asserted diminution of Irish prosperity. Though sincerely grieved at the manifest retrogression, it nevertheless sees in that circumstance so tempting a weapon to turn against the “prosperity-mongers” that it cannot resist making the most of it. Every additional cipher in the decrease column of Sir William Donnelly’s Statistical Reports is a fresh damper for viceregal congratulations. Every emigrant who sails from the port of Galway is another living argument against Saxon misrule. This party deplores in

all sincerity the decay of the national wealth. It grieves for the departure of the bone and sinew from the land; but in the press or on the platform these things furnish telling points against the powers that be. Highly-seasoned language, written or spoken, is acceptable to the majority of Irishmen. Applause is more certainly awarded to vigour than to accuracy; and the result is that important facts are occasionally distorted, and that not unfrequently the changes are rung on desolation, oppression, and ruin, in a tone that sounds positively exultant. It was a favourite expression of O'Connell's, that England's weakness is Ireland's opportunity. The dictum, however, seems to have been changed of late; and it is Ireland's weakness that is now supposed to be Ireland's opportunity. Now in this, as in most cases where strong party feelings and prejudices are aroused, the truth will be found about half-way between the statements of the opposing parties. The late Dr. Whately advised a newly-arrived English official never to sit on either the right side or the left of an Irish car, but to place himself in the driver's seat, and so see both sides.

The question of emigration has become so mixed up with the kindred one concerning small farms, and their consolidation into larger ones, that it is difficult to treat the two apart. While, on the one hand, the population in Ireland has been steadily diminishing, on the other, the average size of the farms has been as steadily on the increase. It is not to be wondered at that the one fact should have been represented as the consequence of the other; such doubtless has been partially the case, but not to the extent that some persons have supposed. Eviction being the chief means by which the size of farms has been increased, there should, if the emigration were to be accounted for by the consolidation of farms, be some approximation towards a correspondence between the statistical returns of eviction and of emigration. But if we compare the return of evictions for the ten years ending with 1862 with the number of persons permanently leaving Ireland during the same period, we find of the former 12,351 cases, numbering 59,187 persons, while the total number of those emigrating during the same period was 963,167, or about 16 emigrants for every person evicted. Again, the same returns show a proportionate disparity between the diminution in the number of farms (whether caused by eviction or otherwise) and the diminution in the general population of the country. In the twenty years ending with 1862, the period during which the consolidation of farms was most rapid, the number of holdings in Ireland diminished by about 120,000. Now, if we allow an average of 4½ persons to each holder's family, we shall have but 540,000 persons dependant on those evicted from or giving up

land during a period in which the population of Ireland diminished by nearly 2,400,000. These figures seem to prove very clearly that the largest proportion of those whose emigration can be even indirectly traced to their having, either voluntarily or under compulsion, given up their land in Ireland is, roughly speaking, as one to four. But if we leave statistics aside for the moment, and found our observations on the personal experience of those well acquainted with the emigration movement, we shall find that the great majority of emigrants who leave Ireland for America, or for the manufacturing districts of England or Scotland, consists of unmarried men and women—the junior members of small farmers' and cottiers' families, who are unable to find remunerative employment at home, and set out to seek it in other countries.

Before the potato failure, almost every farmer holding from ten to thirty acres of land sought to make provision for his sons by a partition of his farm. When the eldest son married, he was settled on a corner of the father's farm, a house with a shed or pigsty attached being built for the reception of his bride; and when the second and third son married, each got a similar slice. This destructive practice was too frequently permitted by the landlords; sometimes from avarice, sometimes to increase political influence, sometimes from a mistaken goodnature, but most frequently from simple carelessness in the management of their estates. Those were the days when "the Irish peasant spent half his time in hiding potatoes, and the other half in finding them." Often paying an exorbitant rent for the doubtful privilege of being allowed to settle on the subdivision of an already small holding, and living habitually in a very miserable manner, yet, as long as the potato flourished, this class of people existed and even multiplied. But when the potato failed they were left utterly destitute. The fearful ordeal through which Ireland passed during 1846-48 is known to every Irishman. One of its results was, that the subdivision of farms was no longer permitted. The losses suffered by the owners of densely peopled estates during the famine frightened the landlords into the opposite extreme; and the system of consolidation became universal. The process was in too many instances effected by barbarous means: in the majority of cases, however, and especially where it is still continued, it is generally carried out by the more legitimate course of adding to the adjoining holdings any small farm that may become vacant. If, in consequence of nonpayment of rent, a landlord be obliged to take possession of a five-acre holding, and if he be firmly persuaded that the late tenant's failure arose from the mere fact that the land he held was insufficient, in any but the most prosperous seasons, to

support a family, much less to produce any rent, it would be folly to expect, or even to wish, the owner, when once free to dispose of those five acres, to re-let them as an independent holding. If he did so, he would directly injure himself without conferring any real benefit either on the person taking the farm or on the country at large. But when we reflect that in 1861 there were still in Ireland 125,549 holdings of less than five acres, and 309,480 of less than fifteen acres, out of a total of 608,564, the continued inclination to consolidate, more especially when consolidation is generally accompanied by a decrease of tillage, becomes a matter of very serious moment. Still more important is it when we find those invested with high authority perpetually insisting on the peculiar capabilities of Ireland for the production of beef and mutton, and its unfitness for corn. Such teachings have been understood by many to mean that tillage, by which the poor man lives, should decrease, and that grazing should be more generally adopted. We cannot say whether these phrases were or were not meant to be so construed. That they were susceptible of an interpretation not necessarily adverse to tillage, we are well aware; and if that meaning had been made more distinctly clear, we conceive that the advice to depend on producing meat rather than corn would have been extremely valuable.¹ But to declare that the future destiny of Ireland is to be a prairie almost without inhabitants, but a fruitful mother of flocks and herds, shows indifferent statesmanship, and a very bad idea of farming. One of the many facts connected with Irish agricultural statistics, which have been in some quarters regarded as anomalous, is that, while the area under grass has increased, the numbers of sheep and cattle in the country have diminished. There is nothing surprising in this circumstance. It is now no longer a matter admitting of dispute, that a larger number of stock can be maintained on a well-managed farm where a system of mixed husbandry is pursued than on a mere grazing-farm. Not only has this been over and over again proved in the high-farming districts of England and Scotland, but the statistical returns of Ireland—where high farming is certainly not the rule—show us the same thing. In a very suggestive letter which lately appeared in the *Irish Farmer's Gazette*,² a comparison is drawn between the

¹ There is no doubt that the old "potatoes-and-oats," the "bog-mould for manure and scratching for ploughing," system of farming will not do for the future. There is no country in Europe where green crops can be more successfully grown, and none where corn is more precarious, than in Ireland; and any Irish farmer who will not make up his mind to "walk all his produce to market" can no longer expect to compete with his British or Continental brother.

² Letter from Major O'Reilly, M.P., to the *Irish Farmer's Gazette*, Jan. 30. 1864, p. 47.

amount of stock maintained in a certain number of Irish counties where tillage prevails, and in an equal number, including some of the richest land in Ireland, where there is a preponderance of grass-land. The result of this comparison clearly shows that those tillage counties maintain 34 per cent more sheep and cattle to each acre of grass than the grazing counties do. There is, moreover, a large proportion of the land in Ireland which is naturally unfitted for permanent pasturage; and, while we are not disposed to deny that there are thousands of acres in several counties into which "it would be a sin to put a plough," we are satisfied that there is a still larger number now in grass, which, judiciously and generously tilled, could be made to fatten ten sheep for every one that they half-starve at present. The consolidation of farms, therefore, may be carried a great deal too far; and while there is little hope that the mere cottier farmer (when dependent solely on his few acres for support) will be able to hold his ground in competition with the accumulating capital, science, and intelligence year by year applied to modern agriculture, yet we should much regret to see Ireland parcelled out into farms of 300 and 400 acres, as England generally now is. Irish farmers holding from twenty to forty acres, and with sufficient skill and capital to make the most of them, have been able to meet their engagements even during the three very trying years lately passed. And, as we may reasonably hope that Ireland will not be visited by any succession of worse or more trying seasons than these have been, we may also trust that farmers of that calibre will in the future be able, not merely to hold their heads above water, but to strike out towards independent wealth as boldly as they had begun to do during the five favourable seasons immediately preceding the year 1859.

There is one point in connection with the emigration movement which should be noticed, in order to dispel a very erroneous impression which the tone of certain journals has done much to create, viz. that there is a feeling of despair amongst the agricultural class in Ireland, and that the farmers have given up, or are giving up, their land, to go to America. Speaking from trustworthy information derived from various parts of Ireland, we must deny this to be the case; and we very much doubt if in the whole of Ireland twenty instances could be found where the tenant of either a large or a small farm, who has paid his last half-year's rent and is able to pay the next, has voluntarily resigned his land in order to emigrate.

Statistics clearly show that, however the number of inhabitants may have diminished in Ireland within the last seventeen years, the agricultural population is still much in excess

of the agricultural population of either England or Scotland;³ and bearing this in mind, we cannot avoid the painful conclusion that, if the people of Ireland be destined to remain as exclusively as now dependent on the land for their support, there is no reasonable expectation of any rapid decrease, much less of a cessation, of the emigration.⁴ Happily, however, not in the south alone, but in Leinster and parts of Connaught as well, the flax movement seems to have taken a decided hold of the public mind. Strenuous and well-directed efforts are being made to reëstablish the linen manufacture in Ireland; and if these prove successful in producing remunerative employment for a large number of hands, not only in the sowing and saving of the crop, but also in the various stages of its subsequent manufacture, a great step will have been taken towards checking the present wide-spread desire of the unemployed to emigrate.

The removal of the prohibitory duty on Irish-grown tobacco, and the consequent encouragement of the cultivation of that plant, for which the climate of Ireland is said to be peculiarly suitable, is one of the many schemes proposed by those anxious to develop the industrial resources of the country. Any thing which will tend to improve the system of agriculture, or to create remunerative occupation for the unemployed in manufactures or works unconnected with the land, will be a great boon, and may tend to check the emigration by helping to make Ireland as good to live in as those countries are to which Irishmen at present fly from the compulsory idleness, poverty, and discontent which they see around them at home.

So far we have looked at the present condition of Ireland merely from a social as distinct from a political point of view. We shall now advert to some of those questions in which individual Irishmen cannot act entirely for themselves, and where the interference of the legislature may be required. Conflicting as are the theories that have been propounded on the Irish questions to which we have already referred, still more so are those put forth in regard to political affairs. All the evils, however, for which these theories prescribe may be ultimately traced to one of two sources—social or religious discord. At the root of the former is the land-question, with its train of eviction, emigration, agitation, and agrarian outrage. At the root of the latter is the Established Church of Ireland, an indefensible anomaly, among the evils emanating from which have

³ *Irish Emigration considered.* By M. J. Barry, Esq., barrister-at-law. pp. 9-11.

⁴ The average annual preponderance of births over deaths in Ireland is about 60,000; so that, in the absence of any other disturbing causes, a yearly emigration to nearly that extent would not have the effect of making the population less than it now is.

been murders, jealousies, heartburnings, class animosities, the setting of the poor against the rich and of the rich against the poor—that chronic discontent and bitterness of feeling which make the case of Ireland peculiarly hard to deal with, and which must ever be the certain sequel of perpetuated injustice.

The *Times* has told us—and it expresses an opinion held by many—that the chief bar to the prosperity of Ireland is agrarian crime. The reasoning by which this conclusion is reached is simple: Ireland requires capital to develop her resources; capitalists will not speculate where life and property are insecure; in Ireland the needful security does not exist. There is no doubt that about two years ago the friends of Ireland were startled from a pleasant dream of hopefulness and security by an unexpected outburst of agrarian crime. Tipperary, which in 1861 had seen the novel sight of a maiden assizes, was visited in 1862 by a special commission. Several murders and outrages of a more than usually atrocious description were committed in succession in the south of Ireland; and in the majority of instances the guilty escaped. This difficulty of bringing crime home to its perpetrators has ever been, and still is, one of the most disheartening features of Irish agrarian crime. In very rare instances can evidence be procured, even where there is, amongst persons individually unconnected with the outrage, an undoubted knowledge of its details. By some this is attributed to a sympathy with the criminal, if not to a positive approval of his crime; by others it is attributed merely to a fear of the consequences of denouncing the murderer. Be the cause what it may, it is a lamentable fact that a murderous outrage may be committed on the public road; that two, three, perhaps a dozen persons, totally unconnected with either the assailants or their victim, may witness it; and yet that from not one of those persons can a word of evidence be extorted. The temptation of the large rewards offered by Government even for private information seems equally powerless with the nobler motives that would lead most men instinctively to lay hands upon a murderer. This is a state of things so fraught with evil to Ireland, that it behoves all those who have her interest and that of civilisation at heart to look it boldly in the face.

There can be no doubt that the prime cause of almost all Irish crime is the land-question. Men of all parties admit this to be the case. The very name by which this species of crime is usually known denotes the general belief as to its origin. In the House of Commons, the murders to which we have just referred were directly attributed to the state of the laws regarding land. Although the taste and feeling of those who expressed this opinion were animadverted on severely by other

members of the House, no one was bold enough to deny its truth. When the Catholic Bishops, in their address to the people of Ireland, which appeared about the same time, deplored and denounced the fearful spread of murder and outrage in the south, they felt bound simultaneously to declare their conviction as to the ever-fertile source from which these murders and outrages proceeded. This declaration of the Catholic hierarchy, like most other documents of the kind, found many severe critics in the English and the Irish press. It was pretended that, by bringing forward so prominently the defects of those laws to which, by their showing, agrarian crime was directly attributable, the Bishops were practically justifying the very crimes they professed to denounce. In the severest, however, of these or similar strictures on the episcopal address, there was never any attempt made to deny the truth of the assertion it contained. We may fairly, therefore, assume as granted that the prime cause of Irish agrarian crime is the condition of the laws respecting land. At any rate, we may assume, without fear of contradiction, that to the unsettled and irritable state of popular feeling, which, partly with reason, partly without reason, the public discussion with regard to these laws has created, may be ultimately traced that periodically recurring series of crimes which is not only a crying disgrace to Ireland, but among the greatest of her many social misfortunes.

If the root of agrarian crime in Ireland is to be found in the existing relations between landlord and tenant, a close and impartial investigation of these relations becomes an indispensable step in the direction we have proposed to follow. Here, indeed, a wide field of enquiry lies open before us; a field worn somewhat bare by the feet of many an anxious searcher after truth—marked also by the footsteps of some less anxious to find truth than to misrepresent it; a field, unfortunately, the chief product of which has hitherto been a fruit resembling closely in its principal attribute the classical apple of discord. We shall have to examine again the almost threadbare subject of tenant right, which has been loudly demanded as a measure of simple justice, and loudly denounced as a measure of confiscation—the food of one, and the poison of others; the safeguard from revolution, and the victory of communism; the bugbear of the aristocrat, and the panacea of the demagogue. No subject of political discussion has been praised and abused with a greater amount of exaggeration. Whether the fault be chiefly on the side of the landlords or on that of the tenants, it is undoubtedly a fact that the relations existing between these two classes in Ireland are not such as might be wished. This antagonism has probably grown out of a

long continuance of favouritism on the part of the ruling powers towards one class at the expense of the other. While the land-owners of past generations were permitted, if not encouraged, to treat the land-holders with grinding injustice, and while the peasant felt that from the law of the land as then administered he had no hope of redress, it was evident that there would be no limit to the extortions and tyranny of the one, except such as might be raised by the lawless resistance of the other. The difference also of religion between the gentry and the peasantry must not be overlooked as having been a material agent in creating and fostering the growth of this social animosity. The laws which favoured the upper at the expense of the lower orders had been for the most part framed to uphold Protestantism and to uproot Popery. The very fact of the upper and the lower orders holding two different religious beliefs—the one fostered, the other persecuted, by the Government—was an element of antagonism peculiar to Ireland. With exceptions scarcely more numerous than sufficed to prove the rule, the landlords were, if not sworn Orangemen, at least strong Protestants—in other words, good haters of Popery and Papists. The local administration of a one-sided code of laws was exclusively entrusted to the very party to promote whose ascendancy these laws had been specially enacted. The inevitable consequence was that the peasant, to whom the law had never been any thing but an instrument of oppression, to whom the administrators of the law had been ever unsparing, if sometimes venal, tyrants, grew to look on the laws themselves, on the rulers who made them, and on the gentry who put them in force, as being all alike the undying enemies of his social as well as of his religious welfare.

The Catholic gentry in Ireland were numerically so insignificant a body as to be of little account in the social scheme. Small as were their numbers, their influence in the state was hardly in proportion even to their numerical strength. Confiscation and persecution had not only thinned their ranks, but had almost entirely broken their spirit. They had for generations suffered so much for their faith, that to be allowed to retain that faith in peace, along with the small remnants of their ancestral estates, was too often the moderate limit of their ambition. Kneeling before the same altar at which the people worshipped, the Roman Catholic gentleman was bound to his peasant neighbours by the strong link of a common religious belief. One element, therefore, of the animosity that existed between the gentry and the people, was absent in the case of the Catholic squire. But persecution and insecurity

may have made him needy ; need may have made him exacting. In the eyes of his half-starving tenantry, he too may have sometimes seemed to be a tyrant. To the evicted peasant it was as certain destruction to be turned out of his wretched cabin and to be deprived of his few half-tilled acres by a Catholic landlord, as though the notice to quit bore the name of the most Papist-hating of Orangemen. The popular good-will that the squire had gained by the fact of his being a Catholic was frequently outweighed by that of his being a landlord as well. It was plain, then, that when the Irish people wanted leaders, they would be little likely to seek, and less likely to find them amongst the gentry of their own faith. When, therefore, the time had at length arrived for the people to make an effort for freedom, to whom were they to look for the guidance that, in a constitutional struggle like the one in which they were about to engage, must be sought in a class of men of higher intelligence and education than their own ? It was evident that in the Catholic clergy alone the popular movement could find leaders both willing to accept and competent to fill the position. The connections and sympathies of the Irish priesthood were almost exclusively with the middle and lower orders. The bad government of Ireland, the injustice of the religious distinctions maintained in that country, the anti-Popery persecution inflicted for generations on its inhabitants, had fallen with more severity on the ministers of the persecuted faith than on any other class. In the days of the fiercest persecution the priest had ever stood by his flock. When the dying peasant sought the consolations of religion, the priest was ever ready to visit him, and to brave the dangers, and defy the penalties, with which he was threatened by the law if he dared to do his duty. As the priests lived for the people, so they lived by the people. How little soever an Irish peasant might possess, both his duty and his inclination made him happy in sharing that little with his priest. The common part they had so long borne in great dangers and in heavy sorrows had linked the bonds that bound the pastor to his flock more closely in Ireland than in other countries. When, early in the present century, persecution slowly relaxed its grasp, the clergy began little by little to take a share in the public affairs of the country. The bad feeling that existed between the upper and the lower orders was one that, for mistaken purposes of their own, successive governments had never lost an opportunity of encouraging. There is always a large number of persons in the world whom it is easy to persuade that what is must be. Animosities of class against class had been of such long standing in Ireland, that they had grown to be, as it were, institutions of the country. The Catholic clergy,

whose sympathy was altogether with the people, were of necessity often brought into public collision with the gentry. They and the gentry regarded every political, nay, almost every social, question from an opposite point of view. On every subject their feelings, as well as their opinions, were different. It is an old observation, that tyranny tends to produce reciprocal hatred in the oppressor and the oppressed. The hatred of the tyrant for the slave, though it may arise from deeper and more secret springs of human nature, is as much the inevitable result of tyranny as that of the slave for the tyrant. In Ireland the gentry, as a body, had ever been ranged on the side of the oppressors, the Catholic clergy on that of the oppressed; and neither party exhibited an exception to the general rule. It must not, however, be forgotten that amongst the Protestant nobility and gentry of Ireland there were to be found many humane, just, and truly patriotic men, who had long seen injustice to the sufferers, as well as a bar to national prosperity, in the gross treatment to which their Catholic fellow-countrymen had for generations been subjected. Unpopular as such views were amongst persons of their own order, these men were neither afraid nor ashamed to express an open sympathy with the Catholic party, and to coöperate actively with it, when the business of extorting emancipation from the Government was at length really taken up by the people themselves. Incalculably useful, however, as the assistance of such men was in the struggle for freedom, and lasting as should be the recollection of their services amongst those for whose sake they joined in fighting a most unpopular battle, we must nevertheless remember that to the priests of Ireland, more than to any other class in the country, the credit is due of having achieved their own and their people's independence. The battle of emancipation was a severe one; it was fought by combatants whose hostility was of long standing; and it was gained by that party to whom triumph was then a novelty. Viewing the event in its bearings on the political future of Ireland, one of its most remarkable features was the proof it gave of the enormous power of the people when combined in action under the guidance of their clergy, and with a just and desirable object to contend for. Popular power may have been abused in Ireland, as power of all kinds is ever liable to be abused. The influence of the Catholic priesthood may not on all occasions have been exerted in the manner and for the objects that a more prudent discretion and a farther-seeing policy would have recommended. But to err is human; and in matters of political conduct no one lays claim to infallibility.

Ireland has been not unaptly described as a huge ano-

maly. In considering her social state it is not always easy to distinguish effects from causes, or causes from effects. Religion and politics are so mixed up together that it is often difficult to draw the line between them. To treat of Ireland as she is without allusion to what she has been, would be absurd. To omit, in discussing her condition, all mention of religion and of religious differences, would be to ignore the existence of the source from which her principal misfortunes have sprung. There can be no possible doubt that almost all the present misfortunes of Ireland can be traced to past misgovernment by England. We should, however, be unwilling to go the length of saying that the continued existence of some of these misfortunes is not attributable to the Irish themselves. It is seldom, if ever, that a great public evil or a great public disorganisation exists, without there being faults on more sides than one. We believe that this is now the case in Ireland. On what side soever the preponderance of the guilt may lie, all parties in the country—the government, the gentry, the parsons, the priests, and the people—must share the blame for its present social condition. Their fault, we suppose, consists chiefly in this, that in Ireland every man attributes, and unfortunately believes himself right in attributing, the existence of almost every social grievance that can be named to the agency of any other class in the community rather than of that to which he himself belongs. The gentry censure the ineradicable lawlessness of the people, backed and encouraged by what they consider the self-seeking democratic turbulence of the priesthood. The peasantry and small-farming class have a vague, indefinite idea that “it is all the fault of England,” and that under a French despotism or an American republic things would not be as they are. The priests divide the blame between the exterminating, papist-hating landlords and the British Government of the day, irrespectively of the party that may be in power; and they cannot yet bring themselves to believe in the possibility of any of the acts of the English Government being done *bonâ fide* for the benefit of Ireland. The Protestant clergy, like the gentry, find a most useful scapegoat in their brethren of the rival religion, forgetting that the very fact of their own existence as ministers of a Church maintained, in defiance of right and justice, as a state establishment for the sole benefit of a small minority, is a standing wrong and insult to four-fifths of the population. As to England, her press, and her governments, we believe that in the present day their chief fault lies in querulously blaming the discontent and mistrust of the Irish priests and people, without making sufficient allowance for the causes that have given rise to those feelings; and, above all, in persistently ignoring the

patent fact—a fact that must sooner or later be recognised—that Ireland is in truth a Catholic country, and should be treated as such.

Like many other popular cries, that of “security for the tenant” has found its chief enemies amongst those who professed to be its warmest friends. We believe the literal and simply accurate definition of a tenant’s *right* to be this, “that the permanent value which has been superadded to a farm by an outlay of the tenant’s capital, skill, or labour, ought legally to be the tenant’s property; and that, whether the tenant’s tenure may have been by lease or at will, he ought to be entitled by law, at the expiration of that tenure, to recover from his landlord a just remuneration for the said outlay.” The late Mr. Sharman Crawford stated the principles of his tenant-right measure in the following words: “That all improvements of the soil, and all works of every description by means of which the annual or letting value or fee-interest of the premises shall be, or shall have been, increased, and which shall be, or shall have been, made at the cost or by the labour of the tenant, or purchased, or inherited by him from his predecessors, shall be taken to be the property of such tenant; . . . and that no person in occupation of land or premises, being tenant thereon, and having made improvements of the nature aforesaid, shall be evicted therefrom unless he shall first have received from his landlord, or from the incoming tenant, fair compensation for all labour and capital expended in improvements, of the nature hereinbefore stated, and which the law shall declare to be the property of the tenant.” No doubt the foregoing definitions fall far short of many of the claims for legislative interference that have, from time to time, and from various quarters, been urged on the tenant’s behalf; but it would be difficult to prove that the claim as originally set up amounted to more than this. Moreover, almost every advocate of tenant right with whom we have discussed the question, when closely pressed as to what protection the legislature could be expected to give the tenant, has ended by narrowing to this compass opinions that may possibly have started from a principle involving little less than communism.

Now, supposing the demand for legislative interference between landlord and tenant never to have gone further than the foregoing definitions would warrant, a reasonable or honest man could hardly object to such legislation being carried into effect. The justice of the principle has been indeed acknowledged by three successive administrations, which have introduced into Parliament bills founded on and in accordance with it. It is not our wish to impugn the motives of those who

opposed these measures on the plea of their not being sufficiently liberal to the tenant; but it is an undoubted fact that it was a section of the popular party and their representatives, and not the British House of Commons, that was and is accountable for the absence, during the last ten years, of at least a moderate legislative protection to the industrious and improving tenant. Some of those who professed to advocate the tenant's cause, both in Ireland and in Parliament, made on his behalf demands of such a nature that to have acceded to them would have been—at any rate, according to English notions—to annihilate the rights of property. One would have thought it must be self-evident—if Ireland and England are to receive their laws from the same Parliament—that to make “perpetual fixity of tenure,” and “compulsory valuation of land,” leading principles in the ultimatum of the tenant-right party, was practically to prevent any settlement whatever of the tenant-right question by the British House of Commons.⁵

Among the mischievous results of demanding a recognition of these impracticable principles as the *right* of the tenant, has been the creating of false notions, and the raising of delusive hopes, in the minds of the Irish tenantry. They were told, with truth, that it was an injustice for any man to have the power of ejecting a tenant from his farm, and appropriating its increased value, without any repayment for his outlay, whether of labour or capital, by which that increase of value had been created. With apt and interested scholars it was no difficult matter to carry this teaching a little further. To dispossess an improving tenant without fair compensation was an admitted injustice. Strictly speaking, the injustice lay in the want of compensation; but the real practical injury to the tenant was the fact of being dispossessed.

Now the best friends of the Irish tenant must allow that there are fewer of the small land-holders who (in the sense that any tenant-right bill could recognise) have hitherto been improving tenants than there are of the reverse. Any legislation, therefore, that merely gave the tenant a property in his *bonâ fide* improvements could be a boon, at the present moment, only

⁵ Theories of this nature received a high philosophical sanction from the writings of Mr. J. S. Mill. His proposed remedy for the agrarian difficulties of Ireland, viz. that “the whole of her land should be made by Act of Parliament the property of the occupiers, subject to the rent then paid, as a fixed rent-charge,” was in those days often quoted. Even now he is occasionally cited as an authority by the very few persons who still hold these generally exploded opinions, and who either have not seen or ignore the practical recantation of them which Mr. Mill has made in his edition of 1862, where he says that “Ireland no longer requires what are called *heroic* remedies;” and again, “that the opinions he expressed before 1856 he now feels are no longer susceptible of practical application” (fifth edition, p. 407).

to the minority of the tenant class. The larger number of the cottiers and small farmers, not having made any improvements, would be unaffected by the protecting law, and would be as liable as ever to unrecompensed eviction. Can it then be a matter of surprise that, when certain of the popular leaders in Ireland promulgated the doctrine that "the land was made for those who live on it," they found in that class many willing disciples? Is it wonderful that, in a country where eviction means either perpetual expatriation or perpetual pauperism, a law could easily be represented as being unjust which left in the hands of an often hostile minority an almost irresponsible power over every thing short of the very existence of their fellow-men? We are not maintaining that these views are just, or that any legislation founded on them is either possible or to be desired; but we cannot discuss the practicability of any settlement of the land-question without bearing in mind their existence. It must also be remembered that such theories as to the rights of property, however fallacious, are not peculiarly Irish; and that it is not many years since a party who held somewhat similar views was so numerous and so violent in England as to threaten the peace of London. Now, although it may not be surprising that these ideas became popular amongst a certain interested class in Ireland, it seems evident that no reasonable man could expect them to be recognised by the legislature. If any English or Scottish land-holder were to start such a theory as that of fixity of tenure, he would be scouted even by his own class as a revolutionist.

Leaving, therefore, the Irish parliamentary representatives altogether out of consideration, is it not plain that the promulgation of such views by the advocates of the Irish tenant can have no other effect than to disgust the British portion of Parliament with the whole question? The House of Commons has frequently shown great willingness, not only to discuss the reasonable demands of the Irish tenant, but to legislate in his favour. But when it sees the original demand of "compensation for improvements" (to which no honest man could object) lost, as it were, amongst a host of claims founded on principles totally adverse to all received notions of the rights of property, it feels disposed to look on the entire agitation as a sham, and to place it on the already well-filled shelf of forgotten, or soon to be forgotten, Irish grievances.

There are amongst those who have studied this question some who think that the tenant-right custom of Ulster would, if extended to, and legally enforced in, the south and west of Ireland, be in itself a satisfactory and a sufficient solution of the land-question. The correctness of this view is by no means obvious. The Ulster custom no doubt originated in the idea of

allowing the outgoing to receive from the incoming tenant the value of the unexhausted improvements made by the one, and about to be enjoyed by the other. It was in principle merely an arrangement to compensate a departing tenant for improvements. As such it was perfectly just and fair. But in its practical working, there arise cases without number where no improvements have been made during a tenancy, and yet where the right to "sell his good-will" is claimed by, and often allowed to, the outgoing tenant. In all these cases it is evident that the tenant has no just claim whatever to this indulgence; and, if he make such a claim, he is in truth asking for what is his landlord's and not his. Where this tenant-right custom is in force, a tenant-at-will holding, let us say, ten acres at a pound an acre, and never having done any thing to add permanently to its value, considers himself hardly used if his landlord refuses him permission to dispose of his interest. He knows that, if he were allowed to sell, he would probably get 50*l.* or 60*l.*, perhaps 100*l.* for it, such sums being not at all unfrequently paid for the mere possession of small farms let at an ordinary rent and from year to year. He proclaims this fact to his landlord, and bases on it his claim for what he (of course incorrectly) calls tenant-right. When doing this, he seems entirely to forget that the only reasonable deduction to be drawn from his case is, that the farm he holds at ten pounds a year is considered by a certain number of his neighbours to be worth twelve or fifteen. It is both a remarkable and unfortunate peculiarity of these dealings, that when the small farmers make these bargains there is too little consideration whether the land is in a good or in an exhausted state. It frequently occurs that the possession of a farm completely run out will fetch as large a price as that of a farm of equal size in reasonably good condition. This is unfortunate in several respects. While, on the one hand, the custom of allowing a tenant, when leaving a farm held at will, to dispose of the increased value created by his own labour or capital, would be a strong inducement to exertion, on the other hand, the certainty that even if his land deteriorates in value during his tenancy he will be equally sure not to be a pauper when leaving it, is a great temptation to idleness. Moreover, this too common perversion of the tenant-right principle is open to the grave objection that it impoverishes the incoming tenant, and by lessening his capital lessens his chances of working his farm at a profit. Again, it must be remembered that if the tenant-right custom of Ulster were to be now extended to, and enforced in, the south and west of Ireland—if every tenant in Leinster, Munster, and Connaught were to become legally entitled to dispose of his good-will to the

highest bidder—probably one-half of these tenants would be acquiring a property in that to which they had no just claim, inasmuch as at least one-half of the farms in Ireland have changed hands within the last twenty-five years, and their actual occupiers neither built the houses they live in, nor inherited nor purchased them from their predecessors. There is yet another argument against allowing the indiscriminate privilege of selling the good-will of farms. It is the likelihood, in a country still in a state of transition, of jeopardising the just rights of the land-owners. We will suppose a tenant to have purchased for twenty pounds the good-will of a farm, either in a remote district, or during a period of agricultural depression, subject to a rent which (time and place being considered) was its fair letting value at the time. He has gone on for a dozen years in the usual slovenly agricultural fashion of his neighbourhood—one year of potatoes and three years of oats—the land at the end of the time being, so far as his labour or exertion is concerned, not a whit better than when he took it. But during the course of this dozen years the enterprise of the local proprietors has caused a railway to penetrate into this remote district; and markets that were inaccessible to its inhabitants are brought to their doors. Or the times have improved; potatoes are no longer blighted; distemper has ceased to decimate the pigs. In a word, the value of the possession is increased; the “good-will” that then sold for twenty pounds would now sell for a hundred. These changes have taken place, on the hypothesis, from the mere march of time, and through the force of circumstances entirely uncontrolled by the tenant. He can in justice urge no claim to benefit by them; and yet that “custom” which “tends to make the proprietor a mere rent-charger on his estate” will certainly be quoted by the tenant in bar of his landlord’s just rights. From all these considerations it appears that, while the settlement of the land-difficulty on the principle of “compensation for improvement” is a matter of urgent importance, the universal acceptance of the Ulster tenant-right custom, as it exists in practice as distinct from theory, would be little real benefit to either the owners or the occupiers of land in Ireland.

In the introduction to a very valuable compilation of Papers, Letters, and Speeches on the Irish Land-Question, lately published by Mr. Sergeant Shee (now Mr. Justice Shee), the following suggestive remarks occur: “Now that all have become wiser by experience, a government assured of the undivided support of the Irish Liberal representation might not, on the demand of the Irish people, be indisposed to resume, and might see its duty and interest in resuming, a well-drawn unassailable bill, perfect

as a legal instrument in all its parts, to which the House of Commons on the report of a Select Committee, the most eminent statesmen and juriconsults on both sides of the House, three successive governments, and many, as I had the means of knowing, of the more considerable Anglo-Irish proprietors and their agents, have already set the seal of their approval."

In our opinion, it rests mainly with the leaders of the popular party in Ireland whether a bill destined to better the condition of the improving tenant can be carried through Parliament or not. It will be necessary, to begin with, that those who demand legislation should show themselves to be really in earnest. To this end they must, in the first place, define clearly and precisely what it is they want; and they must confine their demands to what, in all reasonable probability, a British House of Commons may be persuaded that it would be just to grant. Having determined on a fixed course of action with regard to this question, they will have to see that their representatives in Parliament honestly follow that course. At home they will have to use all the influence that can be brought to bear on the people, to undo the mischief that has unfortunately been done by the discussion of those extravagant theories which have been mixed up with the tenant-right question. Of these requisites the last will, we fear, be found the most difficult of attainment. Its necessity is evident; for unless it can be shown that reasonable legislation is likely to put a stop to querulous agitation, a great inducement to statesmen to take up the matter will be wanting. Of its difficulty, it requires a very slight knowledge of human nature to be aware. Men are ever ready enough to believe that their misfortunes are caused by others rather than by themselves; and the long-cherished belief in the existence of a grievance is always hard to dispel. The Irish tenantry have been taught to believe that their position as to their legal rights is far worse than that of the tenant class in England; that the law which in England protects, in Ireland oppresses, the tenant; that while in England he is safe from capricious eviction, in Ireland he is daily liable to it; that whilst the Irish landlord is a rack-renting tyrant, his English brother is a mild, humane, disinterested, easy-going man, satisfied with a very moderate rent for his land, and ever burning with anxiety to build barns, byres, and dwelling-houses, at his own expense, and solely for the benefit of his much-loved tenant. Now no one, knowing the two countries, requires to be told that these representations are at least very highly coloured. It is well known that, though the landlord in England may build the farmhouses and offices in the first instance, and may sometimes (according to the custom of the district where his

property lies) aid in keeping them in repair, while in Ireland the landlord has hitherto usually left these things to be done by the tenant, yet the English proprietor receives an ample equivalent in the much higher rent that his farms produce than that at which land of the same intrinsic value is generally let in Ireland.⁶ Nothing can be more fallacious than the idea that the *power* of evicting an improving tenant in Ireland is greater than it is in England, or that the English tenant class are in practice perfectly free from the capricious exercise of it by their landlords. A very cursory reference to the evidence taken before the Agricultural Customs Committee of the House of Commons in 1848 will suffice to show that tenants' grievances are not peculiar to Ireland. A perusal of the Report of that Committee may also be not without its value to those who are fond of representing the absence of tenant-right legislation for Ireland as a part and parcel of the anti-Irish policy of England. For while the evidence taken before the Committee goes to show, almost without contradiction, that some legislative interference between owners and occupiers in England is much desired by the latter, and although very cogent arguments were adduced by various witnesses in support of that view, yet the House of Commons declined to interfere in England, while, as we have before stated, successive governments have shown their willingness to meet the Irish tenant at least half-way in his demands for legislative protection. The discussion raised in the *Times* within the last few months by the able letters of "A Practical Farmer," and the prominence lately given to views somewhat similar to his at the meetings of local farming societies in the Vale of Evesham and several other English districts, show that the desire for legislation between landlord and tenant is still alive amongst the farming classes in this country.

The circumstance we have mentioned with regard to the wide-spread desire for a tenant-right bill for England amongst English tenants-at-will, and the fact of Parliament having

⁶ This statement may surprise some of our Irish readers; but we can nevertheless assure them of its correctness. People talking loudly about English and Irish rents are liable to forget the great difference between the area of an acre in England and an acre in Ireland, and the consequent fact that 25*s.* per acre in England means 2*l.* per acre in Ireland. Now 21*s.* would be a low acreable average rent for medium land in England, while 35*s.* would be a decidedly high one for medium land in Ireland. Again, it must be remembered that in England, as a rule, the tithe and the entire poor-rate are paid by the tenant; while in Ireland the entire tithe and half the poor-rate are paid by the landlord. We should be below the mark in putting these two items at less than 7½ per cent on the average Irish rental, while from 6 to 7 per cent is allowed to be an ample annual deduction for farmstead maintenance, repairs, and insurance on the best-managed estates in England.

declined to grant their prayer, although they may be proofs that, in this matter at least, Ireland has not been treated with less consideration than England, must not be looked on as arguments against the justice of the Irish tenant's demand for legislative interference on his behalf. It may be perfectly true that land of the same intrinsic value lets for less rent in Ireland than in England, partly in consequence of the necessary buildings being erected and maintained by the landlord in the latter country, and by the tenant in the former. Still, as the law does not in either case give the tenant any security for an outlay of his capital, it is evident that the hardship he suffers must be greater where it is not the general custom for the landlord to erect the usual farmhouses and offices, than where it is the custom. The Irish tenant, therefore, is substantially injured by a state of the law which gives him no legal security for his outlay of labour or capital in those improvements of a permanent nature which, according to the general custom of the country, must be made by him, if made at all. Possibly the injury he suffers may at times have been exaggerated, and its discussion may have been made a vehicle for attacks on Saxon rule and Saxon rulers, the acrimony of which may have gone far to embitter party feelings on the subject; but nevertheless the grievance remains. Successive governments have admitted the justice, if not the necessity, of a change in the law; and yet the law is still unchanged.⁷ An acknowledged injustice to occupiers of land is allowed to remain unheeded in the midst of a population who live by the land alone, and who are prone enough to make the most of grievances for which England can in any way be made accountable. Is it wise or statesmanlike to treat the demand for that which has been admitted to be simple justice with the supercilious contempt with which, in a late session of Parliament, the mention of tenant-right legislation was met by the present Chief Secretary for Ireland? Should it not rather be the policy of the government, if a superstructure of imaginary grievance has

⁷ We are of course aware that Mr. Cardwell's bill was intended to meet, and is, we believe, supposed by the present Chief Secretary for Ireland to have sufficiently met, the needs of the Irish tenant. But a law which has been three years on the statute-book, and of which nevertheless advantage has been taken in but one solitary instance, can hardly be seriously spoken of as a practical remedy for this long-admitted evil. As Judge Shée says in the work already quoted, "It is disheartening to reflect that . . . the government of a country in which six millions of British subjects are mainly dependent on agriculture, . . . and in which the indispensable *instrumenta* of successful cultivation are provided at the expense of the tenant, should not have influence enough to carry to the foot of the throne a law holding out to him any better encouragement to employ his labour and capital in a manner so profitable . . . than an annuity for such portion of a term of twenty-five years as may be unexpired at his eviction of 7l. 2s. for every 100l. worth of improvement."

been raised on the foundation of a substantial wrong, to overthrow the imaginary, by removing the substantial, injustice?

It may perhaps be doubted whether the passing of a tenant-right bill would materially affect the existence of agrarian crime in Ireland. It is certainly both possible and probable that no mere law would immediately have that effect; but it is also certain that the crimes in question never will be put down until a fair measure of tenant right has been passed. It is true that, *with* a tenant-right bill, our hopes *may* be disappointed; but, *without* it, they certainly *must* be. The ultimate destiny of agrarianism will mainly depend on two contingencies: first, whether the leaders of the tenant-right agitation will agree in good faith to accept as a full measure of justice a bill founded on the principles of Mr. Sharman Crawford, to which a formal adhesion was given by the successive ministries of Lord Derby, Lord Aberdeen, and Lord Palmerston; and secondly, whether, having accepted such a measure, they will honestly endeavour, as a reasonable sequel to it, to wean the minds of the people from that querulous bitterness that marks their present feelings towards the owners of land. We have heard an Irish landlord described by a peasant, with something of that peculiar poetry of expression that seems natural to the Celtic tone of thought, as "the man for whom the grass grows." This expression is eminently characteristic of the feeling with which in Ireland the man who tills the soil has been taught to regard the man who owns it. "You do nothing—I do all; and yet you get the lion's share of the profits!" As long as this feeling survives, so long will there still be danger of recurring agrarian outrage. Now there are some who believe this feeling to be ineradicable. We are not of the number. We conceive that the future peacefulness of Ireland will depend on the possibility of bringing public opinion, which now seems to sympathise with agrarian crime, into unmistakeable opposition to it. This change will be extremely difficult to produce; but there is no reason to despair as to its possibility. It is but a few years since the Irish were perhaps the most drunken nation in Europe. In those days, a man who went home sober from fair or market was looked on as having almost disgraced his manhood. Public opinion was then on the side of the drunkard; or, at least, it was not against him. Yet the labours of one earnest man completely altered the character of Ireland in this respect. Any one who, in 1838, had ventured to foretell that in five years drunkenness would be almost unknown, would have been looked on as a wild enthusiast; yet such was the case in 1843. It is not impossible to eradicate agrarian crime, any more than it was impossible to eradicate

drunkenness; but before this can be done, it must be clearly, boldly, unmistakeably shown that a spirit of reformation—a spirit similar in its earnestness to that which animated Father Mathew—animates all the political leaders of the Irish people. And the first and most needful step towards arousing a spirit that would inculcate obedience to the law and a reverence for justice, is so to legislate that law and justice may be one.

Whenever the subject of Irish crime is under discussion, great stress is always laid, and with much reason, on the disheartening difficulty of obtaining evidence against criminals, and more particularly against the perpetrators of agrarian outrages. For this cause, this kind of crime sets all reasoning derived from the means of repressing crime in other countries completely at fault. Various causes have helped to produce this peculiarity. Of these the chief is distrust—a chronic and universal distrust. In Ireland men have no confidence in their neighbours. Catholics, Protestants, landlords, tenants, employers, labourers,—all distrust one another. But while to a considerable extent this feeling is common to all classes, amongst the peasantry it goes deepest and reaches farthest. Long used to suffer from deceit and oppression, they can hardly bring themselves to believe that any one with whom they have dealings is acting entirely without guile, or saying neither more nor less than he means. “*Divide et impera*”—the fatal maxim of generations of British statesmen—has been the motto of the policy which has produced this almost universal evil. To maintain the unjust ascendancy of one class and party, all others have been, according to the changing circumstances of the hour, oppressed or flattered, tyrannised over or cajoled. Such a training could have but one result. When we reflect that not a generation has passed away since the habitual treatment of the Irish people by England was worse than that of a slave by his master, we can scarcely be astonished if, in the present day, the Irish character retain some of the peculiar traits that are the almost inevitable results of long-continued oppression. It is hard to expect strict truthfulness or manly independence from the sons of men to whom the law of the land held out for years the strongest inducements to domestic treachery, and whom it punished with unsparing cruelty if they dared to follow the dictates of their conscience. It is scarcely reasonable to look for sincere respect for the law, and confidence in its administrators, amongst a people within whose own memory a portion of the penal code was still in force. To the peasant of to-day the law declares it to be a crime to harbour or protect the perpetrator of agrarian crime. To the father of that peasant the law equally declared it to be a crime to harbour or protect the Catholic priest. In

these days the most fanatical bigot dares not place the two on the same level ; but the peasant cannot yet have forgotten that the law he is expected to reverence has dared to do so.

It is true that the British statute-book is no longer disgraced by the existence of these iniquitous laws. It may be also true that the spirit from which they had their origin has died out amongst most men of intellect and education, and is, if not dead, at least dormant in the masses. But it is equally true that the recollection of the days of persecution is still vivid in the mind of the Irish Catholic. Such a recollection can only be obliterated by a steady course of just, liberal, and even indulgent rule, patiently and hopefully persevered in, till, whether within a few years as we trust, or in a longer period as is possible, it reaps its reward. It can hardly be expected that a quarter of a century of moderately just government can wipe out the moral stains left on the national character by three centuries of ceaseless persecution. There is unfortunately a large party of Irishmen which still, even in these days, refuses to believe that the feeling of England towards Ireland has undergone any real change since the days when the penal laws were in force, and which perpetually mistrusts the Irish policy of all English governments, merely because it is their Irish policy. The existence of such a feeling is a great misfortune for Ireland ; if for no other reason, yet for one that may fairly have some weight with even the most anti-Saxon of Irish patriots—the more so perhaps as it is not very flattering to England. It is this: that in these days no party, however wrong-headed, any longer pretends that it is the interest of England to oppress Ireland. That idea was once current ; and Ireland was oppressed accordingly. But now that it is admitted to be the interest of England to treat Ireland with justice, it is only consequent to suppose that Ireland will be so treated. Benefits conferred from such a motive may perhaps have no claim to a return of gratitude ; but they are none the less benefits ; and it is a mistaken policy to treat them as though they were injuries. In referring, therefore, as we have done, to the past history of Ireland, and in tracing to that source the chief evils from which she now suffers, we are far from being actuated by any desire to make her past misgovernment by England unduly prominent, or to encourage an anti-English feeling amongst Irishmen. Our object has rather been to prevent Englishmen from forgetting what the anti-Irish tirades of the English press make it evident that some amongst us have forgotten,—that to the unjust folly of our own forefathers may be mainly attributed the existence of those Irish faults which we in this country are now the loudest and least sparing in condemning. The best and happiest change that

could befall both nations would be, that Irishmen should cease to remember the past history of their country, and that Englishmen should resolve never to forget it.

Till agrarian crime is uprooted, Ireland will never be thoroughly prosperous; and it never will be uprooted until the tone of Irish feeling towards England undergoes a radical improvement. Towards effecting this, the first and most essential change must be for the English Government to show unmistakeably that they are determined to treat Irishmen and Englishmen according to the same measure of evenhanded justice. They must make it plain to Irishmen of every creed and every party that for the future there are to be no religious or party tests recognised in the administration of Ireland; and that all Irishmen, whether Protestants or Catholics, are in truth—and not in name only—to enjoy civil and religious liberty. Now, so long as the Catholics of Ireland have to support their own Church and four-fifths of the Established Church as well, no man can reasonably maintain that the Protestant and the Catholic are equal in the eye of the law. While the Catholic demand for freedom of education is contemptuously refused, it cannot be said that there is religious equality amongst Irishmen. A principle which the legislature has admitted to be just for the Catholics of England cannot possibly be unjust for the Catholics of Ireland.

There are plenty of people who will tell us that there is no use in trying to conciliate the Irish priesthood or the Irish people, and that disloyalty and hatred of British rule have too firm a hold on their minds ever to be eradicated. We do not believe that it is so. But if we did believe it we would answer, in the words of Mr. Goldwin Smith, that “when the Protestants complained of the Catholic clergy as being rebels by nature, it was assuredly they that had done their best to make them so;” and again that, “if there be any disaffection to the state among the Catholics of Ireland, it is because the state still gives them just grounds for disaffection.” In Canada the Catholic hierarchy and clergy, many of them Irishmen, are contented citizens and loyal subjects. Their brethren in Ireland might be, and in good time we trust will be, the same. At any rate, it is only reasonable to give a fair trial before final condemnation; and that fair trial the Catholics of Ireland have not yet had. So long as the Church of the minority is supported by the majority, and facilities for education of which they can conscientiously avail themselves are granted to the Protestant and Presbyterian and refused to the Catholic, it is false to say that all means have been tried to pacify Ireland. When the grant of a charter to the Catholic University has

given to Irish Catholics similar educational facilities to those found by Protestants in Trinity College, Dublin, and in the Queen's University; when tenants have been secured by law in the possession of what politicians of all parties have admitted to be their just right; when the Protestant Church Establishment has ceased to insult the Catholics of Ireland, and her revenues have been allotted either to the support of the poor or to some other object from which all classes and all creeds can (without a possibility of danger to their complete independence) derive a benefit proportionate to their numbers;—when these legislative remedies have been tried, and tried in vain, it will be quite time enough to despair of the future of Ireland. If an unmistakeable inclination to legislate for Ireland in this spirit were shown by the Government; if it were made clear to the Irish Catholic that neither his birth nor his creed is for the future to be any bar to his perfect social equality with his British fellow-subjects; if the childish insult cast on the Catholic hierarchy and priesthood by the extension of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill to Ireland were atoned for, and a reasonable recognition were made by Government of their proper status and dignity as ministers of the people's Church;—if all these things were done, Ireland in the next ten years would make rapid strides in peacefulness, civilisation, and general prosperity. Before, however, this desirable consummation can be looked for, politicians of every class must resolve to forget the prejudices of the past. Until all parties consent to approach the discussion of Irish politics with less of bitterness and more of reasonable concession to the feelings, and even to the prejudices, of others than is at present the case, the questions requiring settlement will remain unsettled, and the social evils arising out of their existence will continue to retard the prosperity and to disgrace the character of the country.

THE SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN MOVEMENT IN GERMANY.

ALTHOUGH there is scarcely a politician now who does not consider himself competent to give a very decided judgment on the dispute between Denmark and the Duchies, it is but a few months ago that the question was looked on as so intricate and complicated that those who discussed it in speeches and in the press were not in the least ashamed to confess that they did not understand it. At first a mere *captatio benevolentiae*, the acknowledgment passed into an expression of unpardonable frivolity as, day after day, it became more obvious that the peace of Europe was threatened by the growing excitement in Germany. And yet it must be admitted that the controversy is one which cannot be solved by even the fullest acquaintance with its legal points. The maxim *fiat justitia ruat cælum* is as unpractical in this as in other great conjunctures of European politics; and there is a sense, therefore, in which we must allow that men are justified in forming an opinion on the general question without having mastered all the details. But the ultimate consequences of the dispute bear so decisively on many questions in which Germany and England have a common interest, that it is an evil of the deepest gravity for the two nations to approach each other, at the very opening of it, under the influence of prejudices and antipathies.

It is impossible to judge the question honestly or justly without knowing the character and condition of the parties that divide opinion in Germany. We need not now discuss the familiar question of the claims of Schleswig-Holstein, or the several views on it that are current among the Germans, or the innumerable solutions of it that have been proposed. It is of greater practical importance to enquire into the state of the different German parties at the moment when the death of King Frederick of Denmark suddenly brought the conflict on them, and into the manner in which they received, and were affected by, that event. Of course, it is to be understood that in speaking of "parties" we mean to indicate not only the various sections of opinion among the educated classes, but also those larger political groups which include the governments of the several states.

After the first momentary unanimity, the Schleswig-Holstein question appears to have increased, instead of diminishing, the dissensions of Germany. All the ideas of German politics are in a state of fermentation. Revolution and Legitimacy, the Confederation and the Great Powers, the triple league, the Con-

federation of the Rhine, and the Republic, are advocated in the press, and invoked as the true solution of all existing problems. This shows that the position of the Duchies is not merely one of the questions which Germany has to work out, but is, in a sense, the German question itself. All Europe is pervaded by the feeling that Schleswig-Holstein involves Germany—that the crisis embraces the whole country, from the North Sea to the Alps. The Pentarchy, which, by reducing Germany to a geographical expression, and making her the passive centre of European politics, was enabled to deal injustice to nations, lies shattered in pieces. It has fallen not by the blows of the Germans, but by its own fault. Through many errors and repeated failures Germany has long striven to become the active centre of Europe; and the nations that have hitherto been supreme naturally put forth their power to resist claims which would deprive them of their accustomed influence. Despotism France, revolutionary Italy, Russia whose grasp of Poland could not be maintained in presence of a united Germany—all have the same interest, though from different motives, in thwarting the efforts of Germany to become united, powerful, and active. The opposition of this interest is quite legitimate from the point of view of the several nations. But so, on the other hand, from their own point of view, is the common resolve of all parties in Germany to accomplish the work of creating a great national power. And this work they have begun to execute with all the resources at their command.

When the scheme of Federal reform had been frustrated by Prussia, at the end of last summer, a disintegration of the great parties immediately began. If it had continued, it would probably have carried Germany back to those minute local discussions between the various governments and their subjects which formerly neutralised the force and energy of the nation. It would have given fresh prominence to the agitation and conspiracies of demagogues; and these movements, in spite of their national aim, would have injured the national cause, just as the separatist resistance of Prussia prevented the execution of the reforms which Austria and the other states had prepared. But the evil was arrested by the speech of Napoleon III. on the 5th of November, and the death of King Frederick of Denmark on the 15th. The announcement that French supremacy was to supersede the balance of the five great powers, and the danger lest a new Alsace should be severed from Germany for ever, at once awoke the whole German nation to the consciousness that the time had come to abandon its passive helplessness, and to unite in a combined action of princes and people.

This consciousness was not the work or the idea of any party;

it was the public sense and instinct of the nation. No one who knows Germany can doubt that the movement is one of intense depth and earnestness—a national upheaving, and not merely a great party measure. The different parties, it is true, have since endeavoured to obtain the control of this vast power, and to fill their own sails with the strong wind of the public sentiment; but they did nothing to raise it. And we shall see, as we proceed, whether their interference did not rather enhance the danger that the aspirations of Germany would still remain unsatisfied.

When a nation is impelled by some resistless force to the accomplishment of a long-neglected purpose, there are always men, or combinations of men, who press on beyond it, or who withstand it, covering their own objects by an exaggerated profession of zeal in the new cause. Cowardice, indolence, narrowness, and the dread of all energetic action, for a time stand in the way, especially among a people so little used to general politics as the Germans. There have been such symptoms in the present movement. Unquestionably the new phase into which the death of King Frederick brought the Schleswig-Holstein question came upon Germany by surprise, though every politician knew that sooner or later it must recur in that very form. But the position of affairs was soon understood; and instead of waiting, after their ancient custom, for their governments to take the initiative, and losing the result in disputing about the end, and the manner, and the means, the Germans resolutely cast aside all secondary interests, and concentrated their activity on one distinct object—to reject the treaty of London, and its obligations for Germany, and to obtain the independence of the Duchies under their native sovereign.

It is not our intention to examine the reception which this clear and definite programme encountered in Europe. We are dealing only with the internal history of Germany under the influence of the new phase of the Schleswig-Holstein question. The wish of the German people was to aim exclusively at the independence of the now emancipated Duchies, and at their union with Germany. But Austria and Prussia saw that the literal adoption of this policy would be a challenge to all Europe, and would surrender the principle of that influence which their own position in Europe enabled them to exercise on the politics of the Confederation. Their unwillingness to sacrifice this influence to a sudden storm of public opinion is as reasonable as their resolution not to pledge themselves to a European war, which they would have to plunge into without preparation, and the burden of which would fall more particularly on them, since they would be held responsible for its occurrence. They can neither identify themselves entirely with the German nation, nor live separated

from it. When the present agitation began, its national character was but dimly understood by several of the smaller governments which have since—rather from animosity to the allied powers than from motives of patriotism—become the champions of the most extreme demands. But the truth was at once perceived at Berlin, and still more at Vienna; and neither Austria nor Prussia had any interest in repressing or opposing the movement.

Let us look for a moment at the state of the Federal system at the time when King Frederick of Denmark died. For many years Prussia had treated it as hopeless and untenable; and she had accordingly done every thing in her power to baffle the action and neutralise the authority of the Bund. To the outer world she presented it as a mere dependency of her own; and she had laboured to prevent the accomplishment of any reforms, in order that nothing might qualify the contempt in which she wished it to be held at home. Matters had become worse since the meeting of the sovereigns at Frankfort. From that time Prussia had been in open opposition to the Confederation, and to every scheme of reform based on its existing laws. In many vexatious ways she had prevented the success of the reformers. But she had neither made any separate proposal of her own, nor moved any amendment to the act which was passed at Frankfort, lest by so doing she should implicitly recognise the fundamental idea of the Federal system—the equal rights of all the Confederates. Austria, on the other hand, had endeavoured to reconcile this idea with the necessary consideration for the actual inequality of power between the several states. At the Frankfort meeting the assent of all the smaller states, except some vassals of Prussia, had been given to the Austrian reform, on the assumption that the sacrifice of sovereign independence, which Austria proposed in favour of the Federal power, was every where sincerely meant. Austria was commissioned to overcome the resistance of Prussia by means of a compromise. But Prussia insisted on claiming for the two great powers a *veto* in all matters of war or peace; and this *veto*, if adopted, would have destroyed the Federal principle, by sanctioning an Austrian and Prussian supremacy, dividing Germany between those powers, and realising what is known as the policy of the Main frontier. Chiefly for this reason, the proposal failed; and when Austria thereupon convoked the ministers of those states which had acceded to the Frankfort reform, in order to carry it out by means of a less comprehensive league—a league in which Prussia was not included, though her present position in the existing Confederation was preserved—a new difficulty suddenly presented itself. It became apparent in the case of some of the reforming princes themselves that, whatever might be the energy of the conviction with which they had

accepted the Frankfort scheme, it was less powerful than their dread of action, and their reluctance to make a sacrifice for the good of the common country. In many of the minor courts it was pretended that the resistance of Prussia was a decisive impediment to every reform, and therefore a sufficient reason for inaction; the pretence was represented as patriotism; and when King Maximilian of Bavaria started for Rome, his journey was regarded as a flight from the necessity of deciding whether the reform should be practically accomplished, or whether a confirmation should be given to the state of things which had been solemnly pronounced rotten and unendurable. Thus the re-organisation of the Federal constitution had for the time to be abandoned; the Prussian minister triumphed, and was applauded even by the party of progress in Prussia; and the Emperor of Austria found his scheme deserted even by those who had most warmly embraced it.

These proceedings, sufficiently disguised by patriotic declarations and promises, come down to the time of King Frederick's death, and had their place among the motives which led the Emperor of the French to propose a European Congress. Except in Prussia, in the *Nationalverein*, which aims at excluding Austria from Germany, and making the rest of the nation Prussian, and among the democrats who speculate on the dissolution of existing institutions, they caused a general sense of dissatisfaction and disgust. These feelings had as yet no distinct grounds for directing themselves against any definite grievance; but they gave full scope to the influence of revolutionary agitation, urging the hopelessness of a national reform without the reviving agency of a radical convulsion. The popular indignation was turned first against Prussia, for her dogged opposition to any improvement in the system, and then also against the wavering and shrinking of the middle states from the hopeful promise of the Frankfort scheme. On the other hand, Austria gained no sympathy; for the theory of the middle states was, that they had entrusted her with the office of reconciling Prussia to the projected reform, although, instead of sustaining her in the negotiations, they had one after another withdrawn from their engagement on particular points, or released themselves by urging the necessity of postponing active measures until a complete preliminary agreement should be established between Vienna and Berlin.

Under these conditions the great German powers and the Governments and people of the lesser states encountered the sudden crisis occasioned by the King of Denmark's death. From the first, the Austrian government fully understood the nature of the enthusiastic outbreak, and proceeded in the belief that the nation

could not be pacified or the contest avoided. The Prussian ministry had its own reasons for regarding the prospect of hostilities with favour. Both powers, however, were alike determined not to provoke the inevitable issue, but to come to it under the most favourable auspices they could secure, and to prevent it from becoming a European war. Though they had so lately been in a state of violent antagonism on the question of Federal reform, they soon discovered many points at which their interests thoroughly coincided. Their recent experience gave them little confidence in the vigour or independence of the policy of the middle states. But these states, supported by the great national movement, now demanded that Prussia and Austria should throw over their engagements with Europe by the treaty of London, and should simply, against the menaces of all Europe, carry out the measures of the Confederation, which was not bound by that treaty. There was no assurance, however, that the middle group would stand by the two powers to the end. The latter, therefore, came to the determination to arrest the rising flood by insisting on the absolutely defensive character of the Federal constitution. And, as they could neither entirely elude the national sentiment, nor accept its control over themselves, they agreed in endeavouring to get the whole affair into their own hands. This it was impossible to accomplish without some rude shocks to the Federal system.

The position of the two great powers was seriously affected by the attitude of their own subjects. Austria was not directly concerned in the affairs of Schleswig-Holstein except through the treaty of London; but the movement in the German nation required of her that, as a member of the Confederation, she should obey the Federal resolutions, and should make war for the destruction of the treaty, if necessary against the whole of Europe. But Austria had been deserted by Germany in her own cause. Her political and economical exclusion from the nation was constantly demanded by the very party that claimed to be most purely national, and her recent scheme of German organisation had been thrown over by that other party which professed to uphold her federal connection with Germany. For these sufficient reasons the enthusiasm did not extend at first to the German provinces of Austria. Sympathy with the cause of the Duchies, and anxiety for their deliverance from the spiteful tyranny of the Danish democracy, were as strong in Austria as in the rest of Germany; but the practical, political interest in the matter grew into importance only in proportion to the part which the government actually took. Hence it is very remarkable, and significant of the preponderance of the German element in Austria, that when the Reichsrath came to discuss the policy

of Count Rechberg in the Schleswig-Holstein affair, on the vote of credit for the federal execution in Holstein, the victory of the government was accompanied by a schism in Schmerling's compact majority, and many eminent public men expressed their belief that the ministry had sacrificed the obligations of Austria as a German state to her position as a great European power. This schism may hereafter have important consequences in the internal life of the empire. The ministry, by its previous policy, especially by the alliance of the foreign office with the Bismarck administration in Prussia, had forfeited much of the sympathy of Germany; but it now became more popular, and much of its former prestige was recovered by the subsequent achievements of the Austrian army in the national cause.

The position of the Prussians towards the Schleswig-Holstein question is different. They have always claimed to lead Germany, on the ground of their eminently national spirit; and they have been in the habit of using the cause of the Duchies to throw discredit on the Diet, to illustrate the impotence of the middle states, and to represent Austria as the obstacle to a satisfactory settlement. If, as the popular voice would have it, the course taken by the several German races with regard to the present conflict were applied as a test of their patriotism, the Prussians would not come well out of the trial. By the end of 1863 almost every town in the middle states, especially in Southern Germany, had declared, either at meetings or by its municipal organs, that it was ready to make the most extreme sacrifices for the independence of Schleswig-Holstein under its native prince, and had begun to collect money, and founded associations to promote that end. But in Prussia there had been scarcely any demonstrations of the same kind, except among the students. Since the beginning of the present year also the Prussians have remained much more sparing of these manifestations of feeling than the rest of the Germans, though the Prussian liberal orators have appeared at meetings in Central Germany, to urge the adoption of the most extreme resolutions against the policy of the Great Powers. In the parliament at Berlin the affair of the Duchies was at first almost ignored, being looked on as an untimely interruption of the wordy but unproductive conflict with the reactionary ministry; and when some exhibition of patriotism could no longer be decently avoided, the question was treated much less in the interest of Schleswig-Holstein than as a part of the Prussian dispute with the Bismarck cabinet. Waldeck, the democratic leader, declared that no notice ought to be taken of the Duchies as long as there was no prospect of making them a Prussian province. When supplies were demanded to enable the government to execute the military mission it had received

from the Diet, they were refused by the House of Deputies. The vote was disguised as one of want of confidence in the foreign policy of the minister; but it was given in the full consciousness that he could not be driven from office, and that this defeat would place him in the dilemma of either neglecting the federal duties of Prussia, or crowning his many breaches of the constitution by one which would be practically justifiable, and would inflict a deeper wound than any which had gone before it on the principle of the constitutional monarchy.

Nor had the military achievements of the Prussians against the Danes the same effect as those of the Austrians, in somewhat reconciling public opinion in Germany to their political conduct. Indeed, the contrast between the lofty language of the Prussian commanders and the results they were able to show even caused some injustice to be popularly done to the valour of the troops, and kept alive, in the case of Prussia, that suspicion of an understanding with Denmark which it was no longer possible for the most unscrupulous demagogue to breathe against Austria. Moreover, the haughtiness of the Prussian officers provoked perpetual conflicts with the federal authorities in Holstein; and these conflicts recalled the memory of 1849 too clearly not to lead to the persuasion that Prussia would again consider the Duchies as a conquest, made partly against Denmark and partly against the Confederation, which might be disposed of simply in accordance with Prussian interests. It was also thought to be a cause for alarm that, in the Prussian parliament, the opposition directed its attacks against individuals only, and seemed blind to the infraction of the rights of the other German states which was involved in the independent course of the government.

It is evident, then, that popular opinion did not determine the policy of the great German powers; nor did their parliaments constrain them to pursue any given path or aim, since the votes of those bodies were only negative, expressing dissatisfaction with particular ministers, but not suggesting any definite measures. The smaller states, however, whose policy could only assert itself through the Diet, were much more extensively controlled by the pressure of the prevailing spirit. It is hard to say why the movement in these states was more slow to manifest itself in Northern than in Southern Germany. But it must be borne in mind that the vote of the Diet on the 7th of December, on the question of a complete separation between the Duchies and the Danish monarchy, was decided by a small majority, and that that majority was composed of northern states which supported Austria and Prussia in carrying the long-delayed federal execution, instead of the Bavarian proposal of an occupation for protecting all the federal rights in the new order of things. At

that time, indeed, the governments of Southern Germany did not occupy the advanced position which they afterwards came to hold. The populations from the first had pressed in that direction; but they moderated their warlike ardour and their readiness to make sacrifices, when, as events proceeded, it became clear that if the agitators were allowed to lead the movement, it could never attain its ends without a civil war against the great powers, or an alliance with France. In either case, it was evident, the independence of the lesser states would be destroyed; and the instinct of self-preservation at last prevailed over the patriotic anxiety for the inhabitants of the Duchies. The popular feeling in favour of their complete independence and their adoption into the Confederation, where they would necessarily strengthen the purely German element, is at this moment stronger and more active in the middle states than in Austria and Prussia. But when the Bavarian and, still more, the Saxon government cling so firmly to the inalienable rights of the Duchies, and the legitimacy of the pretender's claims, and oppose the policy of the two great powers with so much fanaticism as to be constantly on the verge of war with them, they are of course influenced by motives that have little to do with the good cause of Schleswig-Holstein, and the rightfulness of the Augustenburg succession.

These motives, however, are not the only ones that govern the conduct of the lesser states; but they go far to explain the fact that these states, and especially such of them as are in the South, have yielded almost without resistance to the impulse of the great agitation. The death of King Frederick, as we have seen, coincided in point of time with the collapse of the project of federal reform. The two extreme parties, the *kleindeutsch Nationalverein* and the *grossdeutsch Reformverein*, regarded this collapse as a conjuncture favourable to their radical designs; but this sentiment was not a general one. The overwhelming mass of the Germans hold that the national constitution can only be remodelled on some scheme which shall harmonise the interests of the petty sovereigns with the complicated relations of the great powers; and they were persuaded that the princes who had adopted the Austrian scheme at Frankfort had faltered in their patriotic resolution from no worthier motive than a dread of the sacrifice of independent authority which the scheme necessarily involved. When the lesser states excused their refusal to join Austria in accomplishing the reform without Prussia, by alleging that nothing could be done until the two great powers had come to an understanding, the allegation was regarded as a sign of pusillanimous insincerity; since the differences between those powers are such that an understanding was never to be expected. The democracy and the adherents of the Prussian supremacy

were actively endeavouring to make capital out of the position of affairs. It was now clear, they argued, from the failure of the reform, that a strong and united Germany could spring only from a convulsion which should overthrow the princes, or from the subjugation of the lesser ones under the Prussian power. All this weakened the monarchical principle in the smaller states; but the governments yielded to no illusions. They felt the absolute necessity of recovering themselves in the eyes of the nation; and when the storm burst forth in November, without any intervention of the great parties, they seized the occasion with extraordinary eagerness, in order to restore the popularity of the central states. In Bavaria, where the enthusiasm of the people was the most stern and resolute, the government found an additional inducement to favour it, in the satisfaction of taking revenge on the Danish royal family for its acceptance of the Hellenic throne. Later on, however, the policy of the two great powers towards the Diet threw the majority, composed of the lesser states, more and more into the background, and practically deprived them of their equal rights as confederates; while the general movement, passing into the hands of the great parties, sustained the policy of the federal majority, for the realisation of which it was ready to create a separate confederation of the minor powers. In this position of affairs Bavaria stood forward as being, for such an eventuality, the natural leader of Central Germany; but she began to temporise, and grew more moderate, when the majority in the Diet became less united, and the advance of Austria and Prussia removed the question of the Duchies from the federal jurisdiction into the region of international law. The agitators and demagogues of the *Nationalverein* now sought to rouse the indignation of the patriots against this apparent lukewarmness of the Bavarians; and the Saxon minister, Von Beust, eagerly possessed himself of the vacant position, at least as far as words could do it. But all these combinations of the minor states lost much of their effect in the actual votes of the Diet, and were moreover neutralised by the progress of events in the field. The conference of ministers at Würzburg was not attended by the minor governments of Northern Germany, Hanover, Hesse, and Oldenburg; and its failure demonstrated both the impossibility of organising a third group of states on strictly national principles, in opposition to the more scrupulous and cautious European policy of the great powers, and also the improbability that a union of those states would ever accomplish its destined mission of mediating between Austria and Prussia.

In the earlier days of the movement the popular agitation sought, by parliamentary addresses, by meetings, and by every

sort of demonstration, to drive the middle states into a violent antagonism to the great powers in the Confederation, and thus compelled these powers to undertake the winter campaign across the Eider, in order to prevent a German, and to localise the Danish, war. The same agitators now overwhelm the middle states with abuse and votes of censure for their want of unanimity, for the inefficacy of their resolutions in the Diet, and for the failure of their lofty promises. If these zealots had their way, it is quite possible that we might live to see the armies of Central Germany falling on the rear of the allies in Schleswig, simply because the programme of the great powers is less satisfactory for the national interests than the promises of the minor states. Urged forward by the popular excitement, and jealous for the maintenance of their equal position with the great powers in the Diet, partly influenced by dynastic sympathy with the Prince of Augustenburg, and partly impressed with the decisive consequences of the present struggle on their own security hereafter, the rulers of Central Germany undertook to gratify the illusions of their subjects by comporting themselves like great powers. Their hesitating attempt was frustrated by the rude realities of comparative force; and its failure naturally brought on them the bitter anger of their own people, whom the organs of the governments themselves had helped to work up to their former pitch of excitement and expectation. The illusion of a third group of states counterbalancing the two great powers has vanished, though its ghost may long continue to be called up at intervals, for various purposes and on different sides.

Germany owes this humiliating result chiefly to the two great parties, both of which were substantially ruined by the failure of the Act of Reform. The *Nationalverein*, indeed, had lost its influence from the beginning of the Bismarck rule in Prussia. Having made the absorption of Germany by Prussia the keystone of its policy, its vitality was destroyed when the Prussian government scornfully refused its alliance, and the Prussian people proved too weak to prevent, or even to check, the unsympathising and separatist absolutism of their rulers. For a whole year the national association had solemnly abjured the Prussian supremacy, without having obtained any substitute except the vague cry of Progress. Many of those who, under its banner, had formed the majority in some of the lesser parliaments, abandoned its tainted name, and called themselves the party of Progress. But the abjuration of the Prussian fanaticism was a mere hypocrisy. The party still intrigued to bring the parliaments into collision with the governments, and to prevent any reform that did not tend towards the annexation to Prussia. It laboured every where to introduce disorganisation and disorder,

looking forward to the moment of a sudden change of system at Berlin, and reckoning that Germany would then be the more easily incorporated with Prussia the more completely its political institutions were undermined. So far there was method in the madness. But, as the disappointment lasted and success was delayed, the party of Progress fell more and more into the hands of demagogues, without principles, or morality, or logic. Every opportunity was seized to recall its services to the recollection of the masses; and this agitation for the sake of agitation it carried on with a skill and perseverance hardly ever before exhibited by a party which has retained its organisation without any distinct ideas. But it lost more and more the respect of the masses; and the signs of its decline became apparent as events marched on without regard for its impotence. For months it had been eagerly seeking some definite national object, in order to summon its rank and file again round its deserted standard and its isolated staff. Fate sent it the death of Frederick VII., the common constitution of the 19th of November, and the Schleswig-Holstein pretender.

It cannot be said that when the crisis came the *grossdeutsch* party was any better prepared. Its moderate and loyal members were combined and organised in the reform associations; but the more democratic elements, which a popular movement must chiefly rely on, held aloof. If the federal principle had not recently suffered a heavy defeat by the failure of the scheme for reform, the Schleswig-Holstein affair would no doubt have tended to the triumph of *grossdeutsch* opinions among the people. But, as matters actually stood, the sensible leaders of both the national parties could not help seeing that the independent popular agitation in favour of the Duchies would ignore them and pass them by; and they understood the danger it would then be exposed to, of either degenerating into the vulgar instrument of demagogues, or breaking up into divided and impotent efforts, in either of which cases it would end in a ridiculous failure. This danger increased as the members of either party took the lead in the meetings and associations for Schleswig-Holstein in the several towns and territories,—a course in which the demagogues of the *Nationalverein* derived an advantage from their experience in agitating. To the leaders of the opposite party belongs the praise of having prepared a union between the *Nationalverein* and the *Reformverein*, independent of all party purposes, for the combined organisation and conduct of the popular movement in a legal and peaceable manner. The representatives of all the German parliaments and parties who met at Nuremberg in November, and convoked a general meeting of deputies at Frankfort for this purpose, evidently acted in the belief

that, since the whole nation was in principle united on this question, an alliance between the great national parties was possible, and would be able to exert a vigorous pressure on all those who might resist. But when the Frankfort assembly met, on the 21st of December, the state of affairs was completely changed. The members of the *Nationalverein* who had signed the Nuremberg compact, to set aside all party differences in order to coöperate for the independence of Schleswig-Holstein under Frederick of Augustenburg, had merely kept the name of their party out of sight, and had meanwhile been actively employed in getting the direction of the new associations exclusively into the hands of their partisans, and in monopolising the collection of money. The large sums over which they now obtained control, the careful organisation they already enjoyed, and the universality of the present movement, gave them an immense influence. They secured a majority in the committee of the Frankfort assembly, and constantly brought forward motions which distinctly aimed at the establishment of a sort of national government by the side of the regular state authorities. The *grossdeutsch* minority were reviled as Danes in Germany, denounced to the suspicions of the mob, and morally compelled to retire. In their absence the Central Committee of Thirty-Six was appointed. Its members were chosen almost exclusively from among the leaders of the *Nationalverein*; and they would have exercised a terrorism in Germany, as a committee of public safety, had it not been for the invariable and instinctive distrust felt by the nation for the party which sought by these intrigues to obtain the command of the people.

The Germans desire no revolution; and a revolution in the name of Schleswig-Holstein would damage the good cause of the Duchies, and ensure its ruin. The two great parties have been dissolved by the progress of events; and the combination under which the national movement is continued will be determined by the issue of the struggle with Denmark. A unanimous resolution of the German people for the restoration of their unity will be more easily attained than hitherto, when right and might have been weighed in a single definite question. Many illusions have been dispelled by the course of affairs; but the positive determination to vindicate the rights of the Duchies is as deep and as strong throughout the nation, without distinction of race or creed or party, as on the first day of the agitation. The Germans feel that their position as an active power will be only recognised by Europe when it has been established by some political achievement which shall be the work of the whole nation. They will follow that leader who will lead them to a national war. They regard the policy of Austria and Prussia with sus-

picion ; but the suspicion is not strong enough to dispense the governments of the other states from answering to the call of those two powers, if they should summon the nation to arms in order that Schleswig-Holstein may not be once more left to the tender mercies of Europe, without regard to its national claims. The insolence of Denmark has confirmed and fixed the determination of the Germans ; and the powers who are executing that determination are for the time identical with Germany.

AGRICULTURE IN FRANCE.

THE great warehouses by our docks, where one kind of merchandise is ranged in interminable bales, are a fair symbol of English agriculture; while that of France may be likened to the shops, which exhibit every variety of commodity. The comparison does not imply a preference for either system, but simply asserts a fact which there is no need to explain when we consider the difference of climate in the two countries. It is no whim of the farmer which covers Provence with olive-trees, the banks of the Rhine or Gironde with vines, or the Scotch mountains with their excellent beeves. Latitude decides the choice of crops, and thus indirectly influences the methods of cultivation. For the processes of cultivation are determined by the nature of the plants cultivated; a truism which will be found to have more important consequences than might be at first suspected. Thus, if one kind of crop could only be cultivated by hand, while another allowed the use of machinery, profound differences would in time be produced between the populations which cultivated the respective crops.

But, whatever are the effects of climate, man has a still more powerful influence on agriculture, on its methods and its processes. A French proverb says, *Tant vaut l'homme, tant vaut la terre*; but this seems to overlook the differences in the richness of soil, or rather to claim every thing for man's intelligence and work. Part of his influence depends on the social or political organisation of a country. In one nation land is looked upon as an instrument which loses its efficiency by being broken up; and the law favours the undivided inheritance of real property. In another this use of land is hardly considered, in comparison with the political and social advantages of each subject being a freeholder; and the law orders the equal division of property. We are pronouncing no opinion on this, but simply stating the fact that in one place the law favours large properties, in another small ones. And although it has been argued that the size of properties need not determine the extent of farms, because a large property may be let out in several farms, or a single farmer may rent a number of small properties, it is nevertheless certain that in the majority of cases the extent of farms has a close relation to the extent of properties.

We have, then, three principal agents which give agriculture its characteristic differences—climate, man, and man's political or social organisation. There are also secondary agents whose influence must not be overlooked, such as the neighbourhood of

a flourishing industrial population, offering a ready and certain market for the products of the soil, setting the example of operations on a great scale, and of the use of machinery, and providing out of its profits capital to be invested in agriculture. Good roads, peace, and security are other agents. It would be impossible to trace with any exactness the distinct action of each principal or secondary element. We see the combined effect of all at once; and one combination of causes, natural and social, climatic and political, gives to the agriculture of England the character of a factory, while another gives to that of France the character of a workshop. In the factory all the heavy work is done by natural forces—water, fire, or steam. In the workshop, though the aid of machinery is not discarded, the hand is the principal instrument employed. One method is distinguished by its extent, the other by its degree. These two divisions of agriculture may be traced in all countries. The one ever relies more or less on natural forces: the other is ever increasing the employment of man. Yet, though there is a perfect agreement in principles, there are many differences in the manner of their application. In England the high cultivation increases labour from the more careful breaking-up and cleansing of the soil; but it turns chiefly on manures, for which it spares no expense. In France the value of manures is by no means overlooked; but high cultivation turns chiefly on the increase of manual husbandry.

This is no arbitrary difference. The French farmers are not so rich as the English, and are therefore less disposed to risk their money in manures. They are for the most part small proprietors, and cultivate their own freeholds by means of their families and a few servants. Often they pay nothing for assistance, but do all that is necessary in spare bits of time. It is the relative abundance of hands in France that makes the varieties of cultivation possible. In a workroom, each artisan may be engaged in a different work, without any relation to that of his neighbour; in a factory, on the contrary, it is absolutely necessary that all the occupations should converge to one end. Variety of produce is out of the question, but in its place we have quantity. In the same time, or rather on a given area, English cultivation produces more than French; and this is one of the prerogatives of a factory over a workroom. If France only produced corn, meat, and beer, like England, its inferiority would be great; it would stand below its neighbour both in the quantity and in the quality of its produce. But France produces also large quantities of flax and colza, wine and silk, French plums, raisins, olives, almonds, figs, and oranges, enough to re-establish the balance in its favour. Many of these products

succeed better with the concentrated labour of small proprietors than with the half-manufacturing processes of large farmers; and as in a favourable climate a family can live on a small piece of land, many French writers are in favour of small farms. Others prefer large ones. Their differences spring from the latter thinking that the state ought, before all things, to aim at abundance of raw products; while the former think that progress consists in the fineness and quality of the produce. This result, it is said, is got by small farming, while abundance is secured by large farms. Though the actual quantities produced are greater in small farming, the net produce is greater in large farms. The majority of economists, however, are agreed that both systems are equally useful, if they are adopted with due regard to local and political circumstances. This theory, set forth with great talent by M. H. Passy in his *Systèmes de Culture*, has silenced the disputes which used to be current about the size of farms; and the partisans of the two systems have united in the one effort of forwarding the progress of French agriculture, which is far from having attained the perfection of which it is capable.

It would be a mistake to suppose that these efforts are only of to-day, or of 1815, the opening of the era of peace, or of 1789, the epoch of so many changes. We will not go so far back as to the time of Sully, who used to say that labourers and shepherds were the two breasts of the state; or that of Colbert, who also patronised agriculture. We find that the French economists of the physiocratic school were the real originators of agricultural progress. During the second half of the eighteenth century they had great influence on public opinion, especially on that of the richer classes and the proprietors, whose expensive habits made them desirous of getting all they could out of their estates. Now, among Quesnay's general maxims of economic government, the third is, "that prince and people should never lose sight of the fact that land is the one source of wealth, which agriculture is the means of multiplying. For the increase of wealth procures increase of population; and capital and labour make agriculture prosperous, extend commerce, encourage industry, and increase and secure wealth. From this plenteous source springs the good administration of all parts of the state." The ninth maxim adds, "that a nation which has an extensive territory to cultivate, and facilities for maintaining a great commerce in raw produce, should not apply too much capital or too many hands to manufactures or trade, to the prejudice of the hands or capital employed in agriculture. For the first aim should be to have the kingdom well peopled with rich cultivators." Quesnay adds a note, which we must also translate: "Of all methods of gaining

money, there is none better, more profitable, more agreeable, more natural, or more liberal, than agriculture." Among his disciples were Turgot, the Abbé Beaudou, Mercier de la Rivière, Dupont de Nemours, the Marquis de Mirabeau, Condorcet, and many other celebrities of the time just preceding the Revolution. Great improvements were introduced into France through their influence: the internal custom-houses were abolished, and the corn-trade became free throughout the kingdom; a foundation was laid for freedom of manufactures; commercial treaties were made; and the breeding of merino sheep and some other agricultural improvements were encouraged. But far beyond these results was the influence of the opinions formed by the physiocrats—opinions in which there was much to disapprove, but which aided greatly in destroying prejudices unfavourable to agriculture.

Yet perhaps the physiocrats would not have advanced matters much, had it not been for the Revolution of 1789. We are not here concerned with the political side of the Revolution, but only with its manifold influence on agriculture. Of all the forces it brought to bear on this matter, the chief was the rude shock it gave men's minds, to awaken them from their slumbers. The reproach of the continental farmer, as of the French peasant, is his invincible spirit of routine. For a long time he never read, never knew how to read; he only tried to get out of his ground bare necessities; and his land, treated stingily and without knowledge, made a stingy answer to his prayer. In the northern provinces it lay fallow one in every three years; in the south it was only sown every other year. And whence could the peasant get the idea of progress? The pamphlets of the physiocrats could never touch him, even if he had been able to read them; they were not addressed to him; and before they had time to create a public opinion strong enough to influence him, the tempest came which swept away the upper classes, and transferred the greater part of the land to more greedy and also more industrious hands.

Most people own that it was an act of robbery to deprive the Church and nobles of their lands; but almost every body admits that this robbery was a benefit to agriculture. Still, a few timid doubts may be expressed on this head. It is quite true that a large number of properties have been more profitable to the new than to the old owner; but this advantage has had many drawbacks. First, in many cases the purchaser of one of these *biens nationaux*, as the confiscated estates were called, was ill at ease in his conscience, and suspected the morality of the transaction. The consequence was that he did not feel quite secure of his title. A counter revolution might come and overthrow it. For

this reason nobody would pay good coin for these stolen man-sions and forests, fields and meadows. However the king was cursed as a tyrant, his effigy in gold or silver was cherished and hoarded; but the assignats, the paper money which was decreasing in value every day till it came to be worth nothing, were readily paid away for doubtful rights over real property.

We say "rights over real property;" for it is certain that for several years the purchasers made scarcely any use of their new acquisitions. They never dreamed of improvements, nor had they the capital to make them. Most of the purchasers were entirely without agricultural knowledge; and the example of England was of no use to those who were about to wage so long and terrible a war with her—a war which also prevented the introduction of improved breeds of cattle. The peace of 1815, and the much-abused *milliard* which the Restoration gave as compensation to the *émigrés*, at last gave complete security to the contested titles; and from 1825, it is said, the change of ownership began to exhibit its full benefits. This we may grant, and yet doubt whether the nobles, if they had kept their estates, would have been more slow to move. Without citing the examples of other countries, let us ask, whose names do we generally see figuring in the prize-lists of the French cattle-shows? The Comte de Falloux, the Marquis de Torcy, the Marquis de Vogué, the Comte de Tracy, the Marquis de Dampierre, M. de Behagne, and a number of other men of rank. Can we suppose that the gentlemen of the old *régime*, influenced by public opinion, incited by example, and stimulated by want of money, would have been any slower to understand their own interests? No prejudice stood in their way; it was shameful to trade, but it was not derogatory to a nobleman to improve the income of his property.

There is another point that should be mentioned. It is usually supposed that the subdivision of French properties was a fruit of the Revolution. But we have only to read contemporary writers like Arthur Young or Necker, or to run through the list of indemnities granted to the *émigrés*, in order to see the falsehood or the exaggeration of this view. Before 1789 the number of small proprietors was very great. It is true that this number has increased through several causes, one of which is the law¹ on

¹ In the correspondence of Napoleon I. with his brother Joseph, then king of Naples, we read: "Establish the French civil code at Naples; and all that does not attach itself to you will be destroyed in a few years, while what you want to keep will be consolidated (by the *majorats* or entails). *This is the great advantage of the civil code.* . . . You must establish it in your kingdom; it will consolidate your power, because it undermines every property but the entails, and no great houses will remain but those which you set up as fiefs. *This is what made me preach, and induced me to establish, a civil code*" (xii. 432). The equal division of lands was previously in use for lands not belonging to the nobles; and the Emperor only utilised an established custom. His plan was to

the equal division of inheritances. This law causes a division of farms, but not to so great an extent as is supposed. The inheritors often prefer to sell the property, either by private contract or by auction, to one of their number, who pays their proportion of the value to the rest.² Speculation is another cause; a company, nicknamed by its enemies the *bande noire*, bought large properties, and sold them in lots at a great profit. But we need not balance the good and evil done by this company, when we think how very small was its influence—so small that we only mention it because it made a great noise in the times of the Restoration.

It is more important to look at the question from a point of view which we do not remember to have seen mentioned. Writers have balanced large against small properties in relation to their productiveness, their political significance, and their bearings on agricultural progress, and have given their judgment in accordance with their views on these subjects; but they do not seem to have taken notice of the want of capital at the time of the Revolution. Now, however we may prefer large farms to small, it is clear that it is better to cultivate a small farm with a sufficient capital than a large one without it. As France was then situated, the division of property was in conformity with the smallness of capital.

The result of the Revolution most useful to the farmer is the equitable adjustment of taxation. The taxes are not less; but they are now levied legally and fairly. Many obstacles to progress have also been swept away by the abolition of the rights of mills and ovens, and of several other absurd customs. The night of the 4th of August 1789 was an important epoch for French agriculture. A few days after—on the 11th—the decrees voted on that night were published in form. The first article entirely destroyed the feudal system. The personal feudal rights—those which establish serfage, or confer honourable privileges—were abolished without compensation; the profitable rights were to be purchased at a price fixed by the National Assembly. Articles 2 and 3 abolished the exclusive right of dove-cotes, the rights of chase and free warren. Article 4 abolished the manorial courts of justice. Article 5 abolished all tithes in the hands of secular or regular corporations, and promised to provide in some other way for the expenses of worship, and for alms to the poor. All other tithes were made redeemable. Article 6 made all other

strengthen his throne by surrounding it with a hundred possessors of majorats. It is surprising that so profound a genius should have thought of building his dynasty on so weak a foundation so few years after Lewis XVI., the sacred majesty and inviolable king, had found thousands of them unable to secure him from the scaffold.

² A farm is rarely divided so as to break up a business; generally it is only the outlying plots of land that are divided.

perpetual rent-charges, whether in kind or money, redeemable. Article 7 abolished the purchase of magistracies and municipal offices. Article 8 suppressed the fees of country parsons, on condition that the increase of their *portion congrue*, or minimum revenue of 20*l.*, was increased. Article 9 abolished all exemptions from taxation, and declared that the assessment should extend to all citizens and to all kinds of property, and be similar for all. Article 10 abolished the privileges of provinces, districts, and boroughs. Article 11 opened the admission to public offices to all citizens, without distinction of birth. Of course all these articles did not equally affect the progress of agriculture; but we mention them all to show the nature of the change which the year 1789 must have produced on the popular mind.

Agriculture perhaps was more directly interested³ in the law of the 28th of September 1791, *sur les biens et usages ruraux*. Its first article runs as follows: "The territory of France, throughout its whole extent, is free as the persons that inhabit it; therefore no landed property can be subject to any other usages than those established or recognised by the law, nor to any other sacrifices than those which public utility may require, upon the awarding of a just indemnity." The second article adds: "The proprietors are free to vary their crops as they please, and to dispose of all products of their lands within or without the frontiers of France, without prejudice to the rights of others, and in conformity with the laws." We will not quote the other enactments of the "Rural Code," although such articles as those which allow every proprietor to enclose his estate, those on common rights and the passage of flocks, those on the utilisation of rivers, and the like, are not without importance. In judging of the effects of the Revolution, it should not be forgotten that France was a country where it was necessary to make a law to authorise the cultivator to change his crops as he pleased.

From this time the coast was clear for the development of French agriculture. What use did it make of the facilities it had gained? Did it seize them with all the ardour of the national character—with that *furia francese* which other nations so often sneer at and envy? Not so. Its ardour carried it to other

³ The following is the opinion of M. Léonce de Lavergne on the tithes (*Economie rurale*, p. 8): "The suppression of the tithes was really a much less important measure than people think. The burden has been shifted, not abolished; for the expenses of public worship are now nearly 50,000,000*fr.*, although the promise of 1789, to raise all the country parsons' incomes to 1200*fr.*, has not been fulfilled. The clergy have lost on the whole about 20,000,000*fr.* a year; but I do not believe the tithe-payers have gained this amount. It would not be difficult to show in our present budget 20,000,000*fr.* less profitably spent than the old tithes. On the other hand, the rent of the land has been generally increased by the amount of the tithes, and the farmers who are not also proprietors have gained nothing."

fields, which it fertilised with its blood, if not with its labour. The wars which desolated Europe during the Republic and the Empire took the labourers from the fields; and the traveller in 1810, or 1812, or even later, might have seen in Alsace, or Flanders, or Normandy, many a wagon driven by women, and of the other sex nothing but old men and invalided soldiers. This was not the season for agriculture to advance. Still the imperial times were not quite destitute of progress. Great attention was given to the maintenance and improvement of the main roads—the cross roads came afterwards—and to the construction of bridges and canals. A law was made for the drainage of marshes; and the continental blockade gave birth to the beetroot-sugar trade,—a proof that there is no wind so ill as not to blow good to somebody.

We do not mean that this was all that the imperial government did for agriculture. If we may believe an Englishman who travelled through France after 1815, the progress made since the time of Arthur Young was surprising. "We no longer see," says he, "the peasants covered with rags, and so miserable that they are only objects of pity. Now they seem well fed and well to do." Of course there was progress; it is a natural tendency of mankind. And those great wars, though they cost much blood, yet carried the French peasants through all the countries of Europe, and showed them how other nations tilled their lands. In their tedious winter-quarters, in their lengthened garrison duties, idleness came to be, for a wonder, the mother of learning; and many a mind was struck by the processes witnessed in foreign countries. So the crusades, though they could not preserve Jerusalem to Christendom, had very important indirect effects. But we do not thank people for benefits which they did not intend; and governments especially must not take credit for improvements to which they have not directed their efforts.

In England we should be loth to admit that the interference of government could benefit agriculture. It must be left to private adventurers; or if it wants any patrons, any persons to watch over its progress, our gentry are fully equal to the work. But it is not so in France. Frenchmen are as willing to make sacrifices as we are; but the two countries differ in the thing they give. Frenchmen are prodigal of their blood, but sparing of their money. We are prodigal of our money, but parsimonious of our blood. Improvements are expensive. In France only the government will bear their cost. People know that the government has no means except those which it extracts from the pockets of the tax-payers; but no matter. Any thing which bears *l'attache* of the government, which is countersigned by its functionaries, or carries evidence of its presence, is thought more

of by many Frenchmen than any thing that depends on private enterprise. It has even been argued that "agriculture can only flourish when it is the object of anxious and constant supervision by the government." We have a better opinion of French agriculture. We consider it perfectly able to walk without leading-strings. It is of age. But still, as there exists in France a complete administrative organisation for the promotion of rural economy, we must give a general account of it as it exists at present, without troubling ourselves to give the exact dates of all its developments.

The ministry of agriculture, commerce, and public works is the organ of the government for this purpose. One of its departments oversees the whole province of rural economy, with the aid of a staff of "general inspectors." As each farmer may farm as he pleases, the ministry can give no orders. Its only means of persuasion is by its teaching, by encouragements, by the institutions it founds, and by the laws which it recommends.

As to its teaching, the first attempts at agricultural instruction were made by private persons in France as well as in England, and even in Germany. Matthieu de Dombasle, the founder of Roville, near Nancy, was the beginner of French agronomic institutes. Roville disappeared from the agricultural firmament after its founder's death, but the *Annals of Roville* perpetuate its memory. Its successors have been Grignon, near Versailles, founded in 1827 by M. Bella, whose son is still at its head; Granjonan, in the environs of Nantes, founded in 1832 by M. Rieffel; and Le Saulsaie, in the department of the Ain, not very far from the Swiss frontier, founded in 1840 by M. Nivière. These three institutions still exist. In 1848 they passed into the hands of the government as "district schools of agriculture," and now figure in the budget as "imperial schools of agriculture." The change of name is not without significance, and may be easily explained. When private agricultural institutions were seen to flourish in France, pressure was put on the government to make them take up the business. Perhaps the government of July would have yielded. In those days it was the fashion to say that France was an essentially agricultural country. It was the boast of orators who did not know how much better it is for a country to be at once agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing. Now in a country essentially agricultural, it was an essential function of the state to teach agriculture. After the Revolution of 1848 the new government, it is said, found the plans drawn up. The late M. Thouret, a distinguished agronomist, to whom the chances of politics gave the portfolio of agriculture, had the pleasure of organising a whole system of agricultural instruction. An agronomic institute was founded at Versailles for the scientific studies;

the three existing institutions were adopted; it was proposed to found seven or eight more in different districts of France, for middle, or, as the French say, secondary instruction; and there were to be school-farms⁴ for inferior, or primary instruction. Of these there was to be one for each of the 86 departments,—or even for each of the 363 arrondissements. But when a law begins its existence on paper, it does not always penetrate into the region of facts. Sometimes the people will not have it; sometimes circumstances prevent it; sometimes the two obstacles combine. In the present case the organisers of 1848 wanted to go too fast. The pace soon slackened; and now there is no movement at all, at least in this direction. The agronomic institute of Versailles, under the presidency of M. de Gasparin, and with a constellation of brilliant professors, nominated after a competitive examination, had rapidly made itself a great name. Why the imperial government suppressed it, has never been told to the world; but the consequence of this event is that the secondary institutions have become *imperial* instead of *district schools*. At the same time the 49 school-farms passed from the third into the second rank; and now there is a talk of establishing a new third rank by introducing agricultural instruction into the primary schools. It would thus be brought home to all the population. Trials have been made, but on no connected plan. The principle is still *à l'étude*. Besides this symmetrically organised instruction, there are professors of agriculture at Rodez, Besançon, Quimper, Bordeaux, Beauvais, Toulouse, Nantes, Rouen, and Amiens, who sometimes also go on lecturing tours. There are also three veterinary schools supported by the state, at Alfort near Paris, Lyons, and Toulouse.

Without entering into the question whether agricultural instruction is best given by the state or by private enterprise, we may submit that, if the state meddles with the business, it should do it thoroughly. And how can the system be perfect without its head—without the high school which “crowned the edifice”? It was from this establishment that the most important progress radiated. It was there that inveterate prejudices were most efficaciously combated; for it was there that the richest, the most intelligent, the most progressive cultivators—the model farmers, whose practice enlightened whole neighbourhoods and reversed their routine—received their education. The need seems so great, that we should think an institution of the kind would be supported, even in France, without any assistance from the government.

Many people entertain the same opinion of some other estab-

⁴ These farms are private establishments, the proprietors of which receive a salary from the state. The pupils are few, and have to perform manual labour.

ishments, which belong to the list of means of "encouragement" employed by the government; such as the dairy and sheep farms, and the breeding-studs. The imperial dairy and sheep farms⁵ are situated at Moneavril, Gévrolles, Haut Tingray, Le Pin, St. Angeau, Alfort, Mably, Le Camp, and Trévoux. These are the most important farms; and, with the addition of those of Rambouillet and Vincennes, are the nurseries whence every year come the bulls and rams destined to improve the breeds of cattle. Several of the rams have been sold for high prices, and some have been taken to the Baltic provinces. At such prices private enterprise would make a profit. The introduction of sheep of fine fleece dates from the last century,⁶ and the intervention of the government was no doubt useful at first. Soon after the introduction of the merinos, attention was awakened to the remarkable qualities of English breeds, and Gilbert was sent over to report upon them; but there is no trace of their introduction into France at that time. Wollaston, in 1819, was the first to import the Ditchley or New Leicesters; M. de Mortemart followed in 1825; and the government only took up the matter in 1831. In 1836 the Southdowns, and in 1837 the New Kents, were imported to improve the French breeds. The Durham cattle were introduced in 1823 by Brière d'Azy.

The English thorough-bred horses have been known in France since the seventeenth century; but nothing practical came of it till 1754, when, for a bet, one traversed the forty miles between Fontainebleau and Paris in 108 minutes. But the royal breeding-studs contained not only English stallions, but some from all countries famous for their horses. The Republic suppressed these studs in 1793; Napoleon reestablished them in 1806; and from that time they have been kept up or reorganised, according as the government simply desired to encourage or was ambitious to transform. At the present time the order of the day is encouragement, by letting out good stallions, by giving prizes for grooming and the like, by different recompenses, and especially by the purchase of horses for the army, and even sometimes for the Emperor's stables. Sometimes the government adds good advice, as may be seen from a passage out of a report of the director of the studs: "Breeder must now see that, in exchange for the encouragements of all kinds given them not only by the state, but by the departments and the towns, they must try to justify the sacrifices and the care be-

⁵ The state bears the expenses only of the sheep-farms of Gévrolles and Haut Tingray, and of the dairy-farms of Corbon and St. Angeau. The others are chargeable to the Emperor's civil list.

⁶ It was through the Duc Ch. de Trudaine, intendant of finances, and Daubenton, that merino sheep were introduced into France, in 1766.

stowed on them. If they wish to put into their own pockets the millions which horse-fanciers spend in foreign parts, they must henceforth set themselves to give their produce such qualities as every consumer has a right to demand. When this truth is acknowledged, when the breeders have really entered on the way of progress, the national production will take its eagle-flight, and the horse-breeding trade (*l'industrie chevaline*—we are at a loss for plain English to translate the eloquence of this brilliant Houyhnhnm) will be set on its true basis; then with more self-confidence, and with intelligence to judge of its own interests, it will perhaps be foremost to demand its initiative as ardently as erst it demanded the protection of the state." What would be the feelings of a respectable English farmer thus officially instructed and dictated to by the first clerk of the cattle-market?

Another means of administrative encouragement connected with the studs is horse-racing. The first race took place in the Plaine des Sablons in 1776. Now there are more than 60 hippodromes, where there are several races in the year, besides between 80 and 100 courses for steeple-chases and trotting-courses for hacks. Nearly 400 prizes are distributed every year.

But the agricultural shows, where cattle, implements, and produce are exhibited, are of more importance than the races. There are two series of cattle-shows. The first comprises animals for the shambles, beginning with the Poissy show in 1844—where the most important exhibitions all take place. There are also annual shows at Lyons, Bordeaux, Lille, Nîmes, and Nantes. The second series is for breeding animals, beginning with the exposition at Versailles in 1850, where 63 cattle, 63 sheep, 10 swine, 155 implements, and 90 lots of produce, were exposed. In 1851 there were four exhibitions in different parts of France; in 1852-1857, eight; in 1859-1862, ten; and in 1863, 1864, twelve. In 1863 the numbers of cattle, implements, and lots of produce were reckoned by thousands. The utility of these shows is undeniable. They are a strong stimulant to some, and an excellent school for others. Moreover these official exhibitions are not the only ones. There are numbers of others, less extensive, but as efficacious, organised by agricultural associations and committees. There are also ploughing-matches and the like, the effect of which may be imagined from a fact reported in the newspapers a few months ago. A bold and hardworking peasant presented himself at a match with his rude ancestral plough; but he was so soon distanced by the improved implements, that he solemnly broke up his old machine and bought a new one. It is thus that progress makes its way, by gradually breaking up routine and prejudice.

These private associations and committees, the number of which amounts to 741, are of incalculable use. They include among their members a large number of small farmers and peasants, who meet at stated intervals to hear a paper read on some question of agriculture, who organise various competitive exhibitions, and who give prizes for all kinds of progress, either out of their private contributions or out of money which the government awards to them. Among these prizes is the whole class of *primes d'honneur* which the government instituted in 1856, and has since developed. The ministerial circular thus explains the motives and considerations on which the step was taken: "The competitive exhibition brings out and awards prizes to those specimens of each race which display the best conformation and the most desirable qualities: but the award of the jury is not current beyond the area of the exhibitors. It is based solely on the animal exhibited, without consideration for the conditions under which it has been bred, for the system of which it is an expression, for the money which has been expended on it, for the loss or gain which the production of it will bring to the breeder or fatter."

The same is true of the agricultural productions. "The economical question, then, is necessarily kept almost out of sight by the juries, when, for instance, they award the prize to the best bull, and point it out to breeders as an example of desirable qualities, without any consideration of the cost of its production. Considered simply as institutions for determining and awarding prizes to absolute perfection, we may say that the competitive exhibitions have fully attained their object, and fulfilled the expectations which the administration had in creating them. But another step may now be taken; and we may consider whether a development of the institution, enabling it to embrace a sphere hitherto beyond its action, would be both useful and easy to accomplish."

The administration thereupon founded a special prize of 5000f., and a silver cup valued at 3000f., for the agriculturist whose farming was best, and who had brought into operation the most useful improvements. As there are twelve district exhibitions every year, there are twelve of these *primes d'honneur*. "The competition," says the circular of 1856, "is only really and seriously open to proprietors or large farmers, whose cultivation is both scientific and perfectly adapted to the circumstances of their locality, economical in cost, and productive in results. The jury, in a word, has not to award a prize for encouragement, but to recompense a net result, incontestable in its reality, and capable of being appealed to as a model example to show how economy in expenditure, order in labour, perfection in

system, the happy alliance of science and practice, and, finally, a proper subordination of system to invincible circumstances, create present prosperity and secure a great future for rural industry." This measure has resulted in giving prominence to many model farms; and if the prizes did not make them well cultivated, they at least brought them forward as examples for emulation.

The expenses of this administrative instruction and encouragement stand as follows in the estimates of the Minister of Agriculture for 1864:

Veterinary schools	643,300f.
Imperial schools of agriculture	530,600
School-farms, grants to	680,000
Dairy and sheep farms	199,100
Agricultural colonies	30,000
Professors of agriculture	18,800
Inspectors of agriculture	69,000
Encouragements—prizes for competition, grants to societies, and the like . . }	1,500,000
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Total chargeable to the ministerial budget	3,670,300
Add, expenses of breeding-studs . . .	1,860,000
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General total . . .	5,530,300

On the other side, we must extract from the same budget certain receipts derived from these establishments, which go towards lessening the above expenditure:

Veterinary schools	390,850f.
Imperial schools of agriculture	258,500
National sheep-farms, exclusive of those dependent on the civil list . . . }	52,000
National dairy-farm	96,956
Studs	652,460
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Total . . .	1,450,766

After instruction and encouragement, legislation furnishes the government with its most potent lever for forcing agricultural progress. Here our field is large, and we might carry up our history to remote times. But we will confine ourselves to the most recent measures, without going back beyond the last ten years.

The *Crédit Foncier* must head the list, though the company bearing that name was only constituted on the 28th of February 1852. But it would be as idle to make credit on real security depend on that decree, as to make language the invention of the first grammarian. Loans on real securities are almost as old as real property itself; and France has had good experience of

them, since she has accumulated a mass of mortgages estimated at 5 milliards by some, and at 12 milliards by others.⁷ The famous company does nothing but diminish in some measure the rate of interest, and facilitate the paying-off of mortgages. The 5 or 6 per cent annual payment includes a sinking fund, which gradually extinguishes the debt; and while the mortgager pays his interest duly, the capital remains inconvertibly in his hands, and his mortgage cannot be foreclosed. This was certainly an improvement on the old method of borrowing on mortgage; but it did not do much for agriculture. The greater part of the loans was granted to proprietors of houses in towns, and only small sums found their way into farms. Now, since the legislative favour shown to this society regarded solely its utility to agriculture, the object does not seem to be attained. The society itself feels this; and it has on the one hand petitioned for powers which do not find a place in the original plan, and on the other it has founded a *compagnie du crédit agricole*.

And here let us stop for a moment in our course over what we may call the organisation of French agriculture, to take breath, and make some general observations. We all know the great reproach made against France, of her tendency to centralisation. Those who defend this tendency against its vigorous opponents, trust most to the argument derived from national unity which, they say, is due to centralisation. It might be replied, that as this desirable unity was attained it would be proper to decentralise, so as to restore the equilibrium between the centre and extremities. It might be added that England was never centralised, and yet that national unity is as perfect there as in France. There is no greater difference between the Englishman and Scot than between the Picardian and Provençal; and more Bretons, Basques, Alsatians, and Flemish, unable to speak French, may be found, than Irish unable to speak English; and yet in France there were never such causes of hate as divided the English and Irish. Unity, then, has nothing to do with the question. And if, by hypothesis, administrative centralisation were still necessary to consolidate political unity, why need this conduct us to the Procrustean bed of economical centralisation? Is not agriculture essentially decentralised? Are not north and south, east and west, subject to different influences of soil and climate? Why, then, subject them to precisely the same conditions of labour, credit, production, and exchange? Why, of all things, take from those who can

⁷ The Minister of Finance has calculated that the mortgage indebtedness amounts nominally to about 12 milliards; but there is a great number of merely formal entries, which do not constitute a real mortgage. The amount to be thus deducted is not known, but is generally estimated at about 7 millions.

make the best use of it, that institution which was meant especially to aid them in their enterprises, the *crédit foncier*? What has been the consequence? This single establishment, produced by the fusion of several similar ones, and centralised at Paris, after languishing through ten years of progress (which, according to the *Moniteur*, filled the directors with joy), had come in 1862 to do business to the amount of 120 millions of francs, 33 millions of which were lent to communes, and 86 or 87 millions only on mortgage. Of these 87 millions, only 27 were lent to 560 inhabitants of departments; so that 60 millions were left for Paris! In old times, when a bank for real securities was as yet reckoned among the *pia desideria*, its establishment was asked for in the name of agriculture. Afterwards, when facts had spoken, a special establishment was said to be wanted for this purpose, and the *crédit agricole* was founded. And where? Why, in the centre, at Paris, where there is no agriculture. And so this establishment also is obliged to make a liberal interpretation of the word *agricole*, to lend upon the security of grain, and to extend its business to such accessory matters as beetroot-sugar manufactories, distilleries, flour-mills, and the like. Let us hope that time and experience will lead to an organisation which will bring the one who does the service into local contact with those who require it.

With excessive centralisation excessive regulation is closely connected. The exaggerated stringency of the law of July 17, 1856, is the cause why so few proprietors have applied for any part of the 100 millions then offered to them. Up to the present time the sum lent is quite insignificant, in spite of the twenty-five years allowed for gradual reimbursement. In six years thirty-nine proprietors have obtained loans to the amount of 720,750*fr.*, applicable to the drainage of 3279 hectares. But 144,216 hectares had been drained up to the 1st of January 1863. If, however, the loan is not much sought after, the gratuitous assistance of the imperial engineers is thankfully accepted. Some 30,000 hectares have been drained under their superintendence. There is still much to be done in this way. There is plenty of marsh-land.

Let us omit all measures of secondary importance, and come at once to the famous letter of January 5, 1860, written by the Emperor to his minister of state. His passion for astonishing the world by unexpected acts is well known. It will be lucky if the new Jove always launches his bolts through a sky as cloudless, against as real abuses and obstacles to progress. This time it was prohibitions that were struck; commerce and manufactures shared with agriculture the benefits granted or promised. "With regard to agriculture," said the letter, "it must have its

share in the banks for credit. To bring low woodlands under the plough, and to restore the woods on the high-lands; to set apart a large yearly sum for great works of drainage, irrigation, and reclamation of lands,—these works, by changing barren into well-tilled communes, will enrich the communes without impoverishing the state, which will recover its advances by the sale of part of the reclaimed land. One of the greatest services that can be done to the country is to facilitate the transport of matters of prime necessity for agriculture and manufacture.” This letter was a kind of preface to the treaty of commerce of January 28, 1860, and to the law of June 15, 1861, suppressing the sliding-scale, and substituting a fixed duty of 50 centimes to the 100 kilogrammes for corn, as well as to the improvements set forth in the *Moniteur* of January 21, and February 3, 1860, and November 13, 1863. We will not tire the reader with a list of the projected improvements; we will confine ourselves to saying that, for means of communication, France now possesses 16,988 kilometres of railway, 37,352 of high-road, 564,843 of branch-roads, 14,250 of navigable rivers and canals, 11,250 of which are actually traversed by boats.

It would be curious if we could distinguish, in the progress of French agriculture, the improvements due to government, and those due to private enterprise. But it would be impossible. The part taken by the administration is plain enough; for it works solemnly, in the mass, and publishes accounts of its expenses. Private enterprise, on the contrary, generally avoids all show, because all that glitters, though not gold, costs gold, and works in detail. But a thousand individuals, each producing 10*x*, produce more than one individual producing 1000*x*. This reflection leads us to suppose that, even in France, where the administration does so much, private enterprise does even more.⁸ The existence of a proverb like *aide-toi, le ciel t'aidera*, ought to make us believe that enterprising men are not so rare in France as is generally supposed.

But, in any case, it is certain that there has been much progress since the beginning of the century, which statistics will enable us to measure, though not without difficulty. Accurate returns are almost wanting for one of the two epochs which we are about to compare. We cannot rely on Arthur Young's

⁸ For this opinion we need scarcely quote the authority of M. Cl. Anth. Costaz, of the Office of Agriculture and Commerce, who, in his *History of the Administration* (1832, t. i. 220, note), says, “The French administration has been too neglectful of the suggestions of enlightened private persons. If it had aided in the execution of projects which a true love of the public welfare had inspired, our agriculture, in several of its branches, would have developed to a degree that it has not yet reached.” It is to be hoped that it has mended in this respect, and no longer despises private suggestions out of love for the public.

estimates, any more than on Vauban's. It is not safe to judge a great country by the aspect of a few square leagues. Neither can we rely on the illustrious Lavoisier, though he was deputy and commissioner of the treasury, having previously been farmer-general, a distinguished agricultural economist, and one who had studied political arithmetic all his life. He gives us only an estimate founded on an incomplete inventory. Chaptal, minister of Napoleon I., made a similar calculation, but on different data; and if we would compare the 2,750,000,000f. given by Lavoisier, in 1789, in his *Richesse territoriale du Royaume de France*, with the 4,678,000,000f. given by Chaptal for 1812, in his book *De l'Industrie française*, we should first have to make important rectifications. For instance, Lavoisier excludes from his total both the value of the seed, which Chaptal gives at 381 millions, and the consumption of animals attached to the farm, which Chaptal estimates at 863 millions. Next, if we desire to obtain the value of the actual products of agriculture, in spite of the great statistical works that have been going on for more than twenty years—with a success which some people question—it is still difficult to establish a satisfactory result. As a proof, we will copy from Dr. Maurice Block's *Charges de l'Agriculture dans les divers Pays de l'Europe* (1851) some of the estimates based on the official statistics of 1840:

Official estimate (very incomplete)	millions	4527
Estimate of Dr. Royer (with additions)		6641
" " with labourers' wages		7593
" of M. Moreau de Tonnès		6022
" of Dr. Maurice Block		7420

In 1852-53 a new official estimate was made, which gave for vegetable produce 5637 millions, and for animals 2716. The official document contents itself with adding these two sums, and making a total of 8353 millions, without thinking of subtracting at least 686 millions for forage, and of other similar drawbacks which probably would be found. The actual total then would be at most 7667 millions. But this total does not include the value of brandy, 64 millions (too small a sum, since the brandy exported in 1863 amounted to 67 millions; the actual value of this product is at least 150 millions), beer 63 millions, cider 47 millions, oil 160 millions, and raw silk 66 millions.

The result of estimates of this kind depends on a mass of details, slight differences in which will affect the general totals. For instance, if one statistician took for his unit the price of corn at the barn, and another the price of corn in the market-place, their totals might differ by 50 per cent or more. Again, a statistician, wishing to show the constant progress of French

agriculture, begins with Vauban, and goes on to Lavoisier and Chaptal, basing his continually increasing numbers on the authority of great names. Now Vauban, taking for his unit the prices of his own day, gives 1,301,804,000*l.* as the value of agricultural products. But to compare actual quantities it is clear that we must use the same unit; and if we multiply by the difference between the old and the new price of corn, we shall find that Vauban's sum represents a produce of 6,295,319,000*l.*!

With all these difficulties in our way, we can only give, with great diffidence, the following comparison, drawn up by the eminent economist and practical agriculturist M. Léonce de Lavergne, who gives the following division of the gross produce of a hectare, or two acres and a half, of land at three different epochs :

	1789.	1815.	1859.
Landlord's rent	12 <i>l.</i>	18 <i>s.</i>	30 <i>s.</i>
Farmer's profit	5	6	10
Miscellaneous expenses	1	2	5
Land-tax and tithe	7	4	5
Wages	25	30	50
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	50	60	100

These figures all seem to us too small, though the proportion between the items seems pretty exact. Perhaps the farmer's profit is put rather too low; but in this particular there are great variations between farm and farm, and district and district. As we find it impossible to estimate the great totals of produce with any more certainty than the celebrated men to whom we have referred, we will confine ourselves to particular tests, which can be based on exact data.

Amongst those in which we can feel most confidence is the census of the population. Now that of 1789, taken from the registers of taxes, gave the number of inhabitants at 26,363,074. The soil of France had to feed 26 millions of persons; almost all the corn they consumed was produced in the country. Odessa was not in existence; the United States were still occupied in healing the wounds of the war of independence; and the other corn-producing countries were cut off from France by the imperfection of the means of transport. The country was left to itself; and the consequence was thus put by Arthur Young: "I am so convinced, by my observations in all the provinces, that the population of the kingdom is out of proportion with its industry and its labour, that I firmly believe it would be stronger and infinitely more prosperous with five million inhabitants less. Through this excess it presents on all sides pictures of misery absolutely incomparable with any degree of happiness it could

ever have attained, even under the old government. A traveller, without looking so closely into things as I have done, will see unequivocal signs of distress every step he takes." Since Arthur Young wrote thus, the population has risen to 37 millions, and distress has certainly diminished. This fact alone authorises us to say that agricultural produce has increased 50 per cent. The increase of population refutes Arthur Young's argument; and we believe that a diminution of 5 million inhabitants, with the bad social organisation of the day, would not have made any change in the aspect of the country. In Vauban's time there were 5 million inhabitants less; and yet any one who reads his *Dîme royale* can see that the distress was portentous, and probably greater than about 1789.

The increase of population must have gone hand in hand with an increase of land under cultivation, or an increase in the production per acre, or perhaps both. The returns confirm this conclusion. In 1815, 4,591,000 hectares were sown with corn; in 1829, more than 5 millions; in 1852, 6 millions; and now there are more than 6,700,000 hectares. Corn has gained about half a million of hectares from rye, which now only takes two millions of hectares instead of two and a half; but it has made still greater inroads on the low woodlands, the downs, and heaths. This is one explanation of the increase of population; but there is also another. According to official tables, the mean produce of the hectare between 1815 and 1820 oscillates about 10 hectolitres; at present it varies from 16 to 17; and we suspect that these figures are too small. The produce, then, has more than doubled within the last forty or fifty years, and certainly the people are better fed. In good years there is even an excess for exportation. We reckon that since 1819 the exports in years of abundance have been about 24 or 25 millions of hectolitres; while in short years, which have been more frequent, the imports have been from 58 to 59 millions. This great importation seems to prove that the population has been in easy circumstances enough to pay the high price of imported grain.

The productiveness per acre has increased partly by better farming, deeper ploughing, a more rational rotation of crops, or adaptation of them to the soil, and especially by the increase of manure. We speak now like certain agricultural economists, who look upon cattle only as so many producers of manure; but the increase of domesticated animals would be a benefit, even if we put out of consideration the manure they produce. It is a remarkable fact that cattle have multiplied in France faster than men. Thus, the numbers of horses were, in 1812, 2,122,617; in 1840, 2,818,400; in 1850, 2,983,966. Horned cattle in 1812 were 6,681,952; in 1829, 9,130,652; in 1839, 9,936,538; in

1852, 11,285,098. Sheep in 1829 were 29,130,233; in 1839, 32,151,430; 1852, 33,510,531. Swine in 1839 were 4,910,721; and in 1852, 5,082,141. The progress is most remarkable in horned cattle; the increase is both absolute and relative. For every 100 hectares, there were 13 such cattle in 1812, 17 in 1829, 19 in 1839, and 21 in 1852; for every 1000 inhabitants, there were 229 such cattle in 1812, 280 in 1829, 290 in 1839, and 314 in 1852. In sheep the numerical increase has been less remarkable; but a great number of flocks have been much improved, and ordinary races replaced by good breeds. The horned cattle have been also improved, and their mean weight increased, partly by crossing, partly by improved feeding.

Thus we see that while the population has increased about 40 per cent, the production of grain has increased some 50 per cent, and that of animals probably still more, if we take account of their increased weight. But our picture of the progress of agriculture is not yet finished, because a quantity of new crops have been introduced. We will give two instances. The potato, which the people were so slow to adopt from Parmentier, backed by Lewis XVI., covered half a million hectares in 1815, and now covers a million hectares of the surface of France, which seems elastic enough to find room for all new crops. Our second instance is beetroot for sugar, the produce of which amounted last year to 170,000,000 kilogrammes of sugar. It is clear, moreover, that the sources of employment have multiplied; for the wages of 95 centimes, which Arthur Young considered a high average for France, have, in spite of the increase of population, reached an average of 1*l.* 4*l.*c. according to the official tables, and 1*l.* 50*c.* according to general opinion. And this rise of wages has taken place in the teeth of a great number of improved implements introduced into husbandry. The 203 scarifiers, extirpators, and other implements with many teeth, counted up in 1852, are recent innovations. The 58,444 threshing-machines moved by horse-power, and the 1737 steam-machines which were going in the same year, had all been introduced within the last fifteen years. In 1862 the numbers were much larger. Steam-mowing and reaping-machines, and the steam-plough, have been introduced more recently; and yet we hear the same complaints of the insufficient number of labourers. Will this want be any barrier to further progress? We do not think so. Machinery has by no means done all it can do; there is many a benighted farmer still left in France. If it be objected that the numberless small proprietors can never purchase such expensive implements, we may make two distinct replies. First, small proprietors of this kind do not want these implements. They are not the persons who complain of the want of hands; they rather com-

plain of the want of land. Secondly, there are already persons in several districts of France, as in England, who do agricultural work by contract, and carry their moveable engine and their threshing-machine from village to village. The number of these men may be increased; and their increase will be of special service to proprietors of the second class, who, with those of the first class, make the loudest lamentation over the emigration of rural labourers into the towns.

This desertion of the country is no special characteristic of France, neither is it confined to one epoch. It was talked of even before 1789, though the existence of trading monopolies and guilds, and the almost total absence of manufactories, made it much more difficult to find employment in towns than it is now. But nowhere were the complaints so loud as in France. Arthur Young, who considered the towns to be too thinly scattered and too small for the population of so large a country, would have been much astonished at these complaints. He thought that it was the net produce which enriched the cultivators, and that this net produce was composed in part of what other people gave them for their grain, their vegetables, their wine, their fruit, and their meat. Agriculture, he said,—and most people have said the same after him,—has need of consumers to make it prosper. This axiom is elementary, evident, and uncontroverted by the opposite considerations which are brought against it. It might, if necessary, be proved by statistics. The departments where agricultural production is most advanced are almost always those where manufacturing industry is most developed. Such are the departments of the Nord, the Lower Seine, the Pas de Calais, the Seine and Oise, Seine and Marne, and so on. Those where agriculture is poorest, such as the Lozère and the Lot, are also the least industrial. It is unlucky that material and moral prosperity do not seem to go hand in hand. One of the great problems of the day is to find means to remedy this misfortune.

This migration into the towns must not be confounded with the migrations of labourers from one district to another for hay-making, harvest, or vintage. A statistical enquiry into this subject shows that 266,769 men and 98,328 women emigrate periodically from poorer districts to look for work in richer ones, while 529,509 men and 353,891 women immigrate into the richer districts during the harvest and vintage. The immense difference between these figures may be explained partly by the number of Belgian and other foreign labourers whose emigration is not noted, and partly by the fact that the labourer who only emigrates from one place immigrates successively into several. With the multiplication of locomobile machinery the numbers

of these nomad labourers will diminish, and they will be forced to look for new employments, which they will probably have little difficulty in finding.

We have not yet, however, exhausted our list of tests whereby we can measure the progress of agriculture; but, in order not to multiply figures, we will only add one fact. In 1821 the Minister of Finances had an estimate made of the selling value of the land, houses, and buildings; and the total amounted to 39,514,000,000*f*. In 1851 another estimate was made; and the result gave a total of 83,744,000,000*f*. The value, therefore, had more than doubled; yet in 1851 the country had not recovered from the panic of 1848. And we should not be going beyond the mark to estimate the total for 1863 at 120 milliards. This sum includes all real property in town or country. In 1851, out of the 83½ milliards, about 66 represented farm-property; so that, it is clear, the value of this kind of property had quite kept pace with that of houses.

We consider that French agriculture has by no means reached the perfection it is destined to attain to. Private enterprise is taking every day a more important place in it. It is already on the watch to note the progress made in other countries. It is ready to adopt or to try any new processes which promise to be improvements. By degrees we shall see the administration beaten in the race by some enterprising and ardent agriculturists; and after a time its business will be confined to noting and acknowledging the progress made, and, if it still likes solemn parade, to distributing its *primes d'honneur*.

THE BANK CHARTER ACT.

[COMMUNICATED.]

No measure, probably, has ever had so much good and evil said of it, without any real understanding of its true character, as the famous Bank Charter Act of 1844. It has been the incessant subject of passionate comment for many years. Committees of the Houses of Parliament have sat in judgment upon it; hosts of witnesses, many of great commercial and intellectual eminence, have recorded their opinions on its presumed effects; ponderous Blue-books have thrown multitudes of questions and answers upon the world;—and yet to this very hour scarcely any two men are agreed as to its nature, its provisions, or its working.

This fact is surpassingly strange, yet it has an easy explanation. The Bank Act of 1844 was the child of theory, whilst, in fact, its enactments are peculiarly practical, and are scarcely tainted with any colour of theory. It has been loudly proclaimed in the name of theory, and as loudly assailed on grounds of theory. Angry combatants have fought over it in defence of conflicting views; and the last thing they have thought of has been to study and discover its true nature by what it enacts, instead of by the doctrines which it was supposed to contain. And thus it has happened that its real character has remained obscured and buried under the weight of irrelevant controversy.

It is a very characteristic illustration of the sort of discussion which has raged so long about this unhappy statute, that when its reputed parent was asked at the opening of his examination by the chairman of the committee of the House of Commons, in 1857, whether the enactments which he enumerated were not the leading provisions of the Act, Lord Overstone, instead of giving a direct answer to the question, instantly flew off into theory, and that, as we shall show presently, a most unintelligible and ludicrous theory. He would not consent to discuss what the measure was; he would have nothing but doctrines on currency and banking; and what sort of things currency doctrines have been the world by this time has learned by a miserable experience.

It is our object in the present article to clear up, if possible, the existing confusion, and to extricate from beneath the accumulated rubbish the true nature and character of the Bank Act of 1844. To this end, we shall first of all state the positive enactments of the Act, such as they are in themselves, independently of every theory, whether of friends or opponents; and that done, we shall endeavour in the next place to put

such an interpretation on its provisions as is suggested and warranted solely by what they prescribe, equally without reference to any doctrines of currency or banking which that interpretation may confirm or impugn. When we have thus obtained a clear view of the Act,—the true Act, and not the imaginative and fictitious creation of currency mystics,—we shall notice some of the extravagant assertions which have been made as to the design and import of this measure.

The main enactments of the law of 1844 on the Charter of the Bank of England are five.

1. It separates the function of the issue of bank-notes from the banking business of the Bank of England.

2. It ordains that the Bank of England shall assign fourteen millions of government securities to the Issue Department, and shall receive from it fourteen millions of bank-notes; and it orders that department to issue to the public notes for any quantity of gold-bullion which may be lodged with it for the purchase of such notes, and to repay sovereigns on demand for all notes presented to it by the public.

3. It limits the issues of notes by country banks, according to the average of their circulation up to a certain time.

4. It prohibits the establishment of new country banks of issue.

5. It provides that, if any of the country banks should cease to issue notes, the Bank of England shall be authorised to issue notes, without any deposit of securities or bullion, to the extent of two-thirds of the lapsed issues of such country banks.

It is plain, from the first clause of this statement, that the Bank of England is placed by this law upon the same footing as every other bank in the kingdom. It is only the largest bank amongst many others, with a special and very big customer—the Government. On the other hand, the Issue Department is really and truly made an office of the state, working by purely mechanical rules—an automaton, whose movements are destitute of all volition and control, obeying a fixed self-acting rule, without intellect, thought, or opinion. The Bank of England supplies the requisite machinery to this automaton: it furnishes premises, clerks, ledgers, paper, vaults, and pens and ink, and then leaves it to act of itself. That department, working thus in certain rooms provided by the Bank of England, simply responds to the impulses impressed on it by the public. When five sovereigns are dropped into its hand, a note is mechanically passed across the counter. When the same note reappears on another day, the operation is reversed: the sovereigns are given out; the note is called in and cancelled. And this action the automaton

repeats as often as any living mortal sets it going by the presentation of a note or sovereigns.

In the rooms allotted to the automaton, the governor of the Bank of England, or any of its directors, stands on precisely the same level as every other member of the community. He can get notes for his gold, or gold for his notes. He can obtain supplies for his bank, the Bank of England, in identically the same way as the chairman of the London and Westminster Bank, or Smith, Payne, and Smiths procure the supplies they need, whether of gold or notes. In the Issue Department of its premises, the Bank of England appears as a private bank, and absolutely as nothing else. It can give no order whatever about the notes issued under its name, and can in no manner whatever control or guide the action of the automaton.

It is much to be regretted that the Act did not bestow a distinct and independent name on the office which was to exercise the function of issue. Its framers evidently had not thought out their own enactments to the bottom; they did not fully perceive that they were creating an absolutely separate and independent body. The names of Banking and Issue Departments, coupled with the fact that the bank-note still carries the name of the Bank of England on its front, and is signed in behalf of that corporation, have perpetuated the illusion that the thing done was the division of one and the same body into two subordinate departments; a most thorough error, the prolific parent of confusion of thought, endless labyrinths of theory, and interminable lengths of most unprofitable questions and answers. Only those who have travelled much in these regions can be aware of the frightful and wearisome absurdities which have been generated by the absence from the Act of a positive declaration that it was creating a new body with a new name. The omission of every allusion to the Bank of England in the automaton's note would have rescued countless minds from hopeless perplexity. There were excellent reasons why the business of issuing the public notes should be continued on the premises of the Bank of England; for it had the means of doing the work more cheaply than any other body could have done it, and the convenience both to the Bank and the great money-dealers in the City of having immediate access to the stores of gold and notes is immense. But there was no valid reason for not giving an independent title to the new establishment of issue. Till general use has sanctioned some other name, we propose to designate the Issue Department by that of the "bank mint;" for in reality it is a mint which has lodgings at the Bank.

The second provision of the Act, first of all, gives to the Bank of England the profit of the dividends on the securities lodged at

the bank mint for the fourteen millions of notes which are given to the Bank. The remainder of the public get no profit from the bullion which they deposit with the mint, in return for the notes procured by its means; they simply obtain, in return for the lodgment of an expensive commodity, a voucher or warrant, which is empowered to circulate as legal tender for the payment of debts. That voucher, the bank-note, possesses qualities which in many of the transactions of commerce confer a great superiority on it over coin. It is far lighter in weight, is more easily carried and guarded, is more rapidly counted and dealt out, and, by means of the number it bears, admits of being more readily traced and protected. It is certain, therefore, that there will always exist a considerable demand for such paper currency in preference to coin; and the Act, by providing for its issue, satisfies an acknowledged and legitimate want of the public.

It is further clear that the bullion deposited in the bank mint furnishes complete security for the payment of all notes presented to the mint, as far as it goes; but there is an admitted ambiguity as to the provision made for the solvency of the fourteen millions, which were assigned to the Bank of England against the deposit of government securities, and which will remain uncovered by sovereigns when the vaults of the mint have been emptied. The question can arise only on the occurrence of one or other of two very improbable suppositions: the quantity, namely, of bank-notes desired by the public sinking below fourteen millions, or a bankruptcy of the Bank of England with less than 20s. in the pound for its creditors. In the case of either of these two events, it is not clear to whom the securities deposited at the Bank belong,—whether to the mint, which could sell them at its pleasure, or to the Bank of England, and, by implication, to its creditors. The construction which ought to be placed upon the Act is confessedly obscure, and opinions seem to be about equally divided on the point. Our own leads us to the belief that these securities are specifically pledged to the note-holders, and could not be claimed as an asset of the Bank by its creditors in the event of bankruptcy; but a legal judgment alone can decide the point. The public, however, may console itself with the reflection, that the historically unbroken credit of the Bank of England, and the improbability of a foreign invasion, divest the danger of all practical importance; though we do not think it quite so impossible that the day may come when less than fourteen millions of bank-notes may not become enough for the wants of the public by the multiplication of banking expedients. In such case, the question will be easily solved by some enactment respecting the disposal of these securities.

It is certain, therefore, that the portion of the circulation of

Bank-of-England notes above fourteen millions, and, if the opinion of Mr. Hubbard and other eminent witnesses as well as our own is correct, the whole amount of that circulation is covered, in respect of solvency, by an adequate protection; and moreover gold is actually provided, ready for immediate payment, for every note above the fourteen millions. These are the direct enactments of the Act.

And further,—and this is a point of extreme importance for theoretical discussion,—it is manifest that no restriction of any kind is placed on the issues of Bank-of-England notes by the Act of 1844—no limitation whatever of their numbers. If the public chooses, it may get 100 millions of these notes. It must buy them with gold, no doubt, or, if the phrase is preferred, it must deposit gold against their issue. But if any causes placed any large quantity of bullion in the hands of the public, and it was stored away at the mint in exchange for vouchers or notes, the Act of 1844 imposes no limitation whatever on the numbers of the notes which may be thus obtained from the bank mint. We say nothing in this place as to the probability of such an occurrence, nor of the causes which may lead to it, nor of the results it may generate. Our business here is simply to ascertain what the Act enacts or permits. It may be said, of course, that the expensiveness of the notes—the sovereigns required to obtain them—constitute a very real limitation on their numbers. This may be so; only, if there be such a limitation, it is one of the same kind identically as the limitation on demand imposed by the costliness of champagne or grapes, or any other commodity. On this point we shall have more to say presently.

The third provision of the Act left the notes of country bankers in circulation in 1844 untouched. Their numbers cannot be increased; but they were allowed to circulate as before, with no other provision for their solvency, or for the reserve of gold to be kept in hand for paying them on demand, than what existed before the passing of the Act. Any of these country banks of issue may still fail, and, as far as the law goes, may pay their note-holders half-a-crown in the pound.

But the fourth provision, along with the prohibition of increased numbers in the third, arrests the growth of such a system, and renders its ultimate extinction, by amalgamation or other processes, highly probable. Country banks of issue, like every thing else, come to an end; and, as they cannot revive in their progeny, the race, if the law continues unchanged, is doomed to disappear.

Such are the facts of the law. What is their interpretation? What principles do they embody? Of what elements are they composed?

It is a law on currency : to the science of currency, therefore, must it be taken to be measured and judged. The value of the judgment pronounced will consequently depend on the accuracy with which the science of currency is understood by the judges. But, alas, where shall we find these judges? From which school shall we select them? Who shall give us a clear and intelligible statement of the teaching of that science? And yet we cannot pronounce upon the law of 1844 without some definite rule to apply to it ; so we must lay down for ourselves and our readers the principles of currency on which our decision will be founded. We shall not prove them here by a formal investigation ; we shall simply state them in the form in which we hold them.

Currency is the science of the instruments of exchange, and of nothing else. Such instruments have been devised for two purposes : to supersede barter, which is incompatible with the existence of a large society and the progress of civilisation, and to furnish a measure by which the value of all commodities shall be ascertained. For these ends, a single commodity, generally gold or silver, is selected, with which every form of property is compared ; so that value comes to mean the quantity of one commodity which is equivalent to a quantity of another. The value of a bale of cotton means in England the quantity of gold which is given in exchange for it, or its equivalent ; and just as the gold measures the cotton, so the cotton measures the gold. The two commodities stand upon a perfect level ; and the respective amounts of each given in exchange, one for the other, are determined solely by the intrinsic worth of each, by their ultimate cost of production. If cotton becomes more plentiful, gold remaining the same, more cotton is given for gold ; the price of cotton falls : on the other hand, if gold is produced in greater abundance and cheapness—cotton standing still—more gold will be required as a set-off for the cotton ; the price of cotton rises, or, in other words, the price of gold falls. This relative cost of production alone regulates prices ; and the selection of one of the commodities, gold, as the standard and measure of value, has not a particle of influence on the determination of prices. Currency has nothing to do with the regulation of prices ; it merely supplies the rule or instrument of measure.

To meet the convenience and the wants of daily buying and selling, small portions of this measuring commodity, of fixed weight and quality of material, are made and authenticated by a government stamp, and are called pounds, shillings, and so on ; mere names, which determine nothing as to their value, nothing as to the amount of commodities which the owners of all other property will give for them. These small instruments of exchange,

these coins, are pure machines made to perform a certain work, in the same manner identically as ploughs are constructed for tillage, carriages for conveyance, chairs to sit upon, and watches to measure time by; they are all machines for effecting a particular duty; and there is absolutely no difference between coins and any of the rest, except in the particular kind of work they are employed to accomplish. And as there may be too many ploughs on a farm, too many carriages in a gentleman's stables, and too many chairs in a room, so there may be too many coins in a given country; too many, that is, for the work they have to do, for the exchanges which require to be effected by them. A gentleman may have more sovereigns than he can conveniently carry; a shopkeeper may be inundated with shillings; a bank may be gorged with gold that it cannot use. In all such cases the result is one and the same: the surplus coin gravitates to some common reservoir, where it lies useless, and as destitute of all action or effect as the superfluous harrows that slumber under a farmer's shed. These coins may equally be too few as well as too many; an occurrence which frequently befalls shillings, and very rarely sovereigns, in particular localities in England. As a fact of experience, and wholly irrespectively of theory, we hold it to be certain that since 1819 gold has always been in excess in England—that there has always been more gold in this country than is wanted for carrying on exchange and the general business of the people, including the fitting reserve which all bankers must keep as a natural part of their stock in trade.

In no civilised country can all the exchanges of property, all purchases in shops and warehouses, be carried on by the agency of coin alone. Property is bought and sold by means of bills, of cheques drawn on bankers, and, most of all, of book-credit—that is, items of debt entered in the books of traders. These are not actual payments, real exchanges of one commodity for another, but mere promises to pay, pledges for payment enforced by law, for which it is found men are willing to give away their goods. Some of these instruments of exchange, such as bills, and not unfrequently cheques, are passed on from hand to hand before they are finally presented for a real payment in gold: and as in this way they effect many exchanges before they are ultimately extinguished, it is obvious that these instruments collectively supersede to an enormous extent the otherwise inevitable use of coin; whilst they possess this transcendent economy, that the bits of paper they are written on cost nothing, whilst the coins they supersede would have been necessarily purchased from abroad with a heavy cost of English products and capital. They furnish also the additional advantage, that they avoid the loss,

which is by no means inconsiderable, of the wear and tear of the metal which it suffers in daily circulation.

The one distinguishing characteristic of these mere promises to pay—these bills, cheques, and book-credits—is, that the acceptance of them is entirely voluntary on the part of the creditor; no man being obliged to take them as a legal discharge of his debt. But there is a variety of the cheque which occupies a partially different position—the bank-note, the public cheque, so to say, which a banker draws upon himself, and promises to pay in coin on demand. In essence it is identical with the private cheque, being merely a promise to pay, and effecting exchanges of property in precisely the same manner, and frequently not circulating, before its cancelment, through so many hands as many a private cheque. But it is also invested with a sort of semi-public character. As a rule, the private cheque does not circulate; it effects one purchase or aggregate of purchases, and is immediately sent in for payment. The reason of this fact is plain. The value of the private cheque depends on the solvency of a private person, and the state of his account at his banker's; and for the mass of men this is too frail a protection against non-payment to allow of this cheque being long kept in circulation. It is otherwise with the bank-note. The Bank is a semi-public institution; whilst the immense superiority of the note over the sovereign in convenience, portableness, and security against robbery, induces the public to employ it in preference to the sovereign. It circulates, therefore, in town and market; and its acceptance is scarcely voluntary; for a tradesman who should refuse to take the notes current in his locality would expose himself, not only to ill-will and want of custom, but often to positive inability sell his goods. To this half-compulsory character the state has added, in the case of the Bank-of-England note, the quality of legal tender; that is, the full compulsory obligation on every creditor to accept it as the discharge of his debt.

It is obvious that the worth of a promise to pay consists in the certainty of payment when demanded. As the law compels no one to accept a private cheque, it is the business of the man who gives property in exchange for it to consider for himself the prospects of payment. It is his affair to weigh the value of the signature, and the chances of there being money in the signer's account at the bank. But the public cannot easily act thus with a bank-note; they are more or less obliged to take the notes in circulation: and in the case of the Bank-of-England note, they must perforce accept it. Hence the need of some legal provision to ensure the solvency of the public cheque or note; and on one point of this provision all the world is agreed. The only means for keeping the value of the promise on a level with the actual

payment is the peremptory obligation on the issuer to pay it on demand. Without complete convertibility, the promise to pay is insecure, and immediately becomes exposed to a peculiar and formidable danger. The utmost harm of superfluous sovereigns is that they are compelled to lie idle; they are expelled, like drones, from the circulation, and are sent to sleep in the cellars. But inconvertible notes, green-backed promises to pay for which no payment can be demanded, may be sent forth in unlimited numbers, and, which is the pinch of the matter, stay out in unlimited numbers. If a tradesman finds that twenty sovereigns will do the day's work of his till, and he has thirty, he will send off ten to his banker, who will forward them to the cellars in Thread-needle Street. No more sovereigns remain out than there is work for. But if the notes are issued as they are now by the American government, and, the valve opening one way only, cannot be sent back again when not wanted, they quickly expand into excessive numbers, far beyond what the exchanges to be effected require. Hence every holder is anxious to part from them, and, finding no outlet, consents to part from them at a loss; they sink to a discount, and there is no fixed limit for that discount if the inconvertible issues are continued.

Convertibility, then, or the obligation to pay on demand under pain of bankruptcy, is acknowledged to be the one vital indispensable condition for a paper currency which shall remain on a level with coin, and shall guarantee its holders against what really can hardly be called less than robbery. But other conditions for a paper circulation have come under discussion; we shall notice some of these when we speak in detail of the provisions of the Bank Act of 1844.

Such is the substance of the science of currency,—such the rule by which we purpose to judge the enactments which we have to consider. We now proceed to perform this task.

1. The first feature which this Act presents to the enquirer is the very marked characteristic, that it is purely and exclusively a currency law. Its first deed is to cut currency and banking clean asunder, thereby acknowledging one of the most fundamental principles of currency. It creates an establishment of currency, taking away from a bank—the Bank of England—all control over the management of the currency, and erecting in its place a manufactory of currency, a mint, a factory and shop for the production and sale of certain machines. The bank mint which it establishes is a genuinely sister institution to the Royal Mint of the government. The one sells pure metal only; the other two sorts of machines—one of paper, the other of metal. The regulations vary only in the necessary details and adaptations; in principle, in essence, in action on commerce, the two

institutions are perfectly alike. There is not a trace of banking from the first to the last line of the statute; it is a set of mint regulations—nothing more. No one has ever said that the issue of sovereigns and shillings by the Royal Mint has any thing to do with discount or rates of interest, or banking reserves, or supplies of capital to the public; and no one ought ever to have said that the bank mint has any relation whatsoever to these matters. The banker's trade is one thing; the supply of instruments of exchange—of coin, or its special substitute, the note—is another. No one has ever connected the building of steamers with deposits and commercial crises or tight money markets; and no one ought ever to have connected them with the fabrication and sale of those particular machines which transfer property from one man to another, just as cranes haul cargoes out of ships. The Act of 1844 does not contain one single word of encouragement or sanction for such a delusion. And yet is it not marvellous that the Committees of the House of Commons, which were appointed for the very purpose of examining the character and effects of this statute, never from first to last understood its exclusively manufacturing and shopkeeping nature? Members and witnesses alike, all came to the investigation incurably tainted with the belief that the Act had banking effects; that somehow it had influence on the supplies of capital in the money market; that it had peculiar effects on trade; and that, in one way or other, it was something different from the machinery which made hats or manufactured yarns, or supplied any other want of civilised society. Had it been clearly perceived that currency has no more to do with banking than with brewing, that vast multitude of questions and answers under which the Committee groaned for so many days during the two years of enquiry would have been nipped in the bud and never have come into existence. It would have been seen that, with very few exceptions, the attention of the Committee had been occupied with totally irrelevant matter,—with investigations which might just as rationally have been addressed to the carpet or to the cotton trade as to the Act of 1844. Enquiries into crises, difficulties of discount, pressure on banking reserves, mercantile credit, over-speculation and over-trading, and rates of interest charged by the Bank of England, would have been at once struck out from an investigation which had to consider a regulation of currency. No wonder, therefore, at the perplexity which presses so uncomfortably on the reader as he goes over the subtle but most misty utterances of so many eminent men. The very subtlety and acuteness of their intelligence only seem to involve their thoughts in still deeper obscurity; for when once launched on a false hypothesis, when hopelessly com-

mitted to the assumption that phenomena of banking were related to currency, the power of their minds produced only a succession of desperate plunges, to escape from the confusion which they were conscious of labouring under. An error in a primary premiss always generates a long progeny of disorder; and there is scarcely one of these many thousand questions and answers which did not feel the effects of the original sin.

2. We remark, secondly, that this bank mint is not under the control of the government; this is an enormous merit. Reasons for and against placing the issue of bank-notes in the hands of a bank, or of a private company constructed for that special purpose, may be urged with real force on both sides; but not a single good reason can be pleaded in defence of a direct issue of promises to pay by a government. The vital condition of convertibility would be destroyed at the core. The promises of a government to pay on demand are the worst that can possibly be conceived. There is a perpetual power, through sheer strength or immoveableness, not to fulfil the promise; and no adequate force can be framed which can at all times be relied on for compelling a government to provide money when demanded. A bank or a private company may be declared bankrupt, and to them bankruptcy is ruin; but a government would bear with great equanimity the reproach that there was no gold in store for its notes. The medieval kings made no scruple of adulterating the coin of the realm; modern governments are very lax about making good their obligations to pay notes on demand. Austria and America have shown very conspicuously how much can be done in that direction. An English government, suddenly obliged to send a large military chest abroad, would find little difficulty in persuading a parliament bent on war that the best thing to be done was to send the currency reserves to Malta or Canada. Currency would be swamped in politics, and a safe circulation of paper would be at an end. The automaton created by the Act is, no doubt, an institution of the state; for it has no connection with the Bank of England, and it derives its powers and organisation from the law alone. But it is an automaton; and its unintelligent self-working machinery lies locked up in a case, of which the government does not, and it is to be hoped never will, possess a key.

3. Thirdly, it is plain that the fundamental principle of perfect convertibility is thoroughly carried out by the Act of 1844. This is the essence of a sound paper currency; and it is not to be disputed that, in this respect, the Act of 1844 conforms to the requirements of the highest science. Fourteen millions of notes are made safe by the deposit of securities, pledged, as we believe, for their protection; and the remainder of the notes possess an

equal amount of precious metal, ready at a moment's notice to be produced, and under positive orders of law to be paid over to any holder claiming their redemption. The reserve is of the amplest, and is always at hand. Anxiety is out of the question; for it is barely possible that the public should ever require so few as fourteen millions of bank-notes. It is too useful, too convenient a currency, too admirably fitted a machinery for the settlement of accounts in the throng and stir of the City, not to be in large and perpetual demand. The automaton is an insurmountable bulwark against the robbery and the disasters of inconvertible notes.

4. Fourthly, the Act provides a reserve of gold to meet notes presented for payment—a perfectly ample reserve, as we have just stated; and it regulates the action of that reserve by a novel and peculiar arrangement. Inconvertible notes require no reserve, for there is no obligation in their case to fulfil the promise to pay; but convertible paper of necessity implies a reserve, a supply of gold that shall be equal to the demand, not only of ordinary, but also of extraordinary times. The Act of 1844 determines this reserve by the fixed and unchangeable adjustment of a line drawn at fourteen millions (strictly, now, fourteen and a half millions) of notes, for which solvency, but not gold, is provided, and a compulsory deposit of gold for every pound above these fourteen millions. It assumes that such a reserve will be sufficient for all possible demands; and it is incontestable that this assumption is well founded.

But here two very important and very debateable questions immediately arise. First: is the drawing of a fixed line, beyond which all issues of notes must have a foundation of gold in the cellar, the best and most efficient machinery for managing the reserve? and, secondly, is fourteen and a half millions the true point at which the Act ought to have drawn the line?

The first question, the fixed line or limit, is resolved at once in the affirmative, if the method of a self-acting machine, an automaton, is adopted for the issue of bank-notes: it is the simplest, the most direct, and the least complicated arrangement which could be applied to such a brainless organisation. But it is otherwise if the issue is allotted to a bank, or a special company, or any other intelligent body. A fixed line, on the very face of the matter, implies a reflection on the wisdom or the intelligence of the issuer, a distrust of his prudence and judgment. As such it is indefensible; because it involves the admission, that the mind selected for the control of the issues is in reality unfitted for the task. It contains a contradiction in principle; and all contradictions generate evil. It is easy to perceive the absurdities which it would perpetrate. The reserve

must be prepared to face all possible demands; and the fixed limit, if sound, must be so drawn as to have a supply of metal for the maximum of demand, for the largest quantity of gold which the public may require. No one needs to be told that such a quantity immensely exceeds what is asked for in calm and steady times; and what sense would there be in requiring an experienced and intelligent issuer to bury in locked-up vaults treasure capable of being applied to purposes profitable both to himself and the community? A very bad harvest, we know, creates a sudden and vast importation of corn, for which, usually, the payment is in bullion: at such a season the exchange of notes for gold will be at its largest. But reverse the supposition, and imagine a bountiful crop just safely gotten into the garner: is a thinking man to be required to keep the same stock of bullion, which he knows will not be applied for, as he did when all the exchanges of corn-growing countries were enforcing remittances of bullion? Such a restriction is an imputation on his good sense, and his capacity to administer; it proclaims that the task of adapting a reserve to the fluctuating wants of the public for a particular commodity transcends the human faculties, or too severely tempts human weakness: and if the charge be true, the automaton becomes inevitably the right and only instrument of issue. A fixed limit, and issue of paper currency by intelligent minds, we hold to be two inconsistent and, in the long-run, incompatible things.

Well, then, this being so, is an automaton, an irrational agent, the only safe, the only natural and legitimate instrument for the management of a currency of notes? How is it possible, we reply, to maintain such a proposition in the face of the fact that the Bank of England did, from 1819 to the time of the passing of this Act, so manage its notes as that they never suffered at any moment a breath of depreciation, and all through that period supplied England with a perfectly convertible, sound, and ever-trusted currency of paper? How can such an assertion be made in the teeth of a highly-developed currency of notes in Scotland, founded on an exceedingly slender reserve of gold, working with unbroken success for more than a century, effecting an unrivalled economy of expensive coin, and intensely valued by the population? Theorists may choose to say that the convertibility of the bank-note was in great danger at various times, and that the paper notes of Scotland are inadequately sustained; but fact and science rebut the charge. Every practical witness declares that at no time has the Bank-of-England note, since cash payments have ceased to be forbidden, held its head lower than the sovereign; at no time has the public preferred gold as safer and sounder than the note. The Bank's reserve, its re-

serve as banker, has often been sorely pressed to supply money to claimants; but the difficulty has lain in finding notes as much as gold, for the public was indifferent which of the two they carried away. Never was there a greater run upon the Bank than in 1825; but the thing which saved its solvency was the discovery of one million of unburnt one-pound notes. They were greedily taken by the public, so perfectly at that terrible moment was the note the equal and the match of gold. Great authorities have chosen to say that the bank-note was then exposed to imminent peril; but the very reverse is the truth. The bank-note then, as now, or at any period since 1819, has never been exposed to the slightest risk of depreciation or insolvency; and what fact reveals science ratifies. It tells us that the solvency of a truly responsible issuer is a complete and sufficient guarantee for convertibility; and it accepts the evidence supplied by experience, that the Bank of England and the Bank of Scotland have been found to be truly solvent and responsible issuers, and have furnished practical and trustworthy security for solvency and convertibility. If the Bank Act of 1844 and the automaton have created a solvent and convertible currency, the Bank of England and the Bank of Scotland have done the same. The theoretical machinery of the Act has not produced, in the estimate of science, results one iota more valuable or trustworthy than the practical management of these private companies.

But, exclaim the authorities, look at the awful state of the bul-
lion in 1825, 1847, and at other terrible periods; see how fright-
fully the note was brought to the edge of the precipice; the
country was within an ace of the suspension of cash payments.
The wrong inference, we reply. See with how little gold the huge
fabric of the Bank-of-England circulation was and can be trium-
phantly sustained. Amidst the terror of traders and the crash of
perishing firms, when panic convulsed every mind, and the best
houses trembled for existence; when money was impossible, dis-
count not to be had, the rate of interest rising, and the City on
the verge of annihilation;—one thing, and one thing only, stood
proudly unshaken and unshakeable amidst the howling storm.
Bank directors had lent away all their deposits; commerce in
vain shrieked for more relief; the foundations of the Bank itself
tottered; but its note never lost the public confidence for one
instant. Not for a second did any terrified spirit—neither, we
venture to assert, Lord Overstone nor Mr. Norman—feel the
remotest wish to ask for gold when the note was offered. And
why was this? Because it was a mere tool, an instrument of
currency, and an agent only for transferring ownership; be-
cause its solvency was unquestioned, and its numbers in no

excess over the daily requirements of the public; because, in a word, it had nothing to do with banking and its incidents, its prosperity or its disasters. Let no man assert, therefore, that any measure was needed to protect (such is the phrase) the convertibility of the note. The bank-note never fell under a cloud, never felt a whiff of danger, before 1844. It has been safe since the Bank Act; it was equally safe before. It rests, doubtless, on a larger reserve now than it did then; but if a house is perfectly solid, nothing is gained by surrounding it with extra buttresses. What deceived the world was the actual smallness of the Bank's reserve, and the manifest strain it was suffering. But it was forgotten that that reserve was a combined resource for banking and currency liabilities conjoined: and men failed to perceive that the portion needed for paying notes on demand was a trifle; that the remainder, its incomparably larger part, belonged to the banking business, and was plainly becoming inadequate; and that all the agitation among traders, and all the danger to the Bank, threatened its banking affairs alone. If a lesson was to be learnt from these fearful days, it was, as we have stated above, not the danger of the note, but the trifling reserve upon which its stability could be successfully supported.

But if the Bank of England in bygone times and Scotch banks in our day were and are good and solid issuers of notes, it must not be concluded that all bankers are equally fitted for that function. The shipwrecks of 1825 teach a very different lesson. They showed that the country bankers for the most part were very bad issuers, because their solvency was unassured. Bankers lost their money in banking; and when bankruptcy overtook them, the holders of their notes were ruined. It was the business of customers who kept accounts with the banks of their own free choice to take heed to their own safety; but the blow was hard upon those who had taken the currency which circulated in their neighbourhood. The truth was patent, that country bankers were generally unsafe depositories of the function of supplying a public currency; but it was a truth resting on experience alone, for the solidity of the Bank of England and the Scottish paper flowed, not from any peculiarity in their banking nature, but from the established fact that they had always been practically solvent. We shall revert to this topic hereafter, when we come to speak of the other provision of the Act of 1844.

But if there was to be an automaton and a limit, was the line drawn at the right place? And what is a right place, and upon what principle was it to be determined? The witnesses concur in asserting, that the limit of fourteen millions sprang from the observation of the circumstance that up to 1844 that sum was about the lowest point to which the circulation of bank

paper had descended. Hence it was argued that there was no likelihood of gold being asked for notes below that figure, and that a reserve coextensive with the largest amount of notes that have circulated above that point would supply gold for every pound that could be practically demanded. A most empirical process, unquestionably; for who could tell whether, in future years, the public might require more or fewer notes than it had theretofore employed? It indicates but too truly, we fear, how ignorant the men of that day were of the forces which regulated the numbers of the bank-notes; how little they perceived that convenience, as well as the amount of other instruments of currency, determined the quantity of notes needed by the public. The establishment of a score of clearing houses throughout the country might easily have deranged the calculation, and reduced the bank paper to seven instead of fourteen millions. And then, when the line had been once drawn, it is very curious to observe the tenacity of conservative Englishmen clinging resolutely to an existing practice, even when the principle which led to its adoption suggested later and consistent alteration. In 1857, thirteen years after the enactment, it was pointed out in the Committee that as during that long period the lowest figure of the paper currency had not sunk below sixteen millions, the principle which selected fourteen now as cogently required sixteen; but not one single witness, though compelled to admit the fact, could be got to recommend the new adjustment. Upon the ground of the framers of the Act, it is clear that sixteen millions is the true figure; but is that the right principle for fixing the limit? How does it work in practice? Under the pressure of a heavy export of gold, the stock of gold has sunk to eight millions, once to a little only above six; and Lord Overstone thinks that a very proper amount. We are of the opposite opinion; we hold this sum to be a monstrous and extravagant waste, justified neither by fact nor reasoning. For what purpose does the automaton, the bank mint, need a reserve of gold in hand? To secure the convertibility of the note. And why is convertibility demanded? To prevent the depreciation of the note; to guard against its being discredited; to protect it from a discount; to keep it on an equality with gold. But we have just seen that these great objects were triumphantly accomplished when the bullion in the mixed banking and currency reserve stood as low as three millions, or even one million. But, much more, people nowadays have forgotten that for years the bank-note suffered neither discredit nor depreciation, and was the equal and rival of the guinea, when positively it had no reserve at all—when gold could not be obtained for it—when convertibility was actually prohibited by law. And how was this brought about? By a natural law, of which the

authorities seem to be ignorant,—the law that when notes are known to have been issued by a solvent body, and circulate only in such numbers as satisfy the actual wants of the public for effecting their ordinary transactions, there is a natural capacity and willingness in the public to hold these notes, and not to send them in for payment, simply on account of their usefulness and their convenience as instruments of exchange.

In the presence of such facts it is idle to insist on these outrageous reserves. The danger alleged to threaten the convertibility of the note is a pure bugbear of Lord Overstone and his school; and it has frightened the rest of the world, who still associate the large combined reserve of former days for the double purpose of banking and currency with the single object of providing for the currency alone. Eight millions may be a proper or even a low figure for the banker's reserve of the private corporation of the Bank of England; but it is a sheer waste and absurdity in the cellars of the automaton, as a provision for bank-notes only. For our part, we see no reason whatever why a minimum of a single million should not be held to be a thoroughly ample and satisfactory reserve. If in the worst times—not of commercial difficulty, for that is of no account here, but of pressure on the bank mint for gold in exchange for notes—the reserve does not sink below a million of hard sovereigns still at the command of the automaton, what can the country or the City want more? What possible end can a larger supply secure? For let us suppose the worst that can happen; let us imagine the reserve to have been entirely exhausted, not a sovereign left in the vaults, fourteen millions of bank-notes in circulation, and, as before 1819, not an ounce of bullion to sustain them. What would be the harm, we ask? Is there no remedy? Must the automaton point to its empty till, and send back the note-holders with the dismal reply of “No assets”? Nothing of the sort: a most efficient remedy is at hand, ready to extinguish the peril on the instant. Here are fourteen millions of Consols, or other securities: what so easy, what so natural and efficacious, as to sell a million or two's worth of them, and procure gold or notes from the general market? That the country will always demand a large quantity of so convenient a currency as bank-notes is certain: but suppose it would not,—suppose every note were sent in for payment; what, then, would have happened?—the sale of the Consols, nothing more, except that the poor automaton would have given up the ghost. He would not be the only victim, shriek the authorities: every banker in the City would die of fright, if he were told there was no gold in the Issue Department. Let them be comforted: neither men nor bank-notes die so easily. The bankers would be simply as

they were; they would have lost nothing. Twenty long years have elapsed since the automaton was entrusted with the supreme management of the issue of bank-notes, and during that period the City has been convulsed, in 1847 and 1857, by two of the severest commercial pressures on record; but never once has the bullion descended to six millions. Six millions of the original gold on which the automaton was reared have reposed undisturbed in the depths of the Issue Department's vault: not a seal has been broken, not an ingot stirred: they have slumbered on unused by bankers, and of no more value to mankind than when they lay under the rocks of Australia. If such facts fail to demonstrate the gigantic absurdity of the present limit, and the ignorant nervousness of traders and writers on currency, reasoning must be thrust aside as a waste of time, and blind timidity be suffered to hold the government of the world.

But what is the harm, after all? still urge the authorities; it is comfortable to think that there is so great a treasure in the country; what matters it if it is a little too large? A little too large! People who speak thus, who with Lord Overstone call 8,000,000*l.* a very satisfactory figure for a minimum, have but a faint notion of the waste and the cost at which this utterly useless heap of metal is kept up. One million, we assert, is a perfectly sufficient minimum; the remaining seven are pure excess. And what is their annual expense? 350,000*l.* a year, at five per cent, some think; but this is but the smallest portion of the loss actually incurred. These seven millions can be sold abroad for their equivalent in capital, for an equal value of food, clothing, and raw material for the labourers of England. It is not too much to say that capital applied to average industry yields a profit of at least fifty per cent in the wages given to labourers, and in the several profits of the many hands through which a commodity passes before it is finally consumed. Take it at thirty per cent only; and on seven millions we get a sum of upwards of 2,000,000*l.*, which year after year the unemployed and unemployable reserve of the Issue Department costs England. And what is it that keeps up this fearful waste? The unreflecting and unscientific timidity of Bank directors, who cannot learn to see the difference between the reserve of the Bank and the reserve of the automaton; the ignorant belief of the multitude that plenty of gold at the Bank must make things safe; the notion that somehow all this gold cannot be useless and without effect; and, most of all, the perverse conventionalities, the arbitrary and uninductive assumptions, the inveterate association of banking with currency, in spite of all protests to the contrary, and the consequent unintelligible jargon of writers like Mr. Norman and Lord Overstone. They blunder grossly as practical men when they defend and encourage such

a senseless waste, which the evidence of their own eyes ought to have told them was absolutely unneeded; but they blunder far more grossly, on the ground of science, by ignoring the essence and objects of a paper circulation, and by their inconsistency in desiring a currency of notes, and then striving to get rid of it by indirect devices. They seem for a moment to realise the scientific truth; but as soon as they proceed to apply it, their steps falter, and their language betrays uncertainty, hesitation, and fear. True science never falters: arbitrary dogmatism is always conscious that there is something which it does not understand, and takes refuge in authoritative dicta. Eight millions are a satisfactory reserve, says Lord Overstone; and if he were questioned till night-fall, more than this could not be got out of him. How different is the walk of Mr. James Wilson, how firm his step, how unshrinking his confidence in pushing his science on to all its results! "The object of using paper to a certain extent instead of coin," says Mr. Wilson to Mr. Weguelin, "is simply for the purpose of economising that coin, and economising to that extent the capital of the country. The greater the extent to which that can be done with perfect safety to the community, the greater is the advantage which the country derives from the adoption of a mixed circulation of gold and paper."

How racy and refreshing is this language! It contains about the whole of the science of a paper currency; but how clear, simple, and intelligible is that science! Not a trace of banking is found in these remarkable words; not a hint that a paper currency and its reserves have any connection with the Bank of England, or discounting of bills, or accommodation to trade, or a reserve for meeting demands against deposits and liabilities. But it tells the truth, the whole of that glorious truth which Adam Smith unfolded, when he compared a currency of paper to roads constructed in the air, which allowed the highways of the earth to be cultivated and made productive. Paper is intended to take the place of coin, teaches Mr. Wilson, because paper costs nothing and gold costs much, and both perform exactly the same work. And because paper is the cheap instrument for effecting the same results, use as much paper as you can, with no other restriction than "perfect safety to the community." Hence, in judging every form of paper currency, try it always by the single test—its means of guaranteeing the safety of the public; if it fulfils that one condition, every other consideration is of very minor importance. If, therefore, a minimum of one million of reserve in the hardest times renders the note safe, especially when backed by the power of selling government securities if required, sentence a paper circulation which assigns more gold to the reserve than is needed, as violating in

respect of that excess the first object of a paper currency—the saving the expense of the gold—as being a spurious, and not a true, paper circulation; and amend the Act of 1844, by extending the issues on securities to twenty millions instead of fourteen, and thereby render it a truly scientific and defensible measure.

The two cardinal principles of perfect safety in combination with the largest possible use are strikingly developed in the paper circulation of Scotland. The absolute and unshakeable safety of the automaton may abstractedly claim a theoretical superiority over the issues of the Scottish banks; but a century of success, a century during which no member of the community ever lost a pound by a Scottish note, proclaims that the end is achieved as surely, as beneficially, by the Scottish system as by the Act of 1844. English banks of issue have lost their funds and ruined their note-holders; Scottish banks of issue do not fail; or, if they do, their notes are provided for, and the public is uninjured. English country bankers have therefore, as a rule, proved themselves to be bad issuers, and Scottish bankers good issuers, of notes; and so long as this quality lasts, no man of sense or science can attack them on either practical or scientific grounds. What science commands is the accomplishment of perfect safety; but it prescribes no one invariable machinery for attaining that end. If the Scottish notes are safe,—and no man has been hardy enough to deny that they are safe,—they are unimpeachable in principle, however much any one originating a system of paper circulation might prefer one founded on the basis of an automaton. The authorities, indeed, inveigh against the vast superstructure of paper in Scotland on so trifling, so insignificant a reserve of metal; but what they decry with so much alarm constitutes a merit of the highest scientific value in the Scottish system. If the notes, as a fact, are perfectly safe, the more insignificant the reserve of bullion the greater manifestly is the economy they achieve, and the more splendidly have they realised the requirements of science.

On the other hand, as regards the second principle, the extent to which the circulation of paper is carried, the superiority of Scotland over England is most decided and brilliant. Scotland has one-pound notes, and England none; the people of Scotland prefer to be paid in notes rather than in sovereigns. Can words describe more powerfully monetary success and the triumph of commercial civilisation? Why must England forego the use of one-pound notes, and pay for expensive and inconvenient sovereigns in their place? Because the public was frightened by the insolvency of country banks in 1825, and because bankers, partly from routine and partly from a timidity derived from a secret consciousness that they do not understand the principles of currency, have fallen into a rut, and shrink from making a change. We

have in vain looked through the two Blue-books of 1857 and 1858 for a reason to justify the banishment of notes of low denomination. The witnesses, when pressed, gave up the matter in despair, and, acknowledging their inability to defend their opinions, fell back upon sentiment. "I do not know," says Mr. Newmarch, "that any inconvenience has arisen from the existing state of things which would render it desirable even to consider whether or not the circulation of one-pound notes might be introduced." This from a man who lives in an island of which Scotland forms a part. He is considered a great authority on currency. What can his notion be of the use of a paper currency? He sees one-pound notes largely used and highly valued by many of his fellow-subjects; he ought to know that these notes effect an immense saving of capital—that they cost nothing, whilst sovereigns cost much—and yet he will not even ask himself whether they might not be useful in England also. Why not? Because he does not choose, it seems; and this is called science, or practical authority. He may be a practical authority on banking; but that answer betrays a profound ignorance of the very ends for which a paper currency exists.

We may now sum up the results which we have acquired; and we shall be thus enabled to pass a judgment on the leading provisions of the Bank Act of 1844.

We have discovered its high scientific merit in thoroughly separating banking from currency. We have regretted the phrase Issue Department as suggestive of a branch of the Bank of England; whilst, in fact, an automaton has carried off the whole currency from the Bank, and regulates it by laws as fixed and self-acting as those that govern the motion of the planets. The bank-note does not belong to the Bank of England; and the Bank has no greater command over the issues for furnishing accommodation to trade than any other bank or any other person in the kingdom. We have seen that what the automaton does is to sell bank-notes to all comers—selling first of all fourteen millions to the Bank of England for a payment in government securities, and demanding gold from all the rest of the world for any quantity which they may choose to buy. The automaton has thus been shown to provide perfect safety for every pound of notes issued, and also to have at hand a larger quantity of sovereigns than the public can in any way be expected to demand. The conditions of a sound paper currency are thus completely fulfilled: the public may obtain any supplies they choose to ask for of a most convenient and safe paper, invested also with the privilege of legal tender in discharge of debts. But whether the paper currency is as unassailable in detail as it is in principle, is a point fairly open to dispute. It may be questioned whether a fixed limit is the nicest machinery for the determination of the

stock of gold which must be kept ready for cashing notes presented for payment; and, supposing that question resolved in the affirmative, the precise limit of fourteen millions may be much more legitimately and successfully challenged. As compared with Scottish issues, and the method of issue practised by the Bank before 1844, when the bank-note formed a part of the general liabilities of the Bank, and relied on the same common reserve as the deposits and other obligations, the practical safety obtained by means of the Act of 1844 is as good as, but no better than, that realised by the other two systems. In all the three methods alike the solvency and credit of the notes have been entirely secured; and that was all that was required to be done. The authorities may rejoice in the reflection that, under the Act, the note is always safe; but the Scots may and do rejoice as legitimately, and so might have done the administrators of the Bank-of-England currency before 1844. Theoretically, it cannot be denied that the security given by the Issue Department is higher still than that which prevailed previously, or which now exists in the Scottish system; for there are always bullion and government securities in the bank mint coextensive with the whole amount of the circulation, whilst it was not impossible that the Bank of England should have become insolvent before 1844, or that the Scottish banks may not continue as sound as they have been heretofore. But, practically, the difference disappears in the common and coequal convertibility of the three systems. Whilst, therefore, we adopt the principle of 1844, which completes the security for the whole paper circulation, and very heartily approve the separation of currency from banking as excellent in doctrine and practice, still we cannot assert that the law was demanded by any practical and demonstrated necessity, or that the currency of Bank of England notes has derived from it a single advantage that was not enjoyed before its enactment.

But when we come from the principle to the details of the Act, our judgment is greatly modified, and we are compelled to recognise and to censure the unwarranted and uncompensated waste of capital which the drawing of the line at fourteen millions has inflicted on the country. The loss is so heavy and so gratuitous that, in our eyes, it extinguishes all the merit of the Act of 1844; and if no corrective is applied, the loss would make us perpetually regret the extinction of the old system. Banking is infinitely better understood than it was twenty years ago, and the directors of the Bank of England would not now conduct their affairs at hap-hazard, as they admit that they did in former days. A couple of millions a year is a heavy cost to pay for a little more theoretical nicety, and no practical benefit, in the management of a paper circulation. However, there is an easy *locus penitentiae* left; the Act can be amended, and

thereby converted into an excellent measure. All that is needed is to raise the credit-issues, as they are called—the notes for which no gold is stored in the cellars—to twenty millions. No doubt a fierce yell from the authorities awaits such a proposal; but that signifies little; we do not despair of obtaining such an improvement in the end. It would come speedily, we feel certain, if the automaton worked at Whitehall instead of on the premises of the Bank. Not one single element in the Act would be altered by such a removal; the Bank of England would not, in that case, have a particle the less of control over the bullion and the notes, seeing that now it has no command over them at all. The public would speedily learn to perceive that trade and discount have no connection whatever with the machinery which issues out notes to the public, any more than with the sovereigns which are emitted by the Royal Mint; and they would soon learn to care as little for the number of the notes in circulation as they care for the quantity of sovereigns which roam up and down England. They would rapidly get over all alarm at a low reserve for notes when they saw that, whether gold abounded or not, the credit and popularity of the note were uninjured. In a word, as soon as they imbibed the conviction that the manufactory which supplied notes differed in no respect from that which produces sovereigns, or any mill which turned out calico, and was as incapable of furnishing supplies to the money-market as any shop or factory in the land, all uneasiness would be at an end as to the solvency and convertibility of paper which was fully protected by securities. We say by securities, because one great principle of the Act ought in no case to be abandoned—the absolute safety afforded to the whole paper currency by the deposit of securities ensuring their safety. This is the clear and legitimate superiority which the system of 1844 can claim over its predecessor, as well as over its Scottish rival. Unlike the bullion in the cellar, these securities involve no loss of capital; for they would yield dividends to whomsoever they might be allotted, and they may just as well be lodged in one place as in another.

But such an improvement as the Act of 1844 ought not to stop short of the restoration of one-pound notes. Such an act of repentance would remove a disgrace from our financial legislation. The extinction of this most useful currency is a standing memorial of the panic and the ignorance from which it sprang. Prejudice and sentiment are the sole obstacles in the way of this good deed; for it is useless to seek for scientific or practical arguments against its performance. There are persons, indeed, who terrify themselves that then there would be no gold left in the country; just as there were those who honestly believed that the repeal of the corn-laws would throw English fields out of cul-

tivation; but the one are not more rational the other. England has not starved since 1846; and even the lovers of bullion have been driven to confess that foreigners constantly sell precious metals to England. The balance of trade is, as a rule, always directing a stream of gold into England; in other words, England has no difficulty in finding perpetual sellers of gold. So entirely is the trade in the precious metals to be relied on, that a large portion of the Duke of Wellington's supplies for the payment of his troops in Spain is said to have come to him through Paris. Lancashire may often find cotton unprocurable; but it will never lack whatever gold it may desire, so long as it has property wherewith to buy it.

We are now brought to the remaining enactments of 1844—the regulations imposed on the paper issues of the country banks. A few words will suffice on this head. All issues, we have seen, beyond the amount in circulation when the Act was passed, as well as the creation of new banks of issue, are forbidden; and, as the country circulation is diminished by the extinction of an amalgamation of country banks, the Bank of England is authorised to extend its circulation without any deposit of gold to the amount of two-thirds of the lapsed notes. It is manifest that the framers of the Act desired and expected an early extinction of the country circulation. There were some reasonable grounds for that desire. The events of 1825 were still recent in 1844, and distrust in the solvency of many of the country issuers was justifiable. But their expectation has been falsified, because they did not perceive the attachment which local populations feel for their country notes. To this day, in many districts of England, local notes are deliberately preferred to Bank of England notes, though the latter are a legal tender, and though their solvency is placed on a higher level than was ever obtained by English country notes. The country people are more familiar with their old acquaintances; and, still more, they conceive the risk of losing their money by forgery to be much greater with the Bank of England note. The sentiment is strong, whether reasonable or not; and it clearly shows that the right measure to have been adopted respecting them was to place their notes on the same basis as the credit-issues of the Bank, and to require the deposit with the government of securities sufficient to guarantee the complete safety of the notes. No doubt country bankers would prefer to hold their securities at their own disposal; but they should remember that the issue of a public currency is no inherent part of the private business of banking. It is a public function derived from the State; and indisputably the State has the fullest right to lay down the conditions on which it will confer a public and profitable privilege.

It remains for us now to notice briefly some of the re-

markable doctrines which have been associated with the Bank Act of 1844.

The most common is the belief that the quantity of gold in the Issue Department implies an increased reserve for the banking department of the Bank of England, and consequently is a security and accommodation for trade. This is an all-pervading notion in commercial circles; but it is a pure and baseless fallacy. There is not a word of truth in it. Its existence would be astonishing, were it not possible to trace its origin so clearly to the former state of things, when the two reserves were confounded into one, and when the gold reserved to pay notes was mixed up in the same till with the gold destined to pay depositors and all other creditors of the Bank. A strong reserve undoubtedly is a matter of great importance to a bank, and to every person who has dealings with it; but the gold belonging to the automaton, to the Issue Department, does not belong to the Bank of England, but to the holders of bank-notes all over the kingdom; and it may be much or little, without affecting by a single pound the banking and true reserve of the Bank of England. Did any one ever hear the notion uttered, that the sovereigns throughout England strengthened the reserve of the Bank of England? Why should the notes do so any the more, or the gold which is held in close pawn for those notes, fast out of the reach of the whole court of directors? Those who use such language have not learned the meaning of the Act of 1844. They are still unaware of the fact that the Issue Department, the automaton, is nothing else in the world but a factory for the making and selling of bank-notes—a purely private establishment, as private and separate as the shop of any tradesman in the City; and that the cash in its till has no more to do with the equally private firm of the Bank of England than the sovereigns which lie in the purses of gentlemen going about the streets. The gold of the automaton is a part of its stock-in-trade,—for in truth it deals in both ways, selling gold as well as notes,—and whether that stock is large or small is no one's concern but its own. If it is too large, there is a waste incurred by compelling the automaton to sentence a large treasure to annihilation; and if it is reduced to a proper size,—to a million, as we contend,—the automaton will only have profited by the intelligence of the age, and reduced its useless store, as tradesmen nowadays, by the favour of railways, no longer keep the same amount of stock in their shops. All these are private affairs; nothing more.

There is also another delusion, closely akin to the former, which invests gold with a mysterious and peculiar importance; which distinguishes it from all other commodities by some qualities too mystical to be intelligibly described; which conceives it to be the duty of all prudent and paternal governments to

make legislative provision for a constant supply of this magical article; and which, contemplating with infinite complacency and self-gratulation the eight millions which, undisturbed and unruffled, are ever incubating over some prodigy going to be born in the dark cellars of Threadneedle Street, points to the sacred treasure as the pledge of commercial safety. Dreams of the imagination, which the breath of the morning air at once dispels. What virtue can reside in a metal which no man can control or see? Gold is but one out of thousands of commodities subject to the same laws, obeying the same influence, bought, sold, and exchanged by precisely the same rules as all its companions. Food sustains life, clothing shelters it, comforts give it enjoyment, humbler metals minister to its necessities; but what can luckless sovereigns and unworked bullion accomplish, except serve as tools for passing property from one man's possession to another's? And if they are not engaged in this office, of what use are they to mortals? But, even if it were otherwise,—if gold, like food and clothing, were consumed,—why should governments, above all an English government, take thought for its supply? Why should the universal law of supply and demand be supposed to have lost its efficacy in the case of this one metal? Is iron less useful, less valuable? Yet what theorist has prescribed the piling-up of warehouses with unemployed hardware? The dread of too feeble a supply of gold is shipwrecked against a fact so palpable that not an authority has dared to deny it—the fact that foreign countries, normally, are always indebted to England, or, in other words, that the value of our exported manufactures exceeds the value of the foreign raw materials of which they are composed. And if this is so,—as it incontestably is,—does it not irresistibly follow that the normal problem for England is not how to get gold, but how to get rid of it? This everlasting craving for hoards, which are turned to no profitable use; this gloating over reserves, which science and experience and common sense alike condemn; this fatuous revival of the mercantile theory in all its preposterousness,—is the shame of our age. If eight millions are needed for cashing notes presented for payment, let us have them,—they are usefully employed in sustaining a paper circulation; but if one million is enough,—if one million will do the work as thoroughly, as safely, as permanently as eight, in the name of common intelligence let science say so to the trembling spirits of the City, and let it bid them turn the idle into reproductive capital, for the benefit of the nation. Their own automaton might have taught them better things. Had it a voice to speak with, it would summon them to carry away ingots which no man had touched for twenty years, and which their own laws compel it to keep from all the world.

Another merit is claimed for the law of 1844 by these eminent

philosophers,—fortunately, without the slightest foundation for it in the law itself; for otherwise it would not be the good law which it is on so many points. It regulates the circulation, they tell us, making money cheaper or dearer as the circulation expands or is contracted, and thereby steadies prices, checks speculation, and furnishes a solid basis for the calculations of the trader. Sovereigns and bank-notes alone form “the circulation,” and thus bank-notes and sovereigns alone ought to be cared for as the regulators of prices. Again are we lifted into the world of fiction and unreality. Where have these great oracles learned that coin and bank-notes alone constitute the currency of England? Nay, what is their idea of a currency and its functions? Manifestly to them currency is something more than instruments of exchange; for such a definition at once places cheques, bills, and book-credit on a level with the sovereign and the note, for the work of all is identical in nature, with modifications to suit requirements of detail, just as a chisel is fitted for cleaving and a plane for smoothing wood. And as the work is the same, so the diminution of one kind of these instruments only leads to an increase of the others. If bank-notes are made fewer by the withdrawal of gold from the automaton for exportation, nay, if they were extinguished altogether, the only effect would be to compel the public to use more cheques, bills, and book-credit. But this view does not content the authorities. They have assigned a specific and additional effect to coin and notes, and they glory in the Act of 1844, not only as ensuring the safety and convertibility of the public cheque,—a merit it is clearly entitled to,—but also as protecting an agent which peculiarly acts on prices, and thereby specially deserves the attention of the legislator. When notes and sovereigns are abundant, prices, we are assured, are inclined to rise; when they are deficient, the value of all commodities begins to droop, and thus the doctor is enabled to discern the remedy for controlling speculation by lowering the markets, through a diminution of the circulation. A gratuitous and unfounded theory. In the first place, the law of 1844 does not and cannot act in the manner supposed; the automaton does not control the circulation at all, but is itself controlled by the public, whether speculators or others, who take as many or as few notes as they please. If, therefore, the doctrine were true, it would be destroyed by the very law that was enacted to give it effect. But, in the second place, those who suppose currency to act on prices are entirely ignorant of the natural ebb and flow of the currency. On this point there seems to be a strange misapprehension even amongst the ablest writers. We are not aware of a single person having perceived what appears to us to be a very obvious truth,—that, there being only a limited use and demand

for gold within the country, the inevitable destination of all imports which are not intended for immediate reëxportation is the vaults of the Issue Department. Vouchers are given for it in the form of bank-notes; and these notes, being equally incapable of being absorbed by the public, gravitate, by a similar process, through the various banks to the common reservoir of the reserve of the banking department—that is, of the Bank of England. This bullion and these notes are purely inoperative; they are waiting in idleness till they can be consumed, the bullion by being sent abroad, the notes by being cancelled. They are simply an excess of stock, like a glut of timber or corn in the docks, for which the owners have received warrants from the dock company. Such being the fact, it is plain that the cellar of the automaton is merely a safe and convenient place in which to store away the gold till it is wanted; and that the notes which are issued as receipts for it, supervening upon an amount already sufficient for the public wants, as all the witnesses agree, cannot be kept out in circulation, but play simply the part of title-deeds or vouchers. This simple explanation shows at a glance the emptiness of the speculations which have been so prodigally lavished on the fluctuations of the automaton's reserve. These fluctuations indicate solely the movements to and fro of the trade in gold; and as gold is almost always flowing into England from the balance of trade, the reserve, for the most part, stands at a figure far above the minimum necessary for the single purpose of securing the convertibility of the bank-note.

But in truth all this commotion about gold and notes, these special investigations in times of commercial difficulty into the state of these instruments of exchange, as if they contained the secret of a standing or falling City, are singularly absurd. Look at the following statement, we say to students of currency; make use of your common sense; and then ask yourselves whether this passionate excitement about the condition of the bullion and the bank-notes is not supremely ludicrous. This statement was laid before the Committee of the House of Commons in 1858 by Mr. Slater, of the firm of Morrison, Dillon, and Co., and gives an account of the receipts and payments of that house in the year 1856.

Receipts.

Bankers' drafts and bills payable after date . . .	£583,596
Cheques	357,715
Country bankers' notes	9,207
Bank of England notes	68,554
Gold	28,089
Silver and copper	9,333
Post Office orders	1,486
	<hr/>
	£1,007,980

<i>Payments.</i>	
Bills payable after date	£302,674
Cheques	663,672
Bank of England notes	22,743
Gold	9,427
Silver and copper	1,484
	<hr/>
	£1,000,000

It appears from this document that, in the payment of a million sterling, notes and coin together were employed to the extent of only 33,654*l*. Who does not see, after this, the utterly insignificant part which the public currency of the realm plays in the great transactions of business; that gold and notes form but the small change, the pocket-money, as it were, of trade; that the mighty instruments by which commercial exchanges are effected are the bill, and, above all, the cheque; and that the passionate attention given to notes, the vehement anxiety about the mass of their reserve, are practical and scientific absurdities? The bill and the cheque do the work, and take care of themselves; the Bank of England note is petted and fondled; it is raised to the highest elevation of dignity; men are never happy unless it is enthroned on unemployed and unemployable millions; but it does not, and never will, from its very nature, do the great work of effecting exchanges. This, to be rightly understood, is enough to dispel most of the delusions about currency.

One delusion more, the greatest and most astounding of all, we must notice; and then we shall cease to trouble the patience of our readers. It is the grand discovery of the authorities, the central principle of their view of a paper currency, the scientific achievement on which they pride themselves, the splendid merit which they claim for the Act of 1844. The assertion is so overwhelming, that we must guard against every possibility of mistake. We never met yet a man who, when told of it for the first time, could believe that Lord Overstone or his associates could have made such a declaration, so we quote the *ipsissima verba* of Lord Overstone himself. "By this means," he said on the 7th of July, 1857, to the Select Committee of the House of Commons, "by means of the Act of 1844, effectual security is obtained that the amount of paper money in the country shall at all times conform to what would be the amount of a metallic circulation. Of this there can be no doubt. The paper money of the country, under the Act of 1844, conforms strictly in amount and consequent value to a metallic circulation; those fluctuations in amount, and those only, which would occur under a purely metallic circulation, can and will occur under our present mixed circulation of gold and paper, as regulated by the Act of 1844."

A paper currency identical, not in value only, but in amount,

in the numbers of pounds circulating, with a circulation of coin,—and this erected into the primary principle of currency, of which there can be no doubt! Egregious nonsense; those are the only terms to apply to it. Lord Overstone was long a banker. Had a bookworm in Grub Street uttered such language, it might have caused no surprise; but that such incredible absurdities should have come from a practical dealer in money is marvellous indeed. We ourselves, as we write of it, can scarcely believe that such a thing could ever have been said. The desire to be scientific extinguished the common sense of this great banker. Let him consult Jones Loyd and Co., and ask what they would do if Bank of England notes were suppressed; let him enquire whether they would use as many sovereigns in their business as they now use notes, sovereigns for notes, pound for pound. Let him imagine the stir in the banking-house, when the morning-clerks had to be sent out to collect the sums due to the firm. A small portfolio and a trustworthy clerk gathered, and brought home, thousands—possibly hundreds of thousands; but what was to be done with those dreadful sovereigns? Who was to carry them? a porter or a cab? If a cab, two clerks must go; for one must stay on guard whilst the other stepped into some house to receive a fresh payment. And then the weighings across the counter, the time lost, the risk of robbery—the sight of the bullion-bags as they were shot into the cab! Does Lord Overstone imagine that Jones Loyd and Co., or any banking-house or mercantile firm in the City, would stand this for three days? Is it not obvious that fresh appeals would be made to that mightiest of instruments, the cheque? that sovereigns would be eschewed by every man of business? that the disappearance of the bank-note would scarcely have enlarged the use of coin, but that the cheque, the despised and unprotected cheque—the cheque which no bullion renders safe, for which no grand Act of Parliament rears a costly foundation of metal—would dominate sole and all-powerful in the City? And then, the confusion and perplexity in every household! The gentleman who loved to carry a score or two of pounds in his pocket—what was he to do with all this weight? The fine lady on her shopping rounds in Bond Street, how was she to pay for her purchases? What could help her but the cheque? More buyers on credit, less purchasers with ready money, more banking and more cheques. The cheque-book, for hourly use, would become the inseparable companion of ladies and gentlemen alike. The supposition is too ridiculous to pursue it farther. If people imagine that there are no such forces as the laws of gravity—if they fancy that the public, for the very same purposes, will use a very heavy commodity to the same extent that

they would a light one,—words would be wasted in the attempt to convert them.

Some may think that we have pressed too heavily on the absurdities of these currency oracles : we plead not guilty to the charge. The mischief, both theoretical and practical, which these pompous authorities work in matters of currency is incalculable. They have rendered it the most repulsive of subjects for the student ; and their dogmatism inflicts very heavy losses of money on the country. Many men, as our own experience has amply shown, relying solely on their common sense, have discerned with ease the main principles of currency. They have then passed over to the utterances of great bankers and grandiloquent writers ; they have been assured that these were eminent authorities, possessed of transcendent knowledge and experience ; they have found the instincts of their own good sense contemptuously thrust aside as ignorant and shallow ; but they have found also the language of the great men to be unintelligible jargon ; and, turning away in disgust, they have resolved never to read a line more on currency in their lives. Such is the melancholy state to which currency has been reduced by the most uninductive and unanalytical writing which has weighed down any science since the days of astrology.

We are well aware also that our proposal to raise the limit of bank-notes issued on the deposit of Consols or other securities to twenty millions, and to return to the wholesome and scientific one-pound note, will be received with simple disdain. We are willing to bear it ; for we know that victory in the end always belongs to truth, and that our opponents are unable to oppose us with any reasonings which will bear examination. The Bank Act of 1844, their own very child, will at last work out their overthrow. It needs only to be understood. When the public has learned thoroughly to grasp the fact that the Issue Department, the automaton, has no connection with trade or the Bank of England ; that its one sole object, its only act, is to secure the credit and convertibility of the bank-note ; and that almost all the gold destined to protect that convertibility is never touched for generations ; so wanton and vast a waste and loss as eight millions of pounds kept for a work which one alone is fully able to perform, will cease to be tolerated by the public opinion both of the City and of all England.

B. P.

THE PROGRESS OF CHEMICAL SCIENCE.

THE history of every science is marked by a succession of epochs of change in theoretical views, produced by the accumulation of facts for which existing theories afford an inadequate explanation. When a new theory is proposed, the labours of scientific men are applied to clear up exceptions to its laws, to confirm its deductions, and to extend it to new and uncultivated branches of the science. There is no time as yet to see its defects : and so, when it has been once generally adopted, there is at first an unqualified faith in it ; the teaching of schools becomes so dogmatical that the majority of students who happen to be educated immediately after its general adoption hardly ever change their opinions afterwards. Gradually, however, as some unexpected facts come to light, scepticism begins to show itself ; partial modifications of the theory are suggested ; the germs of new ones burst forth, leading to animated controversy, and stimulating to new enquiries. This is the period of the greatest activity and progress of a science ; for the collision of rival hypotheses produces the sparks from which most discoveries emanate. At length the old theory gives way, and a new one is installed in its place, to be in turn dethroned by another. Let it not be forgotten, however, that each successive theory is in reality but a transformation, so to say, of the preceding one, and always brings us nearer to the goal which all science leads to,—a clearer insight into the laws of the universe, and a greater power of adapting them to our purposes.

In chemistry we are just now emerging from this strife of opposing hypotheses ; the old theories are becoming obsolete, and the foundations of a new one are being laid. And that new one will not be a theory to explain and connect chemical phenomena, in the usual restricted sense of the word, but will be a general theory of matter and motion ; for the chemist, following in the track of the astronomer, no longer confines himself to the study of terrestrial matter, but boldly speculates upon that of the sun, and even of the stellar worlds. It seems a fitting moment, then, to trace the successive phases of opinion which have prepared the way for the advent of the new theory.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the old Greek elements, fire, air, earth, and water, were still believed in ; but the alchemists had added three others, sulphur, mercury, and salt. These must not be looked upon as the substances we now know by those names, but as the elements of the Peripatetics, the types of certain general properties. By sulphur the alchemists understood the property of changeability, of destruction ; mercury embodied

the idea of undecomposability, the cause of metallic lustre, ductility, in a word, of metalleity; while salt typified fixity. These were the metal-forming elements, the difference between the metals being due to the proportions and degree of purity of the elements. Hence it was evident that metals might be transmuted into each other. These elemental types bear evidence of the influence of metaphysical ideas upon the conceptions of physical phenomena. This influence is further illustrated by the growth of a complete system of chemical ontology; thus sweetness was attributed to a distinct sweet principle, bitterness to a bitter principle, aromas to an aromatic principle. The elixir of life, the alchahest, or universal solvent, the *spiritus mundi*, which people sought for in the dew of the month of May, and in the products of the distillation of frogs and lizards, was only a further development of this ontology. Such terms as elective affinity, magnetic, electric, caloric and luminous fluids, vital principle, prove that its influence has long lingered in physical science, though now passed, or passing, away for ever.

For this multiplicity of principles, the German physician, Becher, or rather his more celebrated disciple Stahl, substituted a single general principle, by the combinations of which with bodies all their metamorphoses were sought to be explained. This principle was the matter of fire, which, according to Stahl, could exist both free and combined. When bodies contained it combined, they were combustible. This combined or fixed caloric he called phlogiston; from $\phi\lambda\acute{o}\xi$, *flame*. When set free from bodies it assumes its common properties of heat and light. Combustion of bodies was therefore a decomposition into phlogiston and some other substance which varied with the nature of the combustible. The richer a body was in phlogiston, the more combustible it was. When metals were heated, they lost their brightness and were converted into an earthy dross or calx; metals were compounds of different calxes with phlogiston, and the process of calcination was therefore a separation of phlogiston. When these calxes were heated with such combustible bodies as oil or charcoal, the metals were revived, that is, they combined again with phlogiston, which they borrowed from the combustibles.

The discovery by Bayen that the calx or oxide of mercury on being heated yielded metallic mercury and a gas, and the splendid discovery of all the properties of this gas (oxygen) by Priestley, and almost simultaneously by Scheele, Dr. Rutherford's discovery of nitrogen, Black's discovery of carbonic acid, Cavendish's memorable synthesis of water, and Lavoisier's discovery of the composition of air, enabled Lavoisier himself completely to overturn the phlogiston theory, and to give a simple explanation of the oxidation and reduction of metals, and of the formation of many acids,—such as sul-

phuric, carbonic, and phosphoric acids,—of combustion, of respiration, and decay. The calxes of metals, according to him, were combinations of metals with oxygen; therefore all earths were oxides, and would yield metals, if only the oxygen could be separated. An attempt to realise this prediction of Lavoisier during his lifetime was made by Tondi and Ruprecht, who, about the year 1790, tried to separate the metals of barytes, magnesia, and some other earths. It seems that the bodies they obtained were only alloys of iron, so that the true metals of the alkalies and earths were unknown before the memorable experiments of Sir Humphrey Davy.

At first sight the difference between Stahl's view of combustion and Lavoisier's may not seem so great a discovery as it really was; but, in truth, there is a wide chasm between the chemical science of the first part of the eighteenth century and that established by Lavoisier. The very language was revolutionised; not the mere nomenclature of chemical bodies only, but the descriptions of processes and the explanation of phenomena. The wonderful light which was shed over all the experimental sciences by the views of Lavoisier may be pointed to as an example of the value of theoretical views, apart from the discovery of mere facts.

Chemical research necessarily follows two distinct directions—one, the analysis and synthesis of bodies, their transformation when subjected to the action of reagents, and their mutual relationships; the other, the investigation of the causes of the phenomena, that is, of the forces which are engaged in chemical processes. The former prepares materials for the latter; and it is from the progress in the second direction that we attain to a theory of causation. Lavoisier did not, strictly speaking, propose a theory. He merely described facts without attempting to explain them; but he did so clearly and logically, and therefore prepared the way for a theory. Hence he may be said to have followed the first of the two directions we have just mentioned. But among his fellow-labourers and contemporaries there were some who pursued the second path of research. In 1775, the Swedish chemist Bergmann published his essay on elective attractions, in which he laid it down as a principle that all bodies which have the power of combining with each other do so in virtue of an affinity which is strictly elective, and that the force of this attraction is constant and definite, and capable of numerical determination. He attempted to express this affinity in the case of bases and acids by constructing a series of tables, which, though very incorrect, must always have a historical value, as the first systematic attempt to introduce number into chemistry. Two years after the publication of Bergmann's book appeared a very remarkable work of a German chemist, Wenzel, upon the same subject. This work contained the capital discovery that many salts, when mixed together in certain proportions, completely decompose each other;

while if there be an excess of one or the other salt in the solution, that excess will remain without affecting the result. The author further observed that if the salts were neutral to test-paper before being mixed, the neutrality was not affected by the result. In these experiments we have two important numerical laws, since known as the laws of definite and reciprocal proportion, that is, the doctrine of equivalents. Wenzel's analyses can scarcely be surpassed at the present day for accuracy. This subject was further extended by the labours of another German chemist, Richter, whose chief work, in four volumes, appeared between 1792 and 1794. His analyses are by no means as accurate as those of Wenzel; but his tables may be considered the prototypes of the later tables of equivalents.

This subject of affinity occupied the attention of many other chemists also, and among them of the Frenchman Berthollet, whose celebrated work *Essai de Statique Chimique* appeared in 1803. In this book, Berthollet made an attempt to lay the basis of a general theory of chemical science, by considering that the molecular attraction which produces chemical combination is but a modification of the universal law of gravitation. He considered combinations and decompositions to be the result, not of affinity, as Bergmann thought, but of an effort to attain a state of equilibrium under the varying influences of external circumstances, such as density, insolubility, volatility, and the relative masses of bodies. He believed that bodies are capable of uniting with each other in all proportions, and that the definite composition which we find them to possess is the resultant of the different forces engaged in each reaction. This idea appears to be a necessary consequence of any mechanical theory of chemistry; the speculation was, however, too far in advance of observation and experiment in Berthollet's time to admit of being properly interpreted. It will hereafter be found that the chemical statics foreshadowed the true dynamical theory of molecular forces; and the work will ever be looked upon as one of the most remarkable contributions to chemistry. As the theory of indefinite chemical combination could not be interpreted and harmonised with the facts of the science at that time, in the form in which it was put forward by Berthollet it was erroneous, and led to a controversy with Proust, who maintained the opposite opinion with great ability. This controversy was useful to science, and undoubtedly directed general attention to the phenomena of combination and decomposition, and paved the way for the discovery of the laws which govern those phenomena.

The study of crystalline forms, which from the commencement of the eighteenth century began to attract attention, revived to some extent the old corpuscular theory of the Greeks. Newton speaks of the ultimate particles as being hard and impenetrable. Leeuwenhoek tells us that a cube of common salt is formed by the

union of an infinity of smaller cubes. Buffon, following out this idea, concluded that it could not be doubted that "the primitive and constitutional parts of this salt are also cubes so small that they will always escape our eyes and even our imaginations." Romé de l'Isle, who may be said to have laid the first foundation of crystallography by the establishment of the important laws of the invariability of the angles of the crystals of the same substance, no matter how unequally the development of the faces which form the angle may have taken place (a law first indicated by Gulielmini), and that every face of crystal has a similar one parallel to it, has the following remarkable passage in the second edition of his *Cristallographie*: "Germs being inadmissible to explain the formation of crystals, we must necessarily suppose that the *integrant* or *similar* molecules of bodies have each, according to the nature which is proper to it, a constant figure determined by the figure of the *constituent principles* themselves of those same molecules."¹ To every substance then he assigned a special form, determined by the integrant molecules, which he called the primitive form, and from which he derived all the secondary forms which the same substance could assume, by supposing that the angles and edges were truncated. Haüy, the contemporary of Romé de l'Isle, established the law which governs those truncations and modifications, and which is known as his law of symmetry.² This law may be briefly expressed thus: If any angle or edge of a crystal be removed by a truncation, or modified in any other way, all the similar edges and angles will be similarly modified, and all the dissimilar parts will not be so modified, or will be modified differently. When the faces or edges which form the modified part are equal, the modifications produce the same effect on the form of the crystal; in the contrary case, they produce a different effect.

Even with a very limited number of simple types of form, the number of possible new or derivative forms, which this process of truncating the edges and angles could give, would be almost endless. But there is a very beautiful natural law which is a necessary consequence of Haüy's theory of crystals, and limits the number of truncations which could occur on the crystalline form of each substance. If we take a square bar or rod of wood, it will represent what we should in crystallography call a right square prism. Let the four end edges of one end of this be cut so as to make the end terminate in a little pyramid. Now such a pyramid may be made elongated or shortened, that is, we may point our bar with a long sharp four-sided point, or we may make it quite stumpy. It is quite clear that between the shortest and the most elongated

¹ *Cristallographie*, 2d ed. tom. i. p. 22; Paris, 1783.

² *Essai d'une Théorie sur la Structure des Crystaux*; Paris, 1784.

ends we could suppose an almost infinite number of ends. Let us make the longest or most pointed end we can, and saw it off, so as to have a complete four-sided pyramid. Then let us make a series of such pyramids, each succeeding one being more obtuse than the preceding one. The number, it is clear, would be limited only by our skill in marking the successive degrees of stumpiness. If we place these pyramids on a table in the order in which we cut them off, we shall have a series which will decrease in height from the sharpest to the bluntest. There are crystals of the shape of this bar, sometimes terminated by pyramids, but more frequently having only the edges cut off or truncated, presenting, in fact, the appearance of the first cut on the edges of the wooden bar; these rudimentary faces may be completed in imagination by supposing them to be extended until they would form a point. Instead, however, of the endless series of points which we could cut on the bar, nature only produces a very limited number on the crystal of each substance. But the height of all those pyramids which actually occur, or may be completed in imagination on a particular crystalline form, would present a remarkable relationship. If we select the height of one of them as a unit of measure, the heights of the others will be one and a half, twice, three times, four times, &c. the unit, or one-fourth, one-third, one-half, three-quarters, &c. of it; that is, the heights would be simple multiples or submultiples of one of them. This beautiful law applies to all possible figures, and we may consequently express it in general terms, thus: the parameters of all the faces which occur upon the forms in which a body crystallises, that is, so much of the half axes of a crystal as these faces cut, or may cut, if sufficiently prolonged, unless when the face is parallel to one or more of the axes, bear to each other the simple ratios above mentioned.

An idea that such a law governed the weights in which bodies combined seems to have suggested itself to the minds of several chemists. Among others, we find it actually assumed by William Higgins, in discussing the composition of sulphurous and sulphuric acid, in a work of great ability, published in 1789 in defence of the views of Lavoisier, which, we believe, he was the first to adopt in Great Britain.³ Higgins does not seem to have been himself conscious of the value of the ideas which floated through his mind, and no one else appears to have noticed them. Proust at a later period, in his controversy with Berthollet, almost touched it. It remained, however, for John Dalton to see the law in all its generality. By connecting them with the ancient Greek corpuscular theory, he was able to reduce all the laws which govern the proportions in which bodies combine together by weight to the sim-

³ *A Comparative View of the Phlogistic and Antiphlogistic Theories*; London, 1789.

plest expression. Nothing can exceed in simplicity and beauty these four laws, which may be thus stated: 1. all bodies combine in definite proportions, and the same body is always composed of the same constituents, united in the same proportions; 2. substances may combine in several proportions, and if one of those be taken as unity, the others bear the simple relations to them of 1 to 1, 1 to 2, &c.; 3. if certain weights of two bodies combine with a given weight of a third, they will combine with one another in the same proportion, or in a multiple or submultiple of it; 4. the sum of the weights of the constituents of a compound body represents the proportion in which that compound would itself combine with another body. The first, or law of definite proportion, was, as we have already seen, enunciated by Bergmann and Wenzel; the second corresponds with the law of symmetry of Haüy, and thus links weight and form; the third is Wenzel's law of equivalents; and the fourth, which is the direct consequence of the others, could only have arisen by the correlation of the others.

Aided by the experiments of Wollaston and Thomson, but above all by Berzelius, the atomic theory was generally accepted. To the last-named chemist the world is indebted for the table of equivalents of the simple bodies, one of the noblest monuments of skill, labour, and perseverance of which any science can boast.

If bodies combine together in multiple proportions, and if the geometrical forms in which solid bodies crystallise are developed according to an analogous law of growth, it must necessarily follow that there must be some relation between the volume or space occupied by the gases or vapours of substances and the proportional weights according to which they combine. This relationship was discovered by Gay Lussac, who found that, when gases combined, the volumes of the combining gases and of the gas produced bore a very simple relation to each other, of 1 to 1, 1 to 2, and so on; and that the law of multiple proportion by weight applied also to combinations by volumes; that is, that there was a distinct connection between the weights of bodies and their volume, or, in other words, their specific gravities might be determined from their combining numbers.

It is well known that the same quantity of heat does not produce the same heating effect as measured by the thermometer upon different bodies; thus the quantity of heat which would elevate a given weight of water 3° would elevate a similar mass of mercury 83° . If we agree to represent the unknown quantity of heat which would raise a given quantity of water 1° by unity, it is obvious that the relative amounts of heat required for heating equal weights of water and mercury would be as 1 to 1-28th, and these numbers would represent what are called their specific heats. If instead of equal weights of the two bodies we compare quanti-

ties proportional to their atomic weights, we find that the specific heats are practically equal. This curious discovery regarding the specific heats of the simple bodies was made by Dulong and Petit. Neumann and Avogadro subsequently extended it to some compounds, that is, they found that similar compounds had nearly the same specific heats. But it is to M. Regnault that we are indebted for the most complete and extensive investigations on this important subject, by which the perturbations to which the law is subject were determined.

Boyle and Mariotte long ago, in studying the effects of pressure upon air, recognised the existence of a law which, as expressed by the latter, is, that the volume of a gas is directly as the pressure, and the elasticity or spring which it opposes to compression inversely as that pressure; that is, that if we double the pressure on a gas, we reduce its volume to half, and double its elasticity. This law was now applied to each gas as it was discovered; but it was soon found that very few followed it absolutely. We shall return again to the subject of these deviations. Another law of gases intimately connected with the law of specific heat and the law of Mariotte, is Gay Lussac's law of the expansion of gases. He found that equal volumes of different gases expanded equally with equal increments of heat.

If the same force, whether mechanical or of heat, when applied to different gases caused their molecules to approach or recede an equal distance from each other, it was natural to suppose that under similar conditions the molecules of gases were equally separate from each other, and consequently equal volumes of the simple gases contained an equal number of atoms. The latter hypothesis, however, introduced a distinction between equivalent—that is, the smallest quantity of a body which appeared to take part in the reaction by which bodies were formed or decomposed—and atom, or the smallest particle of matter which could not be further divided. An equivalent of chlorine and one of hydrogen occupy equal volumes, and consequently their specific gravities are directly proportional to their equivalents; that is, if we make the unit of comparison for both equivalents and specific gravity 1 of hydrogen, the equivalent and specific gravity will be the same. But an equivalent of oxygen taken as 8 occupies only half the volume of that of chlorine or hydrogen. Again, the volume of sulphur is only one-sixth of that of hydrogen, and consequently only one-third that of oxygen. Some of the other elements also were anomalous, but it did not extend to their compounds; and so chemists were enabled to assume a theoretical volume for sulphur, and for some others, corresponding to the volumes they appeared to enter into combination with. The simple bodies capable of being converted into gases accordingly arranged themselves under two categories—those the volume of

whose equivalent was equal to that of oxygen taken as unity, and those whose equivalent occupied the space of that of hydrogen, or 2. There were two ways of equalising this difference, so as to make the symbols in a formula express equal volumes. One was to halve the received proportional numbers of the two-volume bodies, and to call the halves atomic weights, so that some bodies would be always assumed to combine in two atoms, that is, two atoms would represent their equivalent; while in the case of oxygen and the other one-volume gases, the atomic weight and equivalent would be the same. The second method would have been to double the equivalent of the oxygen class, so as to make the proportional numbers of all the simple bodies correspond to equal volumes. The former method was adopted by Berzelius and the majority of chemists for a considerable time; the second method, with some exceptions which will be noticed hereafter, is now preferred. If we consider water to be composed of one equivalent of oxygen and one of hydrogen, its formula would be HO; if we look upon it as formed of two atoms of hydrogen and one of oxygen, we should write it H_2O , the O representing 8 if we assume the atomic weight of hydrogen to be half its proportional number. If, on the other hand, we make the atomic weight of hydrogen the same as its proportional number, and make the proportional numbers of oxygen and hydrogen represent equal volumes, O will be 16 as is now assumed.

The relation between the density and the volume of gases suggested the importance of endeavouring to establish a similar connection between the density and volume of liquids and solids. The first who attempted it was M. Dumas; but the chemist who has laboured most at this difficult and somewhat barren task is Professor Kopp. Some of the specific volumes obtained for bodies which resemble each other in constitution are remarkable for simplicity. This subject will be the foundation of the new chemistry. Specific volume naturally leads us to consider the law of specific form, or the relation between the shape and composition of solid bodies. Starting from an observation of Gay Lussac, that potash and ammonia alums can mingle in all proportions, without the forms being altered, and that even the same crystal of alum may be alternately put into solutions of the two salts and still continue to grow without undergoing any perceptible modification, Mitscherlich established the law that salts, and in general compounds which have the same atomic formulæ, may crystallise and mingle in all proportions in the crystal obtained, without the latter being modified in its fundamental form, although the angles undergo a slight alteration in their value. This identity of form and faculty of substitution is common to all classes of bodies, simple and compound, and was called by its discoverer *isomorphism*. Bodies were said to be isomorphic when they could crystallise in the same way,

stand as substitutes for each other without changing the general character of the product, and be considered to have the same number of atoms united in the same manner.

While these remarkable laws, which connected in so beautiful a manner the weight, volume, and form of different kinds of matter on the one hand, and the relation of heat to all three on the other, were being investigated, the science was making gigantic strides in the other direction. The determination of the equivalents of bodies by Berzelius totally changed the character of chemical analysis; hundreds of new compounds were discovered annually, many by Berzelius himself, in the course of his experiments for the determination of equivalents. The combinations of the simple bodies with oxygen, sulphur, and chlorine were especially examined, and careful analyses of the salts which those compounds mutually formed were made, while the introduction of symbolic nomenclature, also by Berzelius, enabled chemists to express with great facility the composition of bodies, and their views regarding the reactions which take place when different substances are brought together. The materials for framing a general theory to explain chemical phenomena were at length accumulated, and the task was undertaken by the man whose gigantic labour had gathered a large part of those materials. Before briefly explaining what that theory was, we must say a few words upon another fundamental point of connection, which had been previously established between chemical and physical phenomena.

While Lavoisier and his contemporaries were forming a new science, Galvani, a professor of Bologna, made the memorable discovery that, when the lumbar nerve and the muscle of the thigh of a frog are brought into contact by means of a metallic arch, the muscle contracts. He attributed this phenomenon to an excitation produced by an electric discharge; he looked upon the muscle as a kind of Leyden jar, charged on the inside with positive electricity, and on the outside with negative electricity, the nerve and metallic arch acting simply as conductors. Although many of the theoretical views of Galvani have been shown to be erroneous, his experiments have been amply confirmed; and we now know that the action of the muscles is accompanied by the development of electricity. So curious an observation could not fail to attract considerable attention at a time when the minds of scientific men were excited by the almost daily announcement of some important discovery. Galvani's experiments were repeated, and found to be correct; but his explanations were disputed by several, especially by Volta, the professor of physics at Pavia. He endeavoured to show that the cause of the phenomenon was in the metallic arch, and not in the animal organism. In endeavouring to establish this theory, he discovered dynamical electricity, and the instru-

ment by which it is produced—the voltaic pile or battery—unquestionably the most beautiful and important physical instrument yet discovered. We need not stop to discuss his theory of its action; suffice it to say that a voltaic element consists essentially of two substances which combine chemically, and of a conductor. In practice we generally use sulphuric acid and zinc as the chemical agents, and platinum, copper, or even charcoal, as the conductor. With this new instrument Mr. Carlisle and Mr. Nicholson succeeded, in 1800, in decomposing water and getting both constituents free, at opposite poles of the battery, as if each was in a different state of electricity. Water being an oxide of hydrogen, could not dynamical electricity decompose other oxides too, and separate the constituents in a corresponding electro-polar condition? Sir Humphrey Davy, by means of a very powerful voltaic battery, found that this was so,—that the decomposition of water was in fact a type of all electro-chemical decompositions; that is, that the elements were separated, like those of water, at opposite poles, and therefore in opposite states of electricity. On submitting potash and soda to the action of his powerful battery, he had the satisfaction to find that they decomposed into new metals, with properties totally unlike any of the metals known previously, and oxygen; thus fully verifying the prediction of Lavoisier, that the earths generally were combinations of metals. These discoveries of Davy were not only important in themselves as a contribution to the chemical knowledge of matter, but they also formed the starting-point of that brilliant series of discoveries with which the name of Faraday especially will be for ever associated; and lastly, they may be said to have been the origin of the electro-chemical theory.

It is not necessary here to describe this theory in any detail; it will be sufficient to state its general principles as it finally left the hands of Berzelius. Its fundamental principle was, that electricity is the cause of all chemical activity, the source of the heat and light observed in chemical reactions; the latter forces being, perhaps, but transformations of the electricity. Matter was supposed to consist of finite atoms which were electrically polar, the poles of each atom not being of equal strength; according as one or other pole was stronger, the atoms are electro-positive or electro-negative. Combination consists in the juxtaposition of those atoms; all bodies that have a chemical relationship to each other assume, when they come in contact, opposite electrical states, the intensity of which is in proportion to their chemical relationship, that is, to their special nature, since in the electro-chemical theory an original difference of matter was assumed. If the mechanical contact passes into chemical affinity, the opposite electricities of the atoms more or less neutralise each other, and the signs of

electrical excitation more or less cease. When the compound thus formed is subjected to the action of a voltaic battery, the atoms again become electrically excited and separate, and are attracted by the poles in an opposite state from themselves. When two atoms combine they form a compound atom, which is mechanically, though not chemically, indivisible. As the strength of the chemical affinity of bodies depends not so much upon the difference between the relative force of the poles of each atom as in general upon the intensity of the polarisation, which varies, however, with the temperature and other physical circumstances, and as this variation is not equal under like circumstances for all bodies, it rarely happens that the electricities of two atoms are completely neutralised by combination. According as the negative or positive electricity is in excess, so the compound will be either positive or negative. Two compound atoms may thus be able to form a still more complex mechanically indivisible atom, and so on. There were therefore simple atoms, complex atoms of the first degree, complex atoms of the second degree, and so on. All combinations taking place in virtue of electrical dualism, each class of atoms was divided into electro-negative bodies and electro-positive bodies. Among the simple substances, oxygen, sulphur, chlorine, &c. represent the electro-negative elements, and the metals the positive ones; the complex atoms of the first degree, or oxides, sulphides, &c., formed by the union of an electro-negative body and an electro-positive one, form two series likewise, an electro-positive and electro-negative one, the former being bases and the latter acids, which by their union produce salts; while two salts may unite to form double salts, one of which may be supposed to be electro-negative to the other. From what we have stated with regard to the variation of electrical intensity in the same atoms, it will be evident that in many cases the same body may be electro-negative or positive according to circumstances. We have said that salts are atoms of the second degree formed by two complex atoms of the first degree. Berzelius called these salts amphid salts; they included all the salts of oxygen and sulphur acids, with oxygen and sulphur bases. In the atoms of the first degree formed by chlorine, bromine, and the other elements of what is called the halogen group, the electro-polar intensities of their simple atoms so nearly balance each other, that they are nearly or entirely neutral. Accordingly Berzelius called them halogen salts.

This theory afforded explanations generally satisfactory of most of the phenomena of chemistry known at the time, including the laws of combination by weight and volume, electro-chemical decomposition, isomorphism, and even Berthollet's laws of chemical reactions, and was accordingly accepted by all chemists as a satisfactory theory of causation.

At the time when the great laws of which we have attempted to sketch a brief history were discovered, the chemistry of organic bodies,—that is, of the materials and products of plants and animals,—formed part of that unoccupied territory of which there is much in every new science, and into which only a few bold pioneers occasionally venture. Fourcroy, the greatest of the public teachers of Paris at the beginning of the present century, and fellow-labourer with Vauquelin, one of the founders of analytical chemistry, tells us, in his *System of Chemistry*, that the analysis of a vegetable may be very accurately made by separating some twenty substances. Until the true nature of the simple bodies, oxygen, nitrogen, hydrogen, and carbon, was determined, nothing of course could be known of the ultimate composition of organic bodies. We may say the same of the proximate composition, that is, of the different compound bodies of which the organs of plants and animals are made up; as the proximate compounds can only be accurately defined by making their ultimate analysis, that is, by determining the proportion of the different elements of which they are formed.

Lavoisier considered that in every acid there was an acidifiable base, to which Guyton de Morveau applied the term *radical*, united to the acidifiable principle oxygen. Scheele had discovered that when sugar is boiled with nitric acid it is converted into an acid; which he proved to be identical with one existing naturally in many plants. Lavoisier looked upon sugar as such a radical, and oxalic acid as an oxide of it. Some time before 1817 Berzelius had observed a certain similarity between organic and inorganic compounds of oxygen; as, for instance, in the power of the former to combine, like the latter, with oxygen in several, and often multiple, proportions. Applying the principles of the electrochemical theory to the compounds, he concluded that they too should be looked upon as oxides. In the second Swedish edition of his *Chemistry*, he tells us, that “the difference between organic and inorganic bodies consists herein, that in inorganic nature all oxidised bodies have a simple radical; while all organic substances, on the other hand, are made up of oxides with compound radicals.” He looked upon inorganic bodies as the types of organic ones, but only in the sense that, whatever knowledge we may ever attain to about the composition and mode of formation of organic bodies, would come from the application of the ideas and methods of inorganic chemistry. He does not appear to have thought that our knowledge of organic chemistry would ever be very extensive; for he believed that the same laws did not govern organic and inorganic combination, as the following passage in the last edition of his *Chemistry* will show: “In living nature the elements appear to obey quite different laws from those of inorganic nature; the

products which result from the reciprocal action of these elements differ therefore from those which inorganic nature presents. If we could find out the cause of this difference, we should have the key of the theory of organic chemistry; but this theory is so concealed that we have no hope whatever of discovering it, at least for the present."

Berzelius's idea that organic bodies were compounds of radicals led to no immediate practical results; but Gay Lussac having shown that alcohol might be looked upon as a combination of one volume of the carbide of hydrogen olefiant gas and one of the vapour of water, and ether of two volumes of olefiant gas and one of the vapour of water, the view was adopted and extended by Dumas and Boullay in connection with their investigation upon the compound ethers. They concluded that olefiant gas, or, as they called it, etherine (C_2H_4), plays the part of a strong base, and saturates acids like ammonia; that alcohol and ether are hydrates, and the compound ethers salts of it. The analogy in composition, so far as formulæ went, of etherine and ammonia, was certainly very considerable. The etherine theory was the first attempt to connect a number of bodies by a common link, and historically therefore is of great importance.

In 1832 Liebig and Wöhler discovered that a group of molecules represented by the formula C_7H_5O could perform the functions of a simple body, and be transferred unchanged during a number of reactions in which it was obtained in combination with oxygen, chlorine, bromine, iodine, sulphur, &c. To this group, which they did not succeed in isolating from its combinations, they gave the name of benzoyl. Berzelius at once adopted the conclusions of the chemists just named, and extended them, in opposition to the etherine theory, to ether and alcohol, by proposing to consider the former of those bodies as the oxide of a hypothetical group, or radical C_2H_5 . Liebig in turn adopted this view of the constitution of ether, and called the radical ethyle; and having established, by his investigations upon the acid formed by sulphuric acid and alcohol called sulphovinic acid, the inadequacy of the etherine theory, he extended the radical theory to all compounds whose metamorphoses and derivatives had been sufficiently examined; that is, he considered organic bodies as compounds, in accordance with the electro-chemical theory, of groups of atoms performing the functions of simple bodies.

After an impulse had been given to the daily accumulating observations of organic chemistry by the methods of analysis introduced by Gay Lussac and Thénard, greatly simplified by Liebig, enlarged by Dumas's accurate method of determining nitrogen, the want of some general principle to link them together was so keenly felt, that the theory was at once accepted with general favour, until

an observation of Gay Lussac afforded the germ of totally different ideas. He found that when wax is acted upon by chlorine, chlorhydric acid is formed; that is, hydrogen is removed, while at the same time an equal volume of chlorine enters the wax. Dumas, following up this clue, found that eight volumes of hydrogen could be removed from oil of turpentine, and eight volumes of chlorine substituted for them. Pursuing his experiments, he came to the conclusion, that by the action of chlorine, bromine, iodine, organic bodies lost hydrogen, and took an equivalent quantity of the reagent. To this class of reactions the terms *metalepsie* and *substitution* were applied.

Laurent extended the examples of substitution by a series of remarkable investigations; and, connecting the phenomena with the etherine theory, he constructed an extremely ingenious hypothesis known as the nucleus theory. In each organic compound he assumed a nucleus; the simplest nuclei, unlike the radicals, are carbides of hydrogen, which can be got in a free state. These fundamental nuclei he considered as geometrical figures formed of carbon and hydrogen atoms. Around these nuclei he supposed other atoms, elementary or complex, to be capable of grouping themselves without disturbing the equilibrium of the nucleus. These deposited atoms could be removed or replaced by others; every addition, removal, or replacement altering the physical and chemical properties of the body formed. Neutral oxides were formed by the addition of one atom of oxygen, monobasic acids by the addition of two atoms, and so on. So far the etherine theory. Let us now see the part substitution played in his system. Both the radical and etherine theories admit that hydrogen could exist in two states in a compound, and substitution had demonstrated that it was so; if it was admitted in the case of hydrogen, there was no reason why it should not be admitted in the case of all the elements; there was nothing improbable therefore in the distinction between the nucleus and the atoms deposited upon it. Laurent supposed that the hydrogen of the nucleus might be removed in part or wholly, and its place occupied by chlorine, bromine, iodine, &c., and even by oxygen, sulphur, and several compounds. So long as the atoms removed were replaced by equivalent quantities of others, the group remained constant in its general chemical functions, its physical properties, such as density, boiling point, &c., changing of course with each atom substituted; but then the changes thus produced would be regular, and might be predicted to some extent. When a substitution was effected in the fundamental or primitive nucleus, it was called a *derivative* nucleus, so that there were as many derivative nuclei as possible substitutions in the fundamental one. As each derivative nucleus could be the centre of a series of combinations outside it, in the

same manner as the primitive one, the number of possible chemical compounds became enormous. This system presented for the first time a means of systematically classifying all organic bodies, of indicating their possible affinities, of predicting or anticipating many of the compounds that might be obtained in certain reactions, and even of predetermining to some extent their physical properties and chemical functions. Its advantages as the basis of a classification are shown by its having been adopted for that purpose by Leopold Gmelin in the last edition of his Chemistry.

The researches and views of Laurent, the investigation by Regnault of the changes which take place by the continued action of chlorine upon olefiant gas, and still more the discovery of chloroacetic acid, or acetic acid, in which three-fourths of the hydrogen have been substituted by chlorine, by Dumas, led that chemist to reject altogether the electro-chemical theory, and propose in its place his theory of types. When an organic body was treated with chlorine, bromine, &c., so as to remove hydrogen and replace it by an equivalent quantity of the reagent, the body was supposed to have maintained its type, and the substituting element or compound, no matter what might be its electro-polar character, occupied the place, and performed the functions of the replaced element. If the substitution took place without altering the chemical functions of the original body, both it and the derivative were said to belong to the same *chemical* type; but if the substitution was accompanied by a definite change in chemical functions, the two bodies would be said to belong to the same mechanical or molecular type. Dumas extended his views to inorganic chemistry also; and looking upon isomorphism as the indication of similar molecular constitution, he considered isomorphous groups containing the same number of molecules as types, such, for instance, as the alums. We have seen that Berzelius looked upon the laws of inorganic compounds as the starting-point of investigations into organic compounds. Dumas, on the contrary, declared at a very early period that he had "the firm conviction that the future progress of general chemistry would be due to the application of the laws observed in organic chemistry." And he said farther that, "far from confining ourselves to take the laws of inorganic chemistry and introduce them into organic chemistry," he thought that "one day, and very soon perhaps, organic chemistry would give laws to mineral chemistry." In the electro-chemical theory the *nature* of the molecules governed the phenomena, and consequently their *position* in a compound depended upon their nature. When Berzelius makes inorganic chemistry the type upon which he supposes the organic bodies to be formed, he evidently believes that, even in the multitude of compounds which carbon forms with two or three elements, the *nature* of the atoms is still the cause of

all differences of property. The type theory, which, properly speaking, is not a theory in the same sense as the electro-chemical, being but an expression of facts without any attempt to explain the causes, evidently implies that the properties of bodies are the result of the *position* rather than of the nature of the elements of which they are composed. This is the fundamental distinction which exists between the two directions in which chemical speculations have tended for nearly thirty years.

According to the views of Berzelius, a radical was an unchangeable atomic group; while it was wholly opposed to the fundamental principles of the electro-chemical theory to suppose that so electro-negative an atom as chlorine could perform the same functions in a group as hydrogen. He could not therefore accept the doctrine of substitution without giving up his own views. A warm controversy began between the advocates of the radical and types theories, the former endeavouring to account for the facts discovered by the latter by a mere shifting of formulæ. The mass of new facts which were brought forward on both sides in the course of this discussion profoundly modified both views. In the first place, it became evident that although the supposed radicals could be transferred unchanged in a series of double decompositions, just in the same manner as a simple body, they could not be considered as fixed and unchangeable groups. They were in fact nothing more than *residues*, or the parts of groups, which remained unaffected in a series of double decompositions. As the same compound could break up in many different ways, we could assume as many radicals in the same substance as there would be residues unaffected in all its possible double decompositions. There was no reason, therefore, to select some particular one of those residues, and consider it the radical of a series of compounds, except for the superior advantage which it might present for classification, by being the residue most frequently left in the more usual reactions. On the other hand, the successive substitution of chlorine and other bodies for hydrogen diminished its basyle power, and the substitution of acid residues even converted it into an acid. Chlorine and those acid radicals, although taking the place of hydrogen, did not therefore, strictly speaking, perform exactly the same function. This mutual modification of the rival hypotheses led to the development of a new type theory, which also admits of the hypothesis of compound radicals, but only in the sense of residues; while the types themselves are only to be looked upon as convenient arrangements of formulæ for grouping together bodies which in double decompositions appear to react according to a common type. This new theory, although developed under the influence of perfectly independent ideas, harmonises so beautifully with the new views on the nature of force, that it may be said to

have prepared chemistry for being included at once in the general dynamical theory of natural phenomena, which is now for the first time slowly unfolding itself to our minds. Before briefly describing this new view, it may be well to say a word upon the different ideas out of the convergence of which with those of the radical and first type theory it arose. We will not follow a strictly historical order, since to do so, however desirable, would be incompatible with our space.

Sir Humphrey Davy thought that the oxygen acids of chlorine might be considered as chlorhydric acid to which oxygen was successively added, and consequently that the amphid salts of those acids might be assimilated to the chlorides of the metals. Dulong adopted this view, and extended it to all acids; that is, he taught that all acids are compounds of hydrogen with an electro-negative body, which is either a simple or compound radical. Liebig successfully applied this hypothesis to the organic acids, and greatly extended the idea of acid by defining it to be a hydrogen compound whose hydrogen could be displaced by a metal,—a definition which includes not only water, but even hydrates of the alkalies; Graham having shown that the different kinds of phosphates might be explained by supposing that there were three distinct phosphoric acids, distinguished by the amount of water which they contained. Thus the acid with one equivalent of water formed salts with only one equivalent of base; that with two of water formed salts with two of base; and lastly, that with three of water gave salts with three of base. He called these acids monobasic, bibasic, and tribasic respectively. Upon the hypothesis that acids were hydrogen compounds, monobasic phosphoric acid would be supposed to contain one equivalent of hydrogen displaceable by a metal, and the tribasic three. Liebig found that a large number of organic acids belonged to the class of polybasic acids. One of the most characteristic distinctions of such acids is their faculty of forming several classes of salts, according to the amount of hydrogen which they contain. Thus we may form a salt with a tribasic acid by replacing one of hydrogen by one of metal; another by replacing two of hydrogen by two of metal; and a third by replacing the whole of the hydrogen by three equivalents of metal.

This fertile hypothesis of the constitution of acids was rendered more definite by Laurent and Gerhardt, who established several important characteristic distinctions between the acids of different degrees of basicity. Thus they found that a monobasic acid never gives an acid silver salt by double decomposition, that it only forms one ammonia salt, one silver salt, one neutral ether, and one amide, that is, a substance formed from the ammonia salt by the loss of water; bibasic acids give two ethers,—one neutral and the other acid,—two amides,—one neutral and the other

a monobasic acid ; and so on. Chlorhydric acid is analogous to monobasic oxygen acids in the indivisibility of its hydrogen ; water and sulphide of hydrogen, on the other hand, present striking analogy to bibasic acids in admitting of their hydrogen being divided. Besides organic radicals, almost every metal forms two oxides—a hydrated one, which may be compared to the acid salt of a bibasic acid, the anhydrous oxide—and also two corresponding sulphides. Led by this analogy, Laurent and Gerhardt doubled the equivalent of water, and consequently of sulphide of hydrogen and of the simple bodies oxygen and sulphur ; a proceeding justified already, as we have seen, by the convenience of making the equivalents of the simple bodies represent as far as possible equal volumes.

On comparing the formulæ of organic compounds, the chemists just named observed that in nearly all of them the number of oxygen, sulphur, and carbon atoms, in supposing them to represent the old equivalents, and not the double ones just spoken of, was even ; while the sum of the hydrogen and chlorine atoms, or other body supposed to substitute hydrogen, was always divisible by two. They argued that this could not be an accident, but must be due to the elements themselves ; hence they thought that the formulæ of substances which were exceptions to this rule should be doubled, so as to make them accord with it. Here was another reason for doubling the equivalent of water. When this change was made in the formulæ, it was noticed that the volume of nearly all organic compounds in the state of vapour was double that of hydrogen ; and, further, that nearly all volatile inorganic bodies had the same volume. If the specific gravity of all simple bodies, the volume of whose equivalent was equal to that of hydrogen, was the same as their proportional number when hydrogen was adopted as a common standard for both, it was evident that the specific gravity—compared to hydrogen—of the vapour of any compound which followed the rule we have just stated, should be equal to half its equivalent, no matter how many atoms it might contain.

The classical experiments of Chevreul on fats and oils, and the subsequent ones of Redtenbacher, Laurent, and others, had made known a number of organic acids, consisting of carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen. Dumas, on coördinating them, observed not only that they all contained the same amount of oxygen united to different proportions of carbon and hydrogen, but also that those different proportions were multiples of C_2H_2 , or if we double the equivalent of carbon, as is now done, of CH_2 . Gerhardt saw at once the evident relation of this observation to the rule of atomic pairs above mentioned, and he was led to classify organic compounds into similar series, the members of each of which should have the same chemical function, the same quantity of oxygen, &c., while their carbon and hydrogen should differ by CH_2 , or a simple

multiple of it. Of course the carbides of hydrogen containing no oxygen could be arranged in similar series. He called those series *homologous*. He further observed that when the bodies forming a homologous series are subjected to the same reaction, they yield analogous products, which, when the reaction is simple, are homologous to one another. On putting the formulæ of a number of such kindred homologous series arranged into columns side by side, so that the corresponding bodies containing the same amount of carbon may be in the same horizontal line, another relationship becomes apparent; the corresponding bodies will differ from each other by multiples of H_2 . This relationship is termed *isology*. The classification of bodies into homologous series effected a revolution in chemistry, for it brought together bodies between which no one had suspected any relationship to exist. A third kind of series, called a heterologous series, may be supposed to consist of bodies containing the same radical, to which one or more equivalents of oxygen, sulphur, &c. are successively added. Heterology applies to inorganic as well as to organic bodies; but homology and isology belong exclusively to the compounds of carbon, though Mr. Sterry Hunt suspects that the former may be observed in certain mineral types. From the isomorphous and other analogies of silicon and carbon this is to be expected.

Among the many substances which the proximate analysis of plants brought to light were certain crystalline compounds containing nitrogen, which have the property of forming salts with acids, such as morphia, quinia, &c. Berzelius looked upon those bodies to be what he called conjugate compounds of ammonia, with different radicals containing carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen. In conjugate compounds the associated bodies were supposed to undergo very little modification by being joined together, and the ammonia was therefore considered to exist as such in the natural bases. Liebig, on the other hand, considered that they were derivatives of ammonia, formed by the separation of hydrogen either as chlorhydric acid, water, &c., from ammonia by the action of electro-negative chlorides, or of oxides, &c., and the substitution of NH_2 ; or, in other words, that they were organic bodies of the same type as the ammonia salts of copper, zinc, mercury, &c., called by Sir R. Kane amides, and therefore quite analogous to oxamide—a body obtained by Dumas in heating the neutral oxalate of ammonia so as to remove from it the elements of water. This ingenious suggestion was the starting-point of the discovery of an almost innumerable number of compounds, although the view of Liebig has been somewhat modified. The production of aniline, as the first example of this class of bodies directly produced, deserves to be specially noticed. Fritsche, by distilling indigo with hydrate of potash, obtained a basic oil to which he gave the name aniline.

When the light part of coal-tar naphtha, which consists in great part of a carbo-hydrogen called benzine, is acted upon by strong nitric acid, a dense oil, having the odour of oil of bitter almonds, and known as nitro-benzid, is obtained ; it is a substitutive compound in which one equivalent of the hydrogen is replaced by NO_2 . When the oxygen compounds of nitrogen are acted upon by sulphide of hydrogen, their oxygen is converted into water and their nitrogen into ammonia, while sulphur is precipitated. Professor Zinin imagined that the same reaction ought to take place upon the nitrogen compound in the nitro-benzid ; and if so, the ammonia formed would remain in the compound instead of the hydrogen originally displaced. The experiment succeeded, and he obtained an oily basic substance, which Professor Hofmann proved to be identical with aniline, and with a basic body which had been obtained from tar. Immense quantities of aniline are now made by this process for the purpose of preparing other bases from it, which yield the rich purple, crimson, and other dyes now so largely used.

The mode of formation of aniline just given is quite in accordance with Liebig's view, for we may suppose one equivalent of the hydrogen of benzine to be replaced by NH_2 . But the bases obtained by M. Wurtz, containing the radicals of common alcohol and its homologues, lead to the view that those bases are ammonia, in which one equivalent of hydrogen is displaced by the radicals in question. As the hydrogen of ammonia can be divided into three parts, we ought to be able to get three different bases, according as we substitute one, two, or three equivalents of the hydrogen ; and this was done by Prof. Hofmann, who has pursued this subject of organic bases with such rare patience, perseverance, and skill, that he has created a whole department of chemistry.

When alcohol is moderately heated with sulphuric acid it yields ether : the usual explanation given of this process was, that sulphuric acid separated water from the alcohol, and consequently that alcohol was a hydrate of ether, which in turn was an oxide of ethyle. Alcohol and ether, therefore, bore to each other the same relation as hydrate of potash and anhydrous oxide of potassium. Although the process of etherification consisted essentially in the separation of water, still there was a difficulty in explaining it. Professor Williamson resolved the difficulty, by proving that, when sulphuric acid, which is bibasic, and alcohol come together, a double decomposition takes place, by which the radical of one equivalent of alcohol C_2H_5 exchanges place with one equivalent of the hydrogen of the acid, by which the alcohol becomes water and the acid sulphovinic acid, that is, an acid salt of ethyle ; when this acid salt comes in contact with another equivalent of alcohol, another exchange takes place, one equivalent of the hydrogen of the alcohol exchanges place with the ethyle of the acid salt, by which

the latter becomes sulphuric acid and the alcohol ether. Ether has consequently a formula double of that usually assigned to it. Alcohol may, therefore, be supposed to be derived from water in which one equivalent of its hydrogen (for, from what we have said already about the analogy of water to bibasic acids, we shall always speak henceforth of water with an equivalent double that formerly assumed) is substituted by one of ethyle, and ether from one of water in which the two equivalents of hydrogen are replaced by two of ethyle. Hydrate of potash corresponds to alcohol, and anhydrous oxide of potassium to ether. As in other bibasic acids, we ought to be able to substitute for the two equivalents of hydrogen in water two different metals; and this we can do, for if hydrate of potash be heated with zinc, the second equivalent of hydrogen is driven out, and zinc takes its place. An analogous compound to this would be an ether containing two distinct radicals; a class of compounds of which Professor Williamson prepared several examples, thereby furnishing a complete test of the constitution of ether.

If hydrous and anhydrous oxides, alcohol and ether, are constituted upon the type of water, so must acids be also; and if so, the anhydrous acid, or, as it is now called, the anhydride, must bear the same relation to the acid properly so called as anhydrous oxide of potassium does to the hydrous oxide, and as ether does to alcohol; and we ought to be able to get mixed anhydrides corresponding to Williamson's mixed ether, that is, anhydrides with two distinct radicals, which, by combining with one equivalent of water, ought to split into two distinct acids. Here, again, experiment confirmed theory; for not only did Gerhardt succeed in getting the anhydrides of a number of acids by processes which fully tested the theory, but he also produced a number of mixed anhydrides.

Gerhardt generalised these views of the relations of acids, bases, alcohols, and ethers to water, by proposing to represent all the reactions of bodies, inorganic as well as organic, by four types of double decomposition.

I. For chlorides, bromides, iodides, fluorides, cyanides, he selected as the type chlorhydric acid HCl . If in this type we substitute the hydrogen by all the metals successively we get the protochlorides of the metals. On the other hand, if we substitute the chlorine by bromine, iodine, &c., we get the corresponding bromides, iodides, &c.

II. The type water $\frac{\text{H}}{\text{H}}\text{O}$ includes: 1. hydrous basyle and chlorous oxides, sulphides, selenides, and tellurides, organic as well as inorganic,—that is to say, hydrous metallic oxides, alcohols, organic and inorganic acids, and acid salts of polybasic acids, inclu-

sive of vinic acids, or acids in which the whole of their displaceable hydrogen is not substituted by metals; 2. anhydrous oxides, sulphides, selenides, and tellurides, including basyle anhydrides, or oxides, sulphides, &c., which are derived from water by the substitution of all the hydrogen, and which form salts with acids, with the formation of one or more equivalents of water, or sulphide of hydrogen, &c., according as they are oxides or sulphides, &c.; simple and mixed ethers, or anhydrides formed by the substitution of two molecules of the same or different alcohol radicals, or an alcohol radical and a metal; compound ethers, or ethers containing both a basyle and chlorous,—that is, acid, radical; and lastly, amphid, basic, and neutral salts, or compounds in which the hydrogen of water is replaced by a metal and by a chlorous or acid radical.

III. The third type is ammonia $\begin{matrix} \text{H} \\ \text{H} \\ \text{H} \end{matrix} \text{N}$, and includes all the

derivatives of ammonia formed by the substitution of part or the whole of the hydrogens by metals, alcohol, and acid radicals, and even by the metallic radical H_4N , or ammonium. Some of the derivatives of this type may be acids; for if we substitute acid radicals for the hydrogen, as Gerhardt did, we get neutral or acid bodies according to the extent to which the substitution is carried.

IV. The fourth type, hydrogen HH , represents the simple bodies and the compound radicals, which are of two kinds: first, those composed of two atoms of the same radical; and secondly, those composed of atoms of different radicals. When one of the atoms is hydrogen and another an acid radical, we have the bodies called aldehydes, of which common aldehyde is an example.

Each of those types is supposed to represent a volume of vapour double that of hydrogen; consequently the hydrogen type is made to consist not of one atom of hydrogen, but of two. Now this is not an arbitrary proceeding for the purpose of equalising the volumes, but appears to be really founded upon the properties of free elements. It has, in fact, been found that whenever chlorine, bromine, iodine, &c., act upon organic bodies, two equivalents always take part in the reaction, and two of hydrogen are always eliminated. This circumstance has led chemists to the conclusion that the simple bodies in their free state are compounds; for instance, that the radical hydrogen when in combination is not the free gas, but that the latter is a combination of hydrogen with hydrogen, free chlorine is a chloride of chlorine, &c. Indeed, in the case of the alcohol radicals, this may be considered to have been proved experimentally. Professor Kolbe and Professor Frankland, by decomposing ethers with a voltaic battery, obtained what they considered to be the free radicals; these bodies represent in

reality two atoms, as has been proved by decomposing the mixed ethers, when mixed radicals are produced. It is right to remark that this view of simple bodies follows also as a necessary consequence from the electro-chemical theory. Moreover, it introduces a distinction between atom, molecule, and equivalent. An atom is the smallest quantity of a body that can exist in combination; a molecule is the smallest quantity which exists free; and an equivalent is the relative quantity of a body which displaces another. Experiment shows us that all bodies do not displace each other atom for atom. Many of the metals, chlorine and the other halogens, and many organic radicals replace each other and hydrogen atom for atom, and may hence be called *monatomic*. Oxygen, sulphur, selenium, and several radicals always act in the ratio of 1 to 2 of hydrogen or other monatomic body, and may therefore be called *biatomic*. One atom of nitrogen, phosphorus, arsenic, antimony, bismuth, &c. represents three of hydrogen; while carbon, silicon, boron, titanium, tin, and some others appear to be *tetratomic*. This idea of polyatomic radicals and molecules, which appears to have first suggested itself to Professor Williamson as an explanation of bibasic acids, has completed the new theory of types. It enables us to connect our four types, and to reduce them to their simplest expression—unity. The type chlorhydric acid, water, or ammonia, does not imply one equivalent only of those bodies, but may include multiples of them; so that we may assume a body to be formed on the type of the chlorides, but derived from two or more equivalents of the type, which are as it were rivetted together by a polyatomic radical removing the hydrogen. In this way we may derive bichlorides, terchlorides, &c. from two, three, or more equivalents of chlorhydric acid, deutoxides, and teroxides, from two and three equivalents of water; and so on. Again, we may suppose the fundamental type of all types to be one or more molecules of hydrogen. If we substitute one atom of hydrogen in a single molecule by one atom of chlorine, we have the chlorhydric acid type; and as both are monatomic, the volume of the type occupies the sum of the volume of its constituents. Next, if we suppose two atoms of hydrogen to be replaced in two molecules of hydrogen by one of the biatomic radical oxygen, we get the type water; two molecules of hydrogen represent eight volumes, but when the biatomic atom replaces four volumes, the compound contracts to four volumes. Again, if in three molecules or twelve volumes of hydrogen we suppose the triatomic radical nitrogen to replace three atoms or six volumes of hydrogen, we have the type ammonia, which likewise shrinks to four volumes; and so on. In this way the type chlorhydric acid has the same volume as the molecule from which it may be supposed to be derived, the type water only half, and ammonia one-third.

We owe to Hofmann, Wurtz, and Berthelot chiefly, the experimental extension of the doctrine of polyatomic radicals—the first in introducing them into ammonia; the second by the discovery of glycols, that is, alcohols which are to common alcohol what bibasic acids are to monobasic acids; and the third by the establishment of triatomic and higher alcohols. A monatomic alcohol, such as common alcohol, by losing two atoms of hydrogen forms an aldehyde; and the latter by taking up one equivalent of oxygen becomes a monobasic acid. Again, the radical can successively displace one, two, three, or four equivalents of hydrogen in ammonium, and form four distinct bases. We can get the alcohol to form combinations with all acids giving rise to bodies known as compound ethers; and lastly we can get chlorides, bromides, &c. of the radical. But we have not finished yet. Besides ammonia, there are the substances phosphamine, arsamine, and stibamine, or ammonia in which phosphorus, arsenic, and antimony respectively replace the nitrogen; in each of these the alcohol radical can successively displace one, two, three, or four equivalents of hydrogen, and form peculiar bodies. From one alcohol, therefore, we may get several thousands of compounds belonging to each of the four types. With a biatomic alcohol we can get corresponding bodies; but it can act as if it consisted really of two distinct monatomic atoms, which can simultaneously undergo the same reaction, or two distinct and separate reactions, each atom being altered in a special manner. For instance, both may unite with an acid, or with another alcohol, or one only may do so, while the other oxidises or loses hydrogen and changes its functions, and yet both remain united after the separate changes. All this happens with a triatomic, a hexatomic, or a higher alcohol only, though in these cases we have to deal with three, six, or more alcohols, which may act together; or one may act and the others remain inactive; or two, three, four, or five may act together or separately, the remainder being inactive. For example, if we take a hexatomic alcohol, we may combine one, two, three, or four equivalents of it with one of ammonia, by which the combining power of the ammonia would be extinguished, but the combining power of the alcohols would only be partially extinguished, so that we may then commence upon the compound as if it were a twenty-atomic alcohol. We need not proceed farther in this play of atoms. What we have said will suffice to show how boundless a field is open to chemical industry for the manufacture of new bodies. We are tempted, however, to quote from M. Berthelot a passage which will give a better idea than mere figures can do of the extraordinary number of compounds which theoretically are possible from the combination of all the known acids set down at a minimum of one thousand with a single hexatomic alcohol, without taking into account all the other compounds we

noticed above. "Suppose," he says, "that we were to inscribe the names of these bodies in a series of volumes; suppose that each name occupied a line, each page 100 lines, and each volume 1000 pages, each would contain 100,000 names. If we then take these volumes to range them in order in libraries, the size of which should be equal to that of the Imperial Library, each of these libraries would contain about 1,000,000 of these books. Well, then, it would take 14,000 such libraries to contain, not the description, but the names alone of the bodies of which I speak. The edifices destined to contain this list alone would cover a space almost as large as Paris."⁴

With each advance in theory the unoccupied territory of chemistry had diminished; so that, after the introduction of Gerhardt's classification according to homologous series, only a very small area was without the pale of a chemical constitution. Unfortunately, however, that area included the most important part of the subject; for nothing whatever was known of the true nature of the compounds of which the organs of plants and animals are formed. These unclassified bodies, as they were known in 1854, M. Berthelot divides into six categories, which, somewhat modified, we may enumerate as follows: 1. neutral fat bodies, or oils, butters, and solid fats of plants and animals; 2. neutral saccharine bodies, represented by carbon united to the elements of water, such as cane, grape, and milk sugars; 3. other neutral principles, some soluble and some insoluble, composed likewise of carbon united to the elements of water, cellulose, and other substances constituting the framework of plants, starch, gums, dextrine, &c.; 4. neutral principles, consisting of carbon and the elements of water, but containing a slight excess of hydrogen or of oxygen, such as mannite, glycerine, &c.; 5. a number of bodies, the majority of which crystallise, and which, under the influence of acids and other reagents, split into some kind of sugar and other bodies, such as salicine, amygdaline, tannins, certain colouring matters; and 6. the quaternary albumenoid bodies, such as albumen, fibrin, &c.

The first class of bodies was the subject of Chevreul's masterly investigations, by which he showed how organic substances were to be examined. M. Berthelot had succeeded in performing the converse of Chevreul's experiments,—that is, he had effected their synthesis by combining glycerine or fat sugar with the oily acids; and in doing so he had shown that glycerine could form three successive compounds with each acid, for he did not confine his synthesis to fat acids alone, but obtained compounds analogous to fats with almost any acid, and, among others, with phosphoric acid, a compound which M. Pelouze had already recognised in the brain. M. Wurtz having suggested that glycerine was a triatomic

⁴ *Sur les Principes Sucrés—Leçons de Chimie et de Physique professées en 1862.*

alcohol, the nature of fats was at once determined,—they were ethers. M. Berthelot saw at once that this idea might be extended to mannite and to the sugars; and accordingly he attempted to form with those bodies compounds analogous to ethers, in which he was very successful. His synthetical experiments showed him that mannite and glucose, or grape sugar, were hexatomic alcohols, while cane sugar is ether. Sugars belong to at least two classes: 1. glucoses, which may be generally represented by the formula $C_6H_{12}O_6$, such as ordinary glucose of grapes, levulose or left-handed sugar, galactose or the glucose obtained from sugar of milk, inosine, a substance existing in animal muscles; 2. saccharoses of the formula $C_{12}H_{22}O_{11}$, among which may be named saccharose or common cane sugar, lactose or sugar of milk. All the glucoses are hexatomic alcohols; while the saccharoses are ethers formed by the union of two glucoses, and the separation of the elements of water, as in the formation of all ethers. Starches M. Berthelot considers to have higher formulæ than those assigned to them; they are at least trisaccharides, formed by the union of three equivalents of some glucoses, and the elimination of three equivalents of water. Dextrine is at least a disaccharide. In the same way, he thinks cellulose, fibrose, vasculose, paracellulose, the substances of which the walls of cells, fibres, vessels, and the medullary columns of plants are formed, are ethers of glucoses, probably disaccharides; but we think them much more complex compounds.

The fifth class of bodies is very extensive, and appears to perform important functions in plants. Its history would form a very interesting chapter; but our space will only allow us to give a few instances of the manner in which bodies belonging to it break up, and a general statement of their composition, viewed in the light of the theory of polyatomic alcohols. The common tannic acid of gall-nuts splits into gallic acid and right-handed grape sugar; while the tannic acid of the *Machura tinctoria*, or fustic, splits into glucose and a gallic acid homologous with true gallic acid; they are both trisaccharides. The colouring matter of the *Quercus tinctoria*, quercetrin or quercetric acid, splits into glucose and a yellow crystalline substance called quercetine; quercetrin is homologous with a body called phloridzine, found in the bark of the apple and pear tree, and which splits into glucose and phloretine, which is homologous with quercetine. In the bark of some species of willow there is found a white crystalline substance called salicine, which splits into glucose and saligenine; in the poplar we have a corresponding substance called populine, which yields glucose, saligenine, and benzoic acid. Salicine is therefore a monosaccharide, that is, an ether of the hexatomic alcohol glucose, in which only one of the atoms is extinguished; while populine is a

disaccharide which has two of the atoms extinguished by combination with two distinct bodies. To the same class of mixed compounds belong also amygdaline, a body found in the seeds of most of the plants belonging to the family to which the plum, the cherry, the almond, &c. belong, and also in certain laurels, and which, in contact with a kind of ferment, also present in the plants, splits into glucose, oil of bitter almonds, and prussic acid; and myronate of potash, a salt existing in mustard, which, under the influence of a ferment likewise present in the mustard, splits into oil of mustard, acid sulphate of potash, and glucose. Oil of bitter almonds and oil of mustard do not therefore exist ready formed in the almond and mustard seeds. Another of those curious saccharides is cork, which, so far as we can yet determine, contains a glucose and one or more fat acids. The cuticle or external layer or epidermis of plants appears to be an ammonia derivative of a saccharide, and therefore a link between the glucosides, as this curious class of bodies which we have included under the fifth category is called, and the sixth and last category of bodies unclassified in 1854, about which we shall now say a few words.

White of egg consists chiefly of a body composed of carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, and nitrogen, which has the property of coagulating by heat, and is called albumen. The same body, or at all events a very closely-allied substance, is found in the blood; while a second variety occurs in the juices of plants. In the clot of blood another substance is found, which appears to be identical with the fibres of muscle, and is hence termed fibrin. A third substance occurs extensively in the milk of animals, and under the name of casein is known as the pure substance of curd. These bodies are so closely related that analysis can scarcely detect any difference of composition between them, and they may be apparently transformed into each other. We may conveniently name them from their soluble type albumenoid bodies. Besides those mentioned, we find in the seeds of plants a number of substances which apparently belong to this class, and perform an important function in the germination and florescence of plants. Perhaps those found in different families of plants are different bodies. In animals too we find a number of similar substances which appear to stand in close connection with the albumenoid bodies; such, for instance, as the matter that constitutes the lens of the eye, mucus, &c. Diastase, emulsin, and all other kinds of ferments, except those which consist of the mycelium of some species of fungus, appear to be modifications of some of them. M. Berthelot has not extended the theory of polyatomic radicals to those bodies; and yet there can be no doubt that they too are derivatives of polyatomic alcohols, apparently aminonia deriva-

tives, and in some cases also more complex ones of the mixed alcohol and ammonia type.

Cutine, or the epidermal layer of leaves, bulbs, &c. contains only about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of nitrogen; the chitine of insects, which forms not only the wing-cases of lepidopterous insects, but also the organic part of the tegumentary covering of crabs and other crustacea, the scales and hairs of insects, and the mantle of the oyster, and many parts of the tissues of the lower animals, such as the trachea and even a layer of the intestinal canal, has only about $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of nitrogen; chondrin of the tendons and ligaments has $14\frac{1}{2}$ per cent; fibrin and albumen have about 15 per cent. We have pointed out above that cutine is a derivative of a hexatomic alcohol obtained with ammonia. So long ago as 1845 Professor C. Schmidt of Dorpat suggested that chitin contained the elements of a cellulose and a nitrogenous body, having the composition of the muscles of insects. There exists in a muscle, as a normal constituent of some part of the mass, one of the sugar family, called inosite; and, independent of the fact that animals secrete as a constituent of milk a saccharide lactose, or sugar of milk, it is well known that sugar is abundantly found in diseases of the lungs, and in several other diseases of the body, sometimes in very considerable quantities. According to Dr. Schunck, the plants which yield indigo contain a soluble substance to which he gave the name of *indican*; when boiled with strong acid it splits into a particular kind of sugar and blue indigo. The latter may be looked upon as the aldehyde of another body which is white and soluble. The peculiar sugar of the indican is a polyatomic alcohol, and the blue indigo may be looked upon as an ammonia derivative of some body related to the benzoic series. The apparent analogy which exists between the production of indigo from indican, and the production of chlorophyll, or green colouring matter of leaves in blanched buds, and of the red colouring matter of blood from white chyle, led us to suspect that both are the products of the decomposition of a glucoside. On treating white chyle globules with peroxide of hydrogen, a portion of the white chyle became red, and traces of some kind of sugar could be detected in the solution.

But we cannot follow out these relations any further. Enough, however, has been said to show that step by step the chemist has traced up the chemical transformations of matter until, as we have just seen, there remains but one group of bodies of whose constitution he has not more or less learned the secret; and that even that class itself, the very bodies by which the functions of animal life are carried on, has had a beam of light thrown upon it from the lamp of science.

We learn too from this analysis that as we proceed upwards the compounds become more and more complex. A group of atoms

constituting the smallest free part of a body is made up of a great number of individual groups of simpler composition, and each of these again of others still simpler, until at length we reach the simple bodies. The more complex a group, the more unstable it is; that is, the more easily it is broken into a number of simpler groups. Thus a triatomic alcohol is less stable than a monatomic one. Still more unstable are the hexatomic ones. So in a homologous series the more condensed substances are the most easily decomposed when heated. Again, the corresponding compounds formed by analogous substances are not equally stable; thus, phosphamine, which may be looked upon as ammonia in which phosphorus replaces nitrogen, is far more liable to change than common ammonia or its derivatives; indeed the complex derivatives of such a body must be among the most unstable substances of which we can conceive, and therefore it is that they enter into the composition of the nerves and brain. When nervous or cerebral matter decays, we get among the products of phosphamine and its derivatives. Again, in the brain itself we find the materials out of which those remarkable bodies are elaborated in the form of an acid ether of phosphoric acid with the triatomic alcohol glycerine, the alcohol of the majority of the fats. How complex and unstable must be the compounds which, in decomposing, serve to convey every thrill of pleasure, of hope, of sorrow, every act of the will; which enable us to distinguish the waves that produce light, whose length is measured in millionths of an inch and their duration in millionths of a second, and to distinguish the quality and velocity of each wave in the storm of sonorous vibrations produced by a great orchestra!

But chemists no longer proceed by way of analysis. The classification by homologous series and types of double decomposition; the division of reactions into homologous, isologous, and heterologous; and the study of the reagents which produce either of those classes of reactions under given conditions of temperature and other circumstances,—all this has opened the way to the synthesis of organic bodies with almost as much certainty as that of mineral bodies, making allowance for the great instability of the former. Although the first synthesis of an organic body was effected so long ago as 1828 by Wöhler, it is only since about 1850 that the state of the science has admitted of its being attempted with success. The first chemist who took up the subject in a systematic way was Professor Kolbe; but it is M. Berthelot who has been most successful, both in the number and importance of his syntheses. His researches have given a new direction to organic chemistry. Chemists are no longer satisfied with mere analysis; synthesis must confirm the conclusions of analysis. Within the last few years hundreds of organic compounds have been made without the aid of life; and there can be no doubt but that in a few years, notwithstanding the opinion of Berze-

lius that we could not hope to imitate the products of life, we shall be in a position to reproduce artificially the majority of the substances which constitute the proximate principles of plants and animals.

The establishment of the new theory of types has abolished the distinction between organic and inorganic chemistry,—a distinction which ought henceforward not to be kept up in teaching the science. The synthesis by double decompositions has removed the last barrier between them. And thus has been fulfilled a prediction of M. Dumas: "If I attach some importance to seeing this useless barrier which still separates the combinations of the two kingdoms disappear, it is precisely because I have the firm and profound conviction that the future progress of general chemistry will be due to the application of the laws discovered in organic chemistry."⁵ How completely the author of this observation anticipated the character of the progress that has since been made, the preceding pages show.

The new type theory, like the old one, is, strictly speaking, not a theory of causation; to frame such a theory we must look upon chemical phenomena from a far wider point of view. We must get rid of those notions of the independence of phenomena, which the division of physical science into departments for its more convenient pursuit engenders in our minds, and see how chemistry is to be made part of a great whole, embracing all branches of physical science. The correlation which has been established between electricity, light, and heat, and the intimate relation they have with chemical action, show clearly that they are all due to the action of the same cause. The theory which attributes light to undulations of a medium of great tenuity, may be said to be now universally accepted. The labours of Sir William Herschel, Seebeck, Sir David Brewster, De la Roche, Bérard, Melloni, Forbes, Knoblauch, Baden Powell, De Senarmont, and others, have assimilated heat and light, and proved that the phenomena of the latter can only be explained by a system of undulatory movements, which, when they take place in the same ether or medium as light, produce the phenomena of radiant heat; and when these finer waves communicate their motion to particles of ordinary matter they produce those phenomena of expansion, changes of physical state, and others which constitute an apparent distinction between heat and light. Indeed Melloni, so long ago as 1842, may be said to have demonstrated the identity of the two forces, subject to the test of the decisive experiment of interference, that capital phenomenon by which Dr. Young established the undulatory theory of light upon a firm basis. This decisive experiment may be described as the production of cold by the simultaneous action of two rays of heat, just as we produce blackness from two rays of

⁵ *Traité de Chimie appliquée aux Arts*, tom. v.

light mutually extinguishing each other. It was effected in 1847 by M. Fizeau and M. Foucault.

The moment we admit that heat is a motion capable of being communicated to the molecules of matter, we institute a connection between heat and the motion of masses. Lavoisier said that in chemical combination matter was not annihilated or created, it was only changed in form. We may now say the same of motion; we cannot create or annihilate it, we can only change its character or direction. Energy or motion may, however, be dissipated; thus the sun is always sending off countless waves of light and heat, which, although not annihilated, are lost to our system. When a weight falls to the ground, its motion is arrested, but it is not annihilated; it is merely transformed into molecular motion or heat. So if a wheel be made to rotate by a given force and we suddenly arrest it by an obstacle, the rotatory motion, like the rectilineal one, is transformed into heat. The work done by any force may always be compared to that required to lift a weight to a certain height; thus, the work which is expended in lifting a pound weight one foot, or which would be available by allowing it to fall one foot, is called a "foot-pound;" or, as in France, and generally by scientific men out of Great Britain, the work which would be expended in lifting one kilogramme to a height of one mètre is called a "kilogrammètre." The mechanical effect which a force produces, say in setting bodies in motion, in lifting a load, or in other purposes to which machines are applied, depends not only on the force, but on the distance through which it acts. Thus, if we employ the force of gravity to produce a mechanical effect by means of a falling weight, we shall find that the work done during this fall is proportional to the quantity of the weight and the height from which it descends. When a body falls, the velocity acquired is proportional to the time of its fall,—that is, the velocity of a body at the end of the second second of its fall is double, and at the end of the third second three times, that at the end of the first. The height fallen through is, on the other hand, proportional to the square of the time, or, what is the same thing, augments in the same proportion as the square of the velocity, which is proportionate to the time. If we impart to a body the velocity which it had acquired when its motion was arrested, while falling from a given height, it will rise to the same height; but as the distance travelled increases as the square of the velocity, if we double the velocity of a projectile it will travel four times as far; if we quadruple it, it will go sixteen times; and so on. The mechanical effect produced by a weight falling or expended in projecting it being proportional to the height, and the latter being proportional to the square of the velocity, the power represented by any motion may be expressed by

the product of the mass of the body in motion multiplied by the square of its velocity. Now if the whole of the motion of a falling body be converted into molecular motion, or, which, with the exceptions we shall presently make, is the same thing, into heat, it is clear that the amount of heat produced by arresting a body in motion augments as the square of the velocity, and that we have a standard whereby to measure the relation between heat and motion.

The new views regarding heat which have been put forward during the last twenty years, and which are based upon the equivalence of heat and motion just stated, are only a development of the Newtonian theory, which enables it to embrace the motions of molecules as well as of masses. It does not come within our present scope to show how the experiments of Davy and Rumford, and the mathematical investigations of Bernoulli, Fourier, and Sadi-Carnot have been developed by Seguin, Mayer, Joule, Colding, Thomson, Rankine, Helmholtz, Clusius, and others, into the first outlines, not merely of a theory of heat, but of a general dynamical theory of energy. Our object is only to direct attention to the bearing of this theory upon chemistry, and especially to show how profoundly it will modify the fundamental ideas of chemical phenomena. We may, however, state that the idea of equivalence between heat and the motion of masses, in the sense in which it is now understood, appears to have first occurred to Dr. Julius Robert Mayer of Heilbronn, and Mr. Joule of Manchester. The former attempted to determine its value, though perhaps upon an erroneous basis; but his application of the hypothesis to animal power and heat, and to the solar system, show clearly that his ideas were correct. Mr. Joule worked out the subject experimentally with a perseverance that has rarely been equalled. These two men may therefore be considered as having without rivalry linked the phenomena of molecular motion to that of universal gravitation, and laid the foundation for a new theory which will embrace all physical phenomena. By long and varied experiments Mr. Joule determined the mechanical equivalent of heat to be 772 foot-pounds, or, expressed according to the French standard, 425 kilogrammètres; that is, he determined that the amount of heat which would raise the temperature of a pound of water one degree Fahrenheit would, if all applied mechanically, be sufficient to lift one pound weight 772 feet high, or 772 pounds one foot. And conversely, if a weight of one pound falls 772 feet, it ought to produce a quantity of heat sufficient to raise the temperature of one pound of water one degree. We have thus a means of determining the true work of machines and of chemical action.

Before addressing ourselves to the connection between the dynamical theory of heat and chemical action, we must point out a

distinction which exists between passive and active forces. When we wind up the weight of a clock, we store up force which would become active if the string were cut, so as to allow the weight to fall. In this case the whole of the stored-up force would be exhausted at once, and would be transformed into heat when the weight struck the ground. If we allow the weight to descend slowly by means of its coiled string, it sets the clock in motion, and the weight on reaching the ground produces no heat. Now the force stored up in the weight before it begins to descend is usually called *possible* or *potential* energy or tension, while the energy which the weight has acquired in falling is called *active*, *actual*, or *dynamical* energy. According as the weight falls, the potential energy decreases, but the active energy increases, the sum of the two being always constant.

When we heat water or any other body exposed to the air, two phenomena may be observed,—the body grows bigger, that is, expands, and the substance gets hotter, that is, the mercury in a thermometer applied to it will also expand, and it will produce the sensation of heat when the hand is brought into contact with it. If we place the water under such a pressure as to prevent the expansion, we shall find that the quantity of heat which is required to produce the same elevation of temperature that was acquired in the open vessel will be less. The difference between the two quantities was used in producing the expansion; these two quantities are called the specific heat under a constant pressure, and the specific heat at a constant volume, the former being always greater than the latter. The difference between the two specific heats affords us, therefore, a means of determining the relative amount of mechanical force required to keep the particles of a body at a certain distance apart. Before the water began to expand, the particles were held together by a certain force which had to be overcome before the particles began to separate. The portion of the heat lost in this operation is said to perform *interior* work, which, being a work used in overcoming resistance, is negative, that is, it is absorbed; while the expansion is called *exterior* work, and is also negative. The sum of the two constitutes dynamic energy; while the portion of heat which produces the effect of temperature may be considered as potential energy.

The quantity of heat which produces the same amount of potential energy is the same for all the simple bodies, according to the law of Dulong and Petit. Generally speaking, when a law is established in a science it is expressed in a form which is at once simple and absolute; by and by perturbations are detected in its action. The beautiful researches of M. Regnault have shown that these perturbations extend to $\frac{1}{10}$ of the whole specific heat in the case of the simple bodies. The cause of these perturbations is

obviously to be sought for in the action of the interior work, making due allowance for the errors arising from the difficulty of determining the specific heat of bodies under constant pressure.

The specific heats of atoms being assumed equal, it is evident that we can determine the atomic weights from the specific heats of equal quantities of the elements. The atomic weights thus obtained are not always identical with those adopted by chemists; and to distinguish those thus calculated they are called *thermal equivalents*. Thus while the thermal equivalent of carbon is 12, or that now adopted as the atomic weight by chemists, that of oxygen is 8, sulphur 16, potassium 19.5, and sodium 11.5, that is, half the chemical equivalents. Some chemists use this as an argument against doubling the equivalents of oxygen; but to be consistent they should also adopt the thermal equivalents of sodium and potassium. The chemical and thermal equivalents, although sometimes identical, and always multiples or submultiples of each other, should not be confounded. The difference is undoubtedly connected with the chemical polyatomicity of bodies, and will help one day to reveal some important molecular law.

Just as we may explain the perturbations of the specific heats of atoms by differences in the relative amount of interior work required to change the position of the atoms in different substances, so we may in like manner explain the perturbations of the law of isomorphism by the unequal amounts of interior work performed in different parts of a system of molecules. As the sum of the interior work constituting the dynamic energy which is employed in expanding a crystal along its different axes of elasticity may be assumed to be in direct proportion to their lengths, except in oblique crystals, while the proportion used in interior and exterior work may be very different along each axis, it will follow that the rate of expansion along each axis will be different. It may happen that the whole of the dynamic energy may be used in interior work, along one axis, so that no expansion will take place in that direction. In crystals belonging to the oblique systems, the ratio of dynamic energy will not be in the ratio of the lengths of the axes; and it may therefore even happen that such a crystal, as in the case of gypsum, may contract in one direction while it expands in the others on the application of heat. As the rate of expansion is uniform along each axis, the law of symmetry is not affected by temperature, and consequently the law of multiple proportion is independent of temperature. The rate of expansion of crystals of isomorphic bodies not being equal, they would not equally expand along their corresponding axes when exposed to the same temperature; that is, the ratio of the interior and exterior work would not be the same in each. M. Sainte Claire Deville thinks that it might be possible to find for each series of isomor-

phous substances a temperature at which the unequal expansions of two different crystals would compensate each other, and both would then have equal angles and be absolutely isomorphic. This is quite possible in a few cases, but it could not be generally true. In fact, the perturbations in the angles of isomorphous crystals are due to absolute differences in the arrangement of some constituent group of their molecules.

It is evident from the foregoing observations that the *interior* work of heat is that which is most connected with chemical phenomena. Did our space permit, we might show its relation to latent heat, and many other phenomena; but we must content ourselves with a few observations on the theory of gases and homologous groups,—the one because it shows how completely the new theory of heat has already solved many of the difficulties connected with that form of matter, and the other because it will show how much may be expected from the study of this class of bodies.

Let us suppose a limited space to be occupied by a number of molecules separated from each other by such a distance as to be removed from the influence of their reciprocal actions. If these molecules be in motion, they will move with a uniform velocity in straight lines. As a consequence of this movement, each of the molecules in turn would strike against the other, or against the walls of the vessel, until a mean condition would be established in which we should assume the molecules to be continually moving in every possible direction. The molecules which approach or impinge against each other must necessarily alter each other's path, and ultimately strike against the vessel. In consequence, however, of the distance of the particles, the number of them which at any given moment are striking against each other or the walls, or moving in paths modified by their impinging against several molecules at the same time, is insignificant compared to the number of molecules whose motion is rectilineal; or, what comes to the same thing, the duration of the epochs of perturbations are insensible compared with the epochs of uniform motion. Hence the action upon the vessel would not sensibly differ from what it would be if we were to suppose that all the molecules travelled continually in straight lines and in all imaginable directions without meeting each other. This fictitious system is accordingly substituted for the real in considering the properties of gases. The constant striking of the molecules against the sides of the vessel produces pressure, which it is easy to see must be equal in all directions; and from what we have already said of the relation of force to velocity and distance travelled, it is evident that Mariotte's law is a simple consequence of this theory. The law of dilatation and of specific heat may also be deduced from it.

The superiority of this theory over that of La Place is nowhere better shown than in the explanation which it affords of the perturbations which affect the law of Mariotte in the case of the majority of gases. Only hydrogen, oxygen, and nitrogen can be said to approach the condition of perfect gases according to the preceding theory; all other gases deviate more or less from it, especially under considerable pressures. To explain these deviations we have only to suppose the ratios of the epochs of perturbations, while still remaining small, to become sensible, in order to produce at once deviations from the strict laws of pressure, dilatation, and specific heat. When the epochs of perturbation become considerable,—that is, when the moving molecules mutually interfere so as to cause them to unite into groups, constantly breaking up and forming anew,—part of the motion is arrested and transformed into heat, we have a liquid, and the heat evolved is the latent heat of vapour.

When we burn solids in gases the phenomena of heat and light are produced by the constant rain of gaseous molecules which strike the solid, and the motion of which, being arrested, is in part converted into heat, and in part into the molecular motion of the molecules of the compound;—combination itself being only the shock of different molecular systems, by which part of the motion is arrested and converted into heat, and a new molecular system moving with a velocity equal to the difference between the sum of the velocities of the constituents, and the equivalent of the heat produced by combination. The nearer bodies approach in properties, that is, the nearer in kind and direction the motions of two systems are, the less heat will be produced by their combination, because the motions of one system will not interfere much with those of the other. Such compounds are easily broken up, because only a small part of the original potential force of their constituents has been converted into heat, and lost. If part of the potential energy of the constituents of a body be lost by the act of combination, the new system cannot be broken up, and the constituents again set free, without an equivalent quantity of motion to that lost as heat being supplied. Hence we can understand why it is that the organs of animals and plants are made up of polyatomic alcohols which evolve very little heat in their combination, but keep it stored up for the final object of the production of heat and motion in animals; we get this stored-up heat when we burn wood.

It follows from the new theory of gases, that if in any vapour we substitute one of the atoms by a denser one, we increase the epochs of perturbation, and may do so even to the extent of converting the body into the liquid state. This explains why olefiant gas, when part of its hydrogen is displaced by chlorine, becomes liquid. In the homologous carbides of hydrogen we have the same result; every successive addition of CH_2 increasing the density of the

vapour and the magnitude of the perturbations in the gaseous state at the same temperature. When two bodies unite, each of which is capable of uniting with a third singly, heat is evolved. If this compound be then broken up by combining with the third substance, the heat evolved ought to be less than would be evolved if the third body had combined with corresponding quantities of the constituents not united. The homologous carbides of hydrogen, and apparently all their homologous derivatives, are exceptions to this rule. Thus the quantities of heat produced by the combustion of equal weights of C_2H_4 and $C_{20}H_{40}$ do not differ, according to the experiments of Favre and Silbermann, by more than 8 per cent of the total quantity evolved by the first body, olefiant gas; and yet the second body is a solid, and may be looked upon as a compound of ten molecules of the first, compressed in the state of gas into the volume of one. Every one knows what a very great force would be required to compress a gas into $\frac{1}{10}$ of its volume. It is consequently a measure of that which is engaged in keeping the ten molecules of C_2H_4 in the homologous form of $C_{20}H_{40}$. The phenomenon of allotropism of simple and compound bodies, that is, the existence of the same body in two or more conditions, differing in physical properties, may perhaps be classed with that of homologous bodies. In the case of allotropic oxygen, or ozone, that remarkable substance which is formed, among other ways, by the passage of electricity through air, the specific gravity appears, from Dr. Andrews's experiments, to be sensibly four times that of oxygen, or four volumes of common oxygen condensed into one. According to the rule which we have given above—that the specific gravities of the simple bodies are proportional to their equivalents—the specific gravity of the vapour of sulphur ought to be 2.2 compared to air. Dumas found by experiment that it was 6.6, or, in other words, that one volume of the vapour of sulphur contains three times as many molecules as one of oxygen. M. Bineau found, however, that when the vapour was heated to about 1000° cent, or 1800° Fahr., it expanded into a gas which had one-third of its original specific gravity, that is, one in accordance with theory. The experiment has been repeated lately by M. Sainte Claire Deville and M. Troost, and they fix the temperature at 860° cent; the same thing occurs with the vapours of selenium and tellurium. It is worthy of note in these cases that the specific gravity in the allotropic state is a multiple of that in the ordinary state. In all these cases the motion which would represent the heat of combination, and in the case of the liquid and solid carbides of hydrogen a part at least of the latent heat of one or both states also, is employed in interior work. There is no more wonderful example of the adaptation of means to an end in the economy of nature than this retention of heat by the

homologous bodies. All the organs of plants and animals consist of such compounds, which are condensed without loss of motion, while this very storing up makes their materials more ready to enter into new and stable compounds, and thus to set free the stored-up force as animal heat and motion.

As the vapour of a compound rises in temperature, the perturbations of its gaseous motions diminish; the molecules ultimately split up into simpler ones, as the vibrations or revolutions, or whatever be the kind of motion of the atoms of each molecule, increase in velocity. Even the elements of water cannot remain in combination at a very high temperature; and it is probable that there is no compound known to us which can exist at very intense temperatures,—certainly none of those which can be converted into vapour. If we could continue to raise the temperature, would the molecules of the simple bodies also split up into simpler systems? and if so, where would be the limits of greatest simplicity? Are the simple bodies higher members of homologous series, which, like sulphur, decompose at successively higher temperatures into simpler and still simpler molecules? Would the simplest molecules be those composing the ether which is diffused through space, and whose molecules are so simple that they serve to convey the wonderful vibrations of light and heat? If not, what then is this ether, millions of cubic miles of which would scarcely weigh a pound? To consider it as a passive medium conveying the undulations of light and heat, without being affected, like all other matter, by them, is wholly inconsistent with all known physical laws. The extent of the action of light and heat upon it during any given time may be safely neglected in mathematical, but not in physical, investigations. If the solar and stellar systems be but segregations or condensations of ether, and consequently the simple bodies but certain groups or systems of molecules on the type of homologous compound radicals, the force which has been absorbed in their interior work must be enormous; for most of our metals exist in the solar atmosphere, as has been established by spectrum analysis.

When light is admitted to a darkened chamber by a long narrow slit, so as to pass through a triangular bar or prism of solid glass, or a hollow one filled with certain transparent liquids, the waves of different length and velocity which, by their simultaneous action on the eye, produce the impression of white light, not being equally refracted in passing from the air to the glass on one side, and from the glass to the air on the other, are separated, so that instead of a long bar of white light we see a stripe composed of different coloured bands. This is what is known by the very inappropriate name of the solar spectrum. In the year 1814 Fraunhofer, a celebrated optician of Munich, following out an observation of Dr. Wollaston, found that the spectrum was crossed

by a number of black bars or lines, not only towards the ends where it faded into obscurity, but in the brightest part towards the middle, which were invariable in position, so that he was able to tabulate them by distinguishing each by a letter of the alphabet according to its position. By the use of more powerful instruments Sir David Brewster added to the number; but Prof. Kirchoff now, by still better instruments, finds that there are thousands of these lines. Sir David Brewster also found that other black lines made their appearance when the spectrum was examined as the sun approached the horizon. These new lines were supposed to be due to atmospheric absorption by the vapours near the horizon, while the permanent lines of Fraunhofer were considered to be due to causes beyond our atmosphere.

The spectrums produced by other sources of light were next examined, and even those of the stars. It was soon found that when light passed through certain gases and vapour, as, for example, peroxide of nitrogen, the lines were increased; while when certain substances were in a state of ignition in a flame, coloured lines of greater brightness were observed. Indeed, Fraunhofer himself had noticed that the flame of a wax-candle gave such bright lines. Led, no doubt, by these observations, different physicists, as Sir David Brewster, Swan, and others, examined the spectrums of the flame of alcohol holding salts in solution, and found bright lines in different parts of the spectrum. Swan even noticed the presence of a bright yellow line when a little common salt is added to the spirit of wine. Such was the state of the subject when it was taken up by Professor Bunsen and Professor Kirchoff. They systematically investigated the action of substances in producing bright lines, and found that it depended on the metal. Finding, when they examined the saline substances left on evaporating certain mineral waters, and also certain minerals, some lines which were new to them, they concluded that the bodies examined contained new metals. These they succeeded in isolating, and gave to them the names of caesium and rubidium. Afterwards Mr. Crooks, by the same means, discovered a third metal, the compounds of which have been studied by M. Lamy, and to which the name thallium has been given.

Each metal is not distinguished by a single line, though, as in the case of sodium, one is so brilliant, and the other so unimportant and requiring such good instruments, that we speak only of the yellow sodium line. Potassium produces three recognisable lines, one in the red, another in the violet, and a third much fainter intermediate line. Lithium produces two lines, a pale yellow and a bright red. The metals belonging to the group of alkaline earths give much more complicated spectrums than the alkaline metals: strontium, for instance, gives eight lines,—six red, one orange, and

one blue; calicium gives three, but only in intense flames,—green, red, and blue; while iron gives no less than sixty. The quantities of those bodies which produce the lines for such a length of time as to be caught by the eye is so small as to give us a faint image of the molecules of the cosmic ether. It is calculated that the $\frac{1}{1000000}$ part of a milligramme of sodium can be detected by this means.

In 1847 M. A. Matthiesen proposed to account for the black lines of the solar spectrum by the absorption of the light in the solar atmosphere; an explanation which was received favourably by Sir David Brewster and Dr. Gladstone, who, before the discoveries of Bunsen and Kirchhoff, had used the prism to determine the absorptive powers of different solutions, and had obtained some very important results. Professor Stokes, in his curious experiments on fluorescence, a name given to the phenomena presented by certain liquids and solids of radiating as light a part of the heat which they absorb, suggests, if indeed he has not somewhere given, a similar explanation. In the year 1849 M. Foucault, while observing the spectrum of the flame of the voltaic arch, observed a yellow line due to some compound of sodium volatilised by the flame, part, no doubt, of the ash of the charcoal-points; but when the sun's rays were allowed to traverse the voltaic arch, this yellow line became black. Professor Kirchhoff appears not to have known of this remarkable experiment when, in 1859, he discovered that the bright line produced by a sodium flame occupies the exact place in the solar spectrum of one of the lines of Fraunhofer, and that most of all the other bright lines produced by different metals correspond to some of the dark lines of the spectrum. The explanation of the phenomenon is given by Foucault's experiment: A gas or vapour absorbs the particular rays which it emits itself. Professor Kirchhoff made the splendid generalisation that the light of the sun comes from the solid mass which contains the metals whose lines have been found to correspond to the dark lines of Fraunhofer; these substances are also in vapour in the solar atmosphere, and consequently the rays in passing through that atmosphere have those emitted by the metals extinguished. If we could examine the spectrum of the light of the solar atmosphere itself, without the intervention of those from the solid nucleus, the dark lines would appear bright.

This law of absorption applies also to heat; that is, vapours absorb those heat-rays which they can best radiate, as has been shown by De la Prevostaye, Stewart, and Kirchhoff, and confirmed by a beautiful series of experiments by Professor Tyndall. It appears from these experiments, as we might indeed expect, that as the density of the vapour increases the absorption increases also; but we cannot know from them whether the absorption follows any

regular law in the homologous series. We would suggest to Professor Tyndall to make the delicate experiment of testing the vapours of a few of the homologous carbides of hydrogen, which have a low boiling-point, and consequently give off vapour at common temperatures by successive portions of the solar thermal spectrum, in order to see whether those bodies offer thermal lines of absorption analogous to the metallic lines of the spectrum.

The presence of metals in the solar atmosphere, and in the incandescent mass of the sun itself, shows that, even when subjected to the enormous temperature which must prevail near the sun's surface, the molecular groups of the metals do not appear to separate into simpler ones. But this does not prove that at still higher temperatures, such as must have once prevailed in our system, those metals did not exist in simpler forms. Some idea may be formed of the enormous force which once existed in our system, if the whole of the solar system was once nebulous, and consequently of the temperature which it was possible might have existed, by the calculation of Professor Helmholtz, according to which the potential energy of our system was 454 times greater than it is now, so that the $\frac{1}{454}$ of it have been lost, as he thinks, by radiation into space as heat. Yet what remains of that primitive energy if all converted into heat would be sufficient to raise a mass of water equal in weight to the sun and planets,—twenty-eight millions of degrees centigrade, a temperature of which the mind cannot form the slightest conception. If our hypothesis of the absorption of energy in interior work in the formation of homologous series or condensed atoms be correct, the whole of this force would not have been radiated off; but just as, when we heat a body, a part of the heat performs interior and exterior work, while the rest produces temperature and may radiate away, so, in the formation of metallic groups, part of the heat was used in interior work. This interior work may be unstable, as in the case of that by which solids are converted into liquids; or it may be permanent, as we have supposed to be the case in the homologous series of carbides of hydrogen. Our view, then, is, that the simple bodies represent stable molecular groups which still conserve part of the initial energy of our system, which we have not now force enough to transform, as we can do in the case of the compounds of carbides of hydrogen. The very lines of the spectrum which reveal to us the constitution of the sun also show us that the metals are complex groups of molecules; for how could a simple molecule extinguish sixty different rays? Nay, more: for as we improve our spectrum and increase its brilliancy, the number of lines which represent each metal increases. This has been well shown by the experiments of Professor Miller on the spectrum of Thallium at different temperatures. It is only very complex groups of molecules that could

intercept so many waves of different velocities in making their way between the ultimate particles as do the metals.

Geology points to the successive stages by which in lapse of ages the earth assumed its present form; astronomy points back to a period far more distant, when "the earth was without form," before the molecular motion of nebulous atoms had been converted into the motion of whirling globes. Does chemistry now point back to a period still more remote in the womb of time, to the birth of simple bodies? Shall we be ever able to determine their relative ages, and apply that knowledge to ascertain the relative age of the various stellar worlds, or of those green and red suns which apparently are formed of very few bodies? Our readers will say that we have pushed the speculation far enough. Whether that speculation be of any worth or not, it will sufficiently indicate the part which chemistry will play in the development of a great dynamical theory of the universe.

THACKERAY.

THERE are some writers at whom we wonder as thinking-machines; others whom we seek to know as persons through their works; and others, again, whom we like to read about, though we neglect their writings. We choose to make the acquaintance of Johnson through Boswell, rather than in *Rasselas* and the *Rambler*. We read Milton without much caring to know what manner of man he was. But we are for ever trying to put together every hint that Shakespeare gives us, in order that we may come to know something of himself. Yet Shakespeare was a poet the effect of whose creations does not depend on his own personal presence. His sublime thoughts are separated from his mind, and stand by themselves as solidly as trees or mountains. His humour derives none of its zest from any relation to his personal oddities. Yet such surpassing gifts, such loveable qualities, shine in his works, that we yearn to know him.

In this same class, at however great a distance, we place Thackeray. A knowledge of the man is not necessary for understanding his works. But his works disclose to us such a sympathetic nature, that we like to know him; while he babbles to us so artlessly of himself, that we cannot help making his acquaintance. Hence it is that of all recent writers he excites the greatest personal sympathy. In Macaulay we see only the orator and the partisan. We admire his memory, his enthusiasm, his genius; and we think little more about him. In Mr. Carlyle, one of the most thoroughly individual of our writers, who seeks to commune with a friend's heart? We weigh his reasons, we admire his talent, we are carried away by his eloquence, we bow to his heroes or we condemn them, we are amused or bored with his sputtering; but we forget the author in his works. In Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, egotistical as he is, frantic as are his efforts to make us believe that he tells us all that is in his soul, and much as he desires to establish himself as our director and instructor, we see only the man of imagination, whose thoughts are no parts of himself, in whom we cannot separate affectation from reality, fancies from facts. In Mr. Dickens we do not see a man who even pretends to offer us his heart to read, or who identifies his characters with himself, as Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton does. We delight in his stories, but we care nothing for him, except as a productive national property. But in Thackeray we see a man who cannot help telling us of himself, and who disdains to give us a false picture; who draws from his own image in a mirror; who does not know how to separate himself from his own

creations, or to leave them to stand alone. He nourishes them with blood warm from his own veins, and makes their hearts keep time with his. His own character is ever the background of the pageant he displays to us. His puppets pass before us as if in their creator's day-dream, instead of on a solid stage—as if we saw their images within the magic-lantern, instead of on the whitened wall.

This openness and transparency of soul is Thackeray's great characteristic. It accounts for many of his peculiarities as critic, historian, artist, and thinker. It explains the characters he creates, and the circumstances in which he exhibits them. It throws light on his special humour, and on his judgments and theories. It goes far to explain his intellectual tastes, his critical preferences, and the artistic forms he adopted. It tells us the reason of many of his weaknesses. It is, in fact, the keynote both of the man and of his works. Let us see how this happens.

There is a point where Thackeray's ideas of criticism, history, art, and philosophy unite and become identical. For their ultimate aim is but one—to discover and display the soul. In his view, criticism discovers the soul that lurks within books and pictures; history discovers the soul that actuated the men who lived in past ages; art displays soul through the creations of the poetical imagination; philosophy teaches how to display our own living soul in our words and deeds. His critical essays, his historical chapters, his novels, his exhortations and speculations, are at bottom one and the same thing. His critical essays are historical sketches of authors; his historical essays are critical summaries of memoirs and letters, illustrated from pictures, buildings, streets, old almanacks, and newspapers; his novels are fictitious memoirs; and his philosophy is merely a series of examples and fables. Such are their similarities; let us now turn to their differences.

His criticism tries to find the man in his works—to teach people to see the soul gleaming from the eyes of the portrait, the character and mind of the artist radiating from the forms he drew or the lines he penned. The critic, as Thackeray conceived him, must sympathise with the man he criticises, and must comprehend him. The first sign requisite to prove the critic's mission is his ability to imitate and parody what he criticises. To judge, you must know; if you know, you can do,—for knowledge is power; it is as easy to create as to define. If you show that you can do what Rubens or Swift did, then you prove that you understand their secret, whether you can explain it or not. If you pretend to explain it, you may easily prove your sum by putting together again what you have taken to

pieces so cleverly. This is implied in a criticism on Rubens in one of the *Roundabout Papers*, where Thackeray laughs at the brawny, burly creations of the "gross, shaggy, mangy, roaring" Leo Belgicus, and exposes the easy, almost puerile, contrivances by which he attained his big effects. But then he blows his criticism to the winds by the reflection that, if Rubens's art were so vulgar and so easy, some one before now would have been able to imitate it; but it is inimitable—he has made his mark on all time; "we wonder at his strength and splendour of will. He is a mighty, conquering, generous, rampagious lion."

If a complete technical criticism of Rubens ought to amount to a receipt for producing pictures as good as his, a complete literary criticism of the master would imply the power of producing by word-pictures the same feelings and ideas as are excited by his canvases. This was Thackeray's ideal of art-criticism. Though he could well describe a picture in the technical language of artists, he preferred talking about it in a way calculated to raise the same emotions through the ear that the picture excited through the eye; and his usual style of criticism was either this, or else a dry catalogue of those emotions. One picture, he says, raises "a certain pleasing, dreaming feeling of awe and musing;" another, "the most delightful briskness and cheerfulness of spirit." Thus he tries to find under the paint the character of the artist, and the motives which inspired him.

In like manner, his criticism of books tries to find the man in his writings. In his *Lectures on the Humourists* he sits in judgment on the men and their lives, not on their works. And when he does criticise their writings, he does it rather by imitations and parodies than by analysis. In his *Novels by Eminent Hands*, in his imitations of the Spectator-paper in *Esmond*, and of Horace Walpole's style in *The Virginians*, in his matchless feats of taking-off French people, like the Prince de Moncontour and his mother, and Germans, like the Licentiate in *Barry Lyndon*, we see his ideal of criticism. He proves that he has seized the literary soul, by exhibiting his capacity to reëmbodify it, though perhaps his analytical powers were not active enough to enable him to explain to others wherein that literary individuality consisted. By some magic process, which he did not understand, his mind passed from the writing to the author; and while he was reading Swift's judgments of others, he was unconsciously forming his own image of Swift's soul.

His essays in history are precisely the same in plan, only, instead of artists and humourists, he calls up historical personages before us. He leaves the beaten tracks of history, disregards the intrigues of courts and the acts of statesmen, in order to find the *man*. Deeds, says Heine, are but the soul's vestments; old an-

nals are mankind's old wardrobe ; history but a classified catalogue of old clothes. Thackeray would make it more ; he would wave his wand, summon the ghosts from Hades, and bid them case themselves in their old mantles, and strut for a moment before us, to show what manner of men they were. He would have the Muse of History put off all ceremony and forswear courts, make herself familiar rather than heroic, and strive, with Hogarth and Fielding, to give us an idea of the manners of the age, rather than register its deeds with the gazettes and newspapers.

In his historical essays he is more liberal in his judgments on the spirits he raises than in his critical lectures. In these his judgment is guided by considerations exclusively moral : were the men he writes of tender-hearted ? did they love and honour women and children ? But as a historian he can make allowances for characters who did not fulfil these conditions, if they showed themselves men in the great struggles of the world. In spite of Sir Robert Walpole's loose life, he honours him for his bold and successful defence of liberty. He admires the iron narrowness of George III., in spite of the calamities it caused. The one personage whom he cannot forgive is George IV., for the sufficient reason that he cannot find out whether he was a person at all, or merely a bundle of clothes. Strip off his coat, wig, teeth, waistcoat, and successive under-waistcoats, he says, and you find nothing. He must have had an individuality, but one cannot get at any thing actual, and never will be able. In a word, he was a "Fribble," a nobody.

Thackeray avoided the consequence into which a similar feeling has pushed Mr. Carlyle, and never accepted the Hegelian conclusion that success justifies the cause and authenticates the hero, that might proves right, and that what is is because it ought to be. He rightly distinguished between domestic and political morality, and forgave politicians, as such, their domestic vices only on condition of their serving political right. But his notions of political right are somewhat hazy, from a cause which we shall have to point out farther on. It was only by a strong effort that he could see such a right at all ; and then he could not distinguish it from social right. His usual mood was, with Fielding, to define patriots to be place-hunters, and politics to be the art of getting places ; to think parties an artificial contrivance to prolong the jobbery of a superannuated oligarchy ; to consider one man as good as another, and having an equal right, not only to self-government, but to govern others. Order and prosperity he considered to depend not on the organisation of the state, but on the feelings and sentiments of the people ; and these he grounded, not on the wise doing or wiser forbearing of statesmen, not on the influence of clergymen or demagogues or journalists,

but on that of some literary humourist, some week-day preacher, some Johnson—"the great supporter of the constitution, whose immense authority reconciled the nation to loyalty, and shamed it out of irreligion." Such a conception debarred him from the knowledge of the political scale of virtues. He could see that in private life defects of justice were often only feminine weaknesses, compensated by an excess of kindness or tenderness, while attempts to do rigid justice often had a stern cold character destructive of the domestic charities. But he could not see so clearly that on the stage of the world the real proportion between these virtues becomes manifest; that private weaknesses are amplified into public crimes, as well as private crimes softened into defects on which men are not called to judge, by the mere amplitude of the stage where the man acts his part. In-doors, feminine weakness or narrowness may be inoffensive, or comic, or pathetic; put it upon the throne, and it may work worse woe than the blackest crime. Shakespeare understood this when he showed how an amiable innocent like Henry VI., or a nature's gentleman like Richard II., might be the curse of his country, or when he exhibited the statesmanlike excellence of the heartless politician Henry IV. Thackeray had no clear view of it when he founded his apology for King George III. on the rigid virtues of the man.

To pass to his artistic creations: there is absolutely no difference in principle between his tales and his critical and historical lectures; they are all galleries of portraits, though the characters he creates are painted at full length and in great detail, while those whom he recalls into life are merely sketched-in. His Muse of Fable disdains plots of intrigue as contemptuously as his Muse of History despises the intrigues of courts. It might be suspected that he never could make a plot, unless in *Esmond* he had proved his ability. But he never did it again; all his other novels are slices out of the living body of the time, with the arteries tied up, and with other signs of good surgery at the beginning, but ending raggedly, and without any artistic reason, except that they had gone on long enough for the carver to have served all his company. A plot with him is generally a mere thread, unravelling into just so many adventures and episodes as are sufficient to develop the characters. And these characters he makes as life-like as possible; many of them are as real as those he describes in his lectures, but with fictitious names. Almost any portrait can be removed from one division to another. Johnson, left out from the humourists, comes in among the statesmen in *The Four Georges*, and among the characters in *The Virginians*. The Marquis of Steyne is introduced in the lectures as a courtier of George IV. Thackeray's most serious attempt at historical portraiture—the picture of Marlborough—

finds its place in *Esmond*, where we also find descriptions of Marlborough's battles, which would probably have done duty in his contemplated history of Queen Anne's reign. *Barry Lyndon* contains criticisms of the system of Frederick the Great, which it is amusing to compare with the premature certificates of character given in *Esmond* to Mr. Carlyle's history. Perhaps the most innocent example of his rage for turning his novels into portrait-galleries occurs in *The Virginians*, where he "somehow manages to bring his hero in contact with the greatest lords and most notorious personages of the empire, and thus introduces his readers to the great characters of a remarkable time." Sometimes this is done only as an exercise of his peculiar imitative criticism, like the new *ana* and talk which he mints with the effigies of Steele and Addison, Bolingbroke, Johnson, and Richardson. Sometimes it is done with an intention almost Dantesque, as when he makes General Lambert point out to George Warrington at the levee the principal courtiers, and give each his due place in the hell, purgatory, or paradise of modern opinion. But nothing can be less Dantesque than the motives of his judgment. We have not here, as we have in *The Four Georges*, the faintest echo of that haughty patriotism by which the stern Florentine tries all men, and distributes their doom according to the way they abide this test. In his novels Thackeray drops the political touchstone which he employed to some extent in his historical lectures, and adopts one altogether domestic and social, which we may call his snob-test—a test which, in his way of using it, is applicable to many other qualities besides those usually considered to make up the snob, and embraces in its domain almost all moral faults, arranged, however, on a new scale of gravity and veniality. With this touchstone in his hand he wanders through the gallery, and tickets the original of each portrait with his doom. Was he gentle and loving, but tipsy? His love saves him; he only passes through a brief purgatory into bliss. Was he a brutal husband? To Tartarus with him! Did he hate children? Pluto, shove him down farther! It is too whimsical. He leaves on one side the springs of history, the motives and forces which we can weigh and appreciate, and busies himself with his little crooked inch-measure to mete out his due to each, and to anticipate a verdict upon men's morals which none but the All-seeing can give. Thus, in his endeavours to escape the narrowness of Dante, he lets his waters flow over the plain and become a shallow pool. In his laudable endeavour to decant into the novel all the religion it will hold, he becomes over-serious in his fable and namby-pamby in his religion. He seems to consider our opinions of dead people to be their limbo; just as he makes their historical reality consist in the vividness of our ideas concerning them.

But he had a passion for moralising, to which even his darling exhibition of character was sometimes sacrificed. He often takes the mask from his face and holds it in his hand, forgets his assumed character and speaks in his own person, criticising his inventions and remarking on his performance as it proceeds. This peculiarity, which many persons have taken as a proof of want of objective power to project his characters outside his own mind, and to treat them as real entities, acting by the necessary sequences of natural laws, and not merely as puppets answering the strings which the showman chooses to pull, he would himself have appealed to as the great proof that they were for him living persons. To readers they have the life-like characteristics of being very commonly misunderstood, and of being understood by different persons in different ways. To their creator, his own creations often presented the same problems as real persons might. He used to say, in reference to Rawdon Crawley's quarrel with Lord Steyne, that he could never make up his mind whether Becky was guilty or no. He would point out the very house in Russell Square where the Sedleys lived. When remonstrated with for making Esmond marry his mother-in-law, he said, "I did not make them do it; they did it themselves." In one of his *Roundabout Papers* he tells of the amazement he felt at the remarks made by some of his characters: "It seems as if an occult power was moving the pen. The personage does or says something, and I ask how the dickens did he come to think of that?" "I never know whether you are laughing at me or yourself, George," says one of the Virginian brothers; "I never know whether you are serious or jesting." "Precisely my own case, Harry my dear," replies the other. It was Thackeray's case. The real artist has an intuition of what his characters *must* do or say; the theorist determines what he will make them say or do. One discovers; the other invents. One comes, as it were, by luck on his treasures; the other makes them, and can tell us all about them.

And the reality which he attributes to his own inventions he gives to those of other novelists. The creations of Fielding he considers to be much more facts, to have much more *have-been-hood* about them, than the forgotten celebrities mentioned in the gazettes of the day. Tom Jones and Amelia are to him much more real persons than those who are named in Smollett's chapter on arts and letters in the reign of George II. Parson Adams and Primrose were as authentic in his eyes as Sacheverell and Warburton, and Gil Blas more real and more moral than the Duke of Lerma. Like the characters they create, the histories of novelists are the only ones that cannot be controverted. Never was such a Cartesian! Never was such im-

plicit reliance given to the principle, "que les choses que nous concevons fort clairement et fort distinctement sont toutes vraies."

And this, indeed, is the whole of his moral philosophy:—The soul that dares to exhibit itself in full clearness and distinctness is a true soul. It is as certain to be loved as seen, when it shines forth in naked simplicity, nor leaves a thought within. The mouth should be no vizor to the heart; what the breast forges the tongue should vent. If men would but let their souls be seen as God Almighty made them, "stripped of their wicked deceiving bodies, stark naked as they were before they were born," then all would be well. His philosophy carries us back beyond Rousseau's state of nature, beyond the nude animalism of the Preadamites, almost into the ideal times when first matter had not yet put on a rag of form. Souls without bodies, bodies without clothes, society without social organisation,—such are his ideals. He is a stark Origenist; if he had lived in the third century he would have believed the father of lies to be the creator of all things visible. For, he tells us, it is falsehood that begets concealment, while concealment begets humbug, disguise, formalism, and ceremony, whence the conventional framework of society draws its origin.

This theory has taken shape in his snob-philosophy, on which he brooded from his undergraduate days in 1829, till he gave it shape in the *Snob Papers* in *Punch*. The *Snob Papers* began with just descriptions of the snob—eating peas with a knife, not conforming to the innocent social code, admiring mean things meanly; but soon the idea was extended and inflated, till snobbishness became an all-pervading gas, a universal element in man's composition, a common fibre which runs through us all, and which vibrates in us whenever we are conceited or quackish, or pompous or uncharitable, or proud or narrow—lowly to dukes and supercilious to shopkeepers. Still further, it was found to be a quality inseparable from the mechanism of society, and incarnate in the diabolical invention of gentility, which kills honest friendship; in the organisation of ranks and degrees of precedence, which rumples equality; in court-circulars; in *haut ton*; in the wicked words, "fashionable, exclusive, aristocratic;" in a court-system "that sends men of genius to the second table;" in gradations and ranks that encourage men to despise their neighbours, and, on their promotion, to forget an old friend,—to be ashamed of their poverty or their relations or their calling,—to boast of their pedigree, or to be proud of their wealth.

We must excuse Thackeray for setting up a hierarchy of genius instead of one of wealth and birth, for abolishing the

Red Book to make way for a St. Simonian Directory of Capacities, because it is a mere oversight into which he was betrayed by his facile receptivity of his companions' opinions. He never meant to depose Croesus from the throne in order to crown Shandon or Pendennis or Ridley, or to substitute Mrs. Leo Hunter's *matinées* for Mrs. Tufthunt's drums. He considered that all differences of rank, however determined, were snobbish, because the distinguishing quality, whether wealth or birth or genius, would always be matter for conceit and pretension. Equality, he saw, was the only remedy; and if equality was contrary to nature, then nature, he thought, was predestined to be snobbish.

Thus the ideal snob became the devil of the week-day preacher—something very mean, but at the same time very great and ubiquitous. It was an inward tempter; because the constitution of man is such that the soul can only exhibit itself in its clothing of outward acts, which acts are only imperfectly significant of the inner truth which they symbolise, and therefore naturally deceptive and hypocritical. It was also an outward tempter; because the constitution of society is such as to afford every facility for pretence, and to set a high premium on hypocrisy and affectation. The fundamental temptation of man was to humbug himself and his fellows, and to become a snob. This way of treating the subject is quite in accordance with Thackeray's peculiar humour. He sets up vulgarity and snob-bishness as coexistent with the visible universe, and then proceeds to protest against it. He finds, as it were, the solar system to be an ill-designed machine, which he could greatly improve; and, with Hamlet, he sees in the majestic firmament but a pestilent congregation of vapours, and in man only the quintessence of dust.

This snob-philosophy, in putting the chief stress on transparency and simplicity of soul, lays itself open to three capital charges.

First, it excludes justice from its code. For, when it reduces all crime to selfish hypocrisy, it has no serious condemnation for the rogue that is not a snob. It pleads for kindness, affection, self-sacrifice, humility, and all the more feminine virtues, but not for justice. Justice is too much occupied in adjusting the conventional framework of society, orders, degrees, ranks, all of which have the original taint of snobbishness deeply ingrained in them. It does not belong to that emotional energy which we call the soul. It resides in the reason, and may be expressed in an arithmetical sum. Not so the real virtues. Again, injustice may come from a simple defect of soul, incapable of calculating proportion. It may come also from an excess of love. All women are more or less unjust; the most feminine the most

unjust. Remember Rachel Esmond and the Little Sister. Behold Henry Esmond, that accomplished hero, turning traitor in favour of a cause he despises, merely because he thinks it will please his mistress. Think of the leniency with which the knavery of affectionate rascals like Lord Castlewood or Rawdon Crawley is treated, or of the good-humoured dissection of such innate rogues as Barry Lyndon or Bob Stubbs, the hero of *The Fatal Boots*. If a man has a bend sinister in his soul, he must be a rogue if he is not a hypocrite; and his roguery ought to be indulgently excused, like the depredations of a fox, or the cruelty of a cat, as something natural, innate, predestined. Such seems to be the theory, as it certainly is the practice, of Thackeray's snob-philosophy. This made his notions of political right so hazy. For justice is the political virtue, the social guide, the final solver of all the difficult casuistry of the more ethical virtues. No one can be a politician unless he can at least understand the supremacy of justice over affection.

Secondly, it vilifies the reason. It does this partly because it exaggerates the value of the emotions; partly because it does not see the exact place to give to reason. Reason, like justice, seems something outside the souls, an external rind of but temporary utility, a protection to the soul, and a medium of its communication with other souls. But its abuse is only too easy; its function being to weave the garment of words and acts by which a soul manifests itself to its fellows, it is the instrument of all the untruth, all the pretence, the hypocrisy, the meanness, the snobbishness in the world. "L'homme qui raisonne est un animal dépravé," says Rousseau in perfect seriousness; and Thackeray half agrees with him. The transparency of character he seeks is usually clearest when reason is weakest. When reason sets to work, its first effort is to raise a fog round the soul, to make opaque what before was clear, and to weave a garment round the nakedness of which it has learned to be ashamed. Reason is the great enemy of simplicity; the two must be kept apart, or they will corrupt each other. He divorces morality and genius, like certain historians, such as Thiers and Ranke, for contrary reasons. Their highest place is given to cleverness; and they love to show how great genius without goodness may be. Their chief heroes are men without moral virtue, such as Richelieu, Frederick, or Napoleon; while their good men are either commonplace or dupes. On the other hand, Thackeray's heroes are dupes, and his men of genius more or less villains. General Wolfe is almost the only great man whom he treats with entire sympathy; but, while magnifying his goodness, he detracts from his greatness, by attributing his crowning success at Quebec to pure chance.

Thirdly, it discourages all attempts at moral progress. Its aim is to exhibit the soul as it is, not as it is not. The desire of being better than you are tempts you to seem better than you are. The very acts and habits by which you strive to improve announce your improvement to the world before it has become ingrained in your soul; the man, therefore, who seeks to improve himself must be in some measure a sham and a humbug. But, more than this, real improvement is impossible. A man may throw off his evil habits, and become once more nearly as good as he was before he began to reason; but he cannot improve on this. As nature made a soul, so it must remain. Self-improvement is impossible. You read in saints' lives how one cured his bad temper, and another strove till his chief defect became his principal virtue. Moonshine! Thackeray can believe that a man can learn a language or master a science, but not that by taking thought he can add to his moral stature. All is vanity, look you; and so the preacher is vanity, too.¹ You may as well show yourself as nature made you, because you cannot be different. Are you a thief, the son of thieves? You cannot choose but thieve. We will pity you, and make your prison comfortable. We are all of us poor asses, driven by fate from the abyss behind us to the abyss before us; it is a toss-up whether we are ridden by the devil, or by our good angel, or by the ghostly snob. If we are good, let us keep so. If we have made ourselves bad, let us undo our handiwork. If we have a defective nature, God help us; let us at least be dogs, or pigs, or foxes, if we cannot be men. Whatever we are, let it be our study to be, not to seem.

Another consequence of this philosophy, the highest aim of which is to discover the soul under its clothing, and to exhibit it as it is, is a certain womanishness in those whom it actuates. Shakespeare says that transparency of character is that which mainly distinguishes women from men:

“Their smoothness, like a goodly champaign plain,
Lays open all the little worms that creep :
In men, as in a rough-grown grove, remain
Cave-keeping evils, that obscurely sleep.
Through crystal walls each little note will peep.
Though men can cover crimes with bold, stern looks,
Poor women's faces are their own faults' books.”

It is congruous that one whose feelings cause him to found his philosophy on simplicity and openness should understand the character of women better than that of men. And all Thackeray's most subtle portraits are those of women. He goes to the bottom of their characters, especially of those who move in the great world. *Beatrice*, *Rachel Esmond*, *Becky Sharpe*, and *Ethel New-*

¹ *Philip*, i. 296.

come are pictures which will ever remain fresh. And, seeing that simplicity is a feminine characteristic, this philosophy requires that we should judge more harshly of women who hide themselves in a mist of pretension, or involve themselves in the labyrinths of intellectual mazes, than of men who do so. "Lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds." A woman who is affected and untrue to herself is a more degraded being than a hypocritical man, because she sins more deeply against her nature. This accounts for the apparent spite which Thackeray always exhibited towards clever women. It was not that he really hated cleverness and loved stupidity. On the contrary, dulness was his abhorrence. "There is a quality," he said, "impervious to all advice, exposure, or correction; that bows to no authority, recognises no betters, never can see that it is in the wrong, has no scruples of conscience, no misgivings of its own rectitude or powers, no qualms for the feelings of others, no respect but for itself. The great characteristic of dulness is to be inalterably contented with itself; it makes men and women selfish, stingy, ignorant, passionate, and brutal." "Above all things," he says elsewhere, "try to get a cheerful wife; cheerfulness implies a contented spirit, a pure heart, a kind and loving disposition, humility, and charity; a generous appreciation of others, and a modest opinion of self. Stupid people—people who do not know how to laugh—are always pompous and self-conceited; that is, bigoted; that is, cruel; that is, ungente, uncharitable, unchristian."² It is much more likely, then, that his weak, affectionate creatures, his tender, generous incapables, such as Amelia Sedley and Helen Pendennis, were mistakes in art than mistakes in philosophy. The intellect of woman is not like that of man: it does not spend itself in brandishing syllogisms, or in wire-drawing ideas. It is not distinguished for epigrammatic acuteness or proverbial sententiousness. It is rather an intuition of feeling, and expresses itself more in sympathy that may be felt, than in words which may be written down. Now it is a great problem of art how to represent this character. As the sculptor has to represent warm, quivering flesh in his cold, still marble; the painter the brilliant sunshine with colours, the brightest of which is blacker than all blackness when contrasted with the sun's glory; the musician the wails, the jubilees, the tender sighs that course through his imagination with his octave of notes;—so the poet has to represent the wordless cheerfulness and unspoken wit of women with the materials of his art, which are words. How shall he do this? One poet adopts one mode of adaptation; another, another; the same poet varies his method in different periods of his life. We have

² *Miscell.* ii. 274, iv. 87.

seen that Shakespeare recognised transparency of soul as a fundamental trait of women ; yet how differently did he represent them in the different periods of his art ! At first this transparency showed itself in an inexhaustible flow of the brightest wit, not seldom somewhat too highly seasoned, as in Beatrice, Rosalind, and even Juliet. Gradually he worked away from this mode of representation, and adopted the method which has given us his Desdemona, Miranda, and Imogen. Yet, after all, the literary ideal of woman does not quite correspond to the living ideal ; all that we can ask is, that it should approach as near as the materials will allow. The true womanly charm is as indescribable as a sweet odour. "*Qui pingit florem non pingit floris odorem.*" The best flower-painter is he who can associate most of the sentiment of perfume with the best imitations of forms and colours.

Thackeray began with a mistake in criticism ; he thought that a set had always been made against clever women. "Take all Shakespeare's heroines—they all seem to me pretty much the same,—affectionate, motherly, tender, that sort of thing." He looked at Shakespeare's last creations without examining how he came to form them. Hence he failed to see that their equableness and placidity came from fulness, not from emptiness, and that they had passed through and beyond the stage of cleverness and wit. It is as if a young musician, captivated by the admirable lucidity, the profound harmony, and the planet-like rhythm of Beethoven's latest music, should begin with direct imitations of his ninth symphony, or grand mass in D, or posthumous quartetts, instead of gradually working up to this perfection through the simpler methods on which it is built. He began by trying to give a direct truthful imitation of the womanly charm, in Amelia Sedley and Helen Pendennis, and was reluctantly obliged to abandon, or greatly modify, the method, which had only resulted in negative characters, feeble and brainless. He afterwards infused more wit into them, and succeeded better. His progress was in the contrary direction to that of Shakespeare. One developed from Amelia to Ethel and the Little Sister ; the other, from Beatrice to Imogen. But who will say that the last of the one is equal to the first of the other ? Thackeray's great successes in female portraits are those where no theory withheld him from developing their intellects. Becky and Beatrix are his greatest creations. His good women are more or less marred by his attempting to give a direct description of an indescribable charm. And the element of contrivance which he leaves to them,—that artless, negative, evasive cunning which is natural to women and children, and to the weak in presence of the strong,—can never, in novels, compensate for

the loss of the positive aggressive artfulness of the woman who is determined to succeed.

Thus we have his criticism, history, art, and philosophy (if we may venture to attribute philosophy to a man who so energetically repudiated the impeachment) all converging to one point, all aiming at one effect—to bring the heart into the mouth, the woman into the eyes, laughter to the lips, and the whole soul and intellect into the countenance; to reanimate old portraits; to make description and dialogue a vehicle for the exhibition of the soul; to encourage all transparency, purity, brightness, simplicity, womanliness, even childlikeness of character; to strip off the mask that intellect weaves round the soul; to substitute love for law, kindness for strict justice; and to discourage the empty pretences of improvement or of fancied dignity, which tempt a man to seem what he is not.

Thackeray was not a preacher to say one thing and do another. No author, except St. Augustine, ever made a truer or more complete confession of himself to his readers. He was thoroughly honest. "If my tap is not genuine, it is naught," he said. He was so very egotistical that his modesty compelled him to write under fictitious names. The anonymousness of "the author of *Waverley*," or of Boz, was more or less a whim. The pseudonyms of Thackeray were as necessary to him as the veil was to Socrates when he was discoursing to Phædrus. He felt that he could preach; but how should he get into the pulpit in his own name, and tell his audience that they were all snobs? A great deal of management was requisite. He had to speak to them, like *Æsop*, in fables; like *Edgar*, in *Lear*, he chose to minister to madness in the garb of folly; the cap and bells were to introduce him to court, and to license his tongue. He narrated of himself what he meant for his audience. He came before them as a flunkey, as a Jew, as a snob, as a bragging Irishman, to insinuate to them that they were so many flunkies, Jews, snobs, and braggarts. It was only after he had secured attention in his disguises of Yellow-plush, Ikey Solomons, Titmarsh, Snob, Fitzboodle, Brown, Stubbs, Gahagan, and the rest, that he ventured to appear under his own name in *Vanity Fair*; and in the serious works that followed, his modesty still compelled him to disguise himself in strange names. *Pendennis*, indeed, came out in his own name; but after that he made the same use of the hero of the tale as Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton has made of *Caxton*. *Pendennis* became his editor in the press, and his vicar in the pulpit. *Esmond* was an autobiography. *Lovel the Widower* is narrated by a Mr. Bachelor. We have, then, two varieties of masks behind which Thackeray preached. One is the assumed mask of the Shakespearian fool, by which truth is established by

its contrary, as the drunken helot preached sobriety; the other is the scarcely-disguised personality of Thackeray himself. The two varieties have their points of contact in Mr. Bachelor and Esmond.

The masks of the first kind are made somewhat after the pattern of Shakespeare's witches, or fairies, or Calibans—by abstraction. They are imperfect men—human *eidola*, with some quality essential to the perfection of humanity obliterated from their souls. Not that Thackeray copied them from Shakespeare, or has made them at all like Shakespeare's negative creations. The way they grew up in his mind is easily traced. The public in the fourth decade of this century was enchanted with pictures of an impossible world, in which rogues worked villainy with the motives and sentiments of heroes, lied out of love of truth, acted like profligates out of love of virtue, and like knaves out of honour; where doubt was philosophy, selfishness justice, anarchy government, and atheism religion. The diseased sentimentality of *Ernest Maltravers*, *Jack Sheppard*, and *Oliver Twist*, set Thackeray thinking how he could exhibit heroes similar to the two former, acting not indeed with the approval, but without the disapproval, of their consciences; and he soon found a way of doing it, by cutting out the conscience altogether. As the French vivisectioners extract a brute's cerebellum, or cut out his liver, and then watch how he behaves in his new condition, so did Thackeray, by a powerful effort of imagination, represent to himself unprincipled men—men perfect in all their other faculties, but without the guiding clue of conscience, without the understanding to see that they lacked what other men possessed, and therefore without any shame for their defect or their unprincipled acts. Swift had taught him one great secret of humorous writing—"the grave and logical conduct of an absurd proposition." "Given a country of people six inches or sixty feet high, and by the mere process of the logic a thousand wonderful absurdities are evolved at so many stages of the calculation." Thackeray's masks are similar to Swift's in principle; but they differ from them in the negative character of his assumptions. Given a man without the conception of right and wrong, how will he act and talk? The kind of solution Thackeray gave may be seen by a short extract from *The Tremendous Adventures of Major Gahagan*: "I had been lucky enough to render the Nawaub of Lucknow some trifling service, and his highness sent down a gold toothpick-case directed to Captain G. Gahagan, which I of course thought was for me. My brother madly claimed it: we fought; and the consequence was, that in about three minutes he received a slash in the right side which effectually did his business. He was a good swordsman enough; I was THE BEST in the universe. The

most ridiculous part of the affair is, that the toothpick-case was his, after all. He had left it on the Nawaub's table at tiffin. I can't conceive what madness prompted him to fight about such a paltry bauble: he had much better have yielded it at once, when he saw I was determined to have it."

When Thackeray had once found out the secret of making the qualities he recommended conspicuous by their absence, and thus rendering them *desiderata*, he made good use of the method. *The Fatal Boots* is an example of it; but it culminates in *Barry Lyndon*—a story where the grave irony is so artfully concealed, that it unites the interest of a romance with the pungency of the most humorous satire. Barry is more of a real personage than Gahagan or Bob Stubbs: the windbag which serves him for a heart is not utterly empty. He has an organ for some natural affection for his son, like Aaron in *Titus Andronicus*. But unlike Aaron, or Iago, or Don John, or Barabas in *The Jew of Malta*, he has no love for wickedness in itself—no positive faculty for evil, which gloats over sin and hates virtue. He has a sublime unconsciousness, which accompanies him through the mazes of virtue and vice, making him take each as it comes, without being aware of any distinction between them. It is a rich vein; and Thackeray delighted in his power of showing how characters wanting this or that human faculty would look. The slight fibre of satire that runs through *Esmond* is caused by the bland callosity with which the hero tells of deeds that exhibit his submission to female influence, his defective views of honour, or the partiality of his judgments. Nothing can exceed the cool confession tacked on to his powerfully-conceived character of Marlborough: "A word of kindness might have changed my opinion of the great man, and instead of a satire have drawn out a panegyric." Thackeray's Hibernian portraits are painted on this principle. Their brag becomes an impotence, an inability to conceive that they can be known as well as they know. It comes not from imperfect education, but from want of a faculty; it is like a blind man's denial of colours. In Mr. Batchelor, the narrator of *Lovel the Widower*, there is a certain amount of vacuum; not enough to make him a rascal, scarcely enough to constitute a snob. He might be taken for something between Pendennis and Titmarsh, till we find that he hates children, and discover what he was meant for—a negative character, the same in principle as Barry Lyndon, but made fit for comedy by the slightness of his defaults. Elizabeth Prior is another such defective character. We have a clue to what she was intended for when we are told that "she was incorrigibly dull, and without a scintillation of humour." She is something less, not more, than woman.

This kind of character serves as a foil to those in which

Thackeray speaks as he really thinks; just as the fools and clowns in Shakespeare's plays give us the ironic and satirical counterpart of the serious business. But Shakespeare's foils are infinitely varied; all kinds of contrasts are employed; whereas Thackeray seems to know only of one. He sets only the negative over against the positive, opposes only the empty to the full, and so gives us but one phase of that great artistic contrivance by which Shakespeare attained such magnificent results. Over against these ironical masks, in which he preaches by contraries, by the *reductio ad absurdum*,—as where he makes Mr. Snob cut his benefactor because he ate peas with his knife,—are the characters through which he speaks as he really thinks. These may be divided into two classes: those which represent himself as he really was, and those which are portraits of himself as he wished to be—literal portraits and ideal portraits. Pendennis is an example of the former kind; Colonel Newcome, of the latter. He has given us three principal autobiographical portraits, painted at different times, and representing three phases of his mind. Pendennis we may call his phrenological portrait. It was painted at a period when Dr. Newman's writings, and still more his deeds, had great influence upon him; and when his historical studies, reacting upon a temporary metaphysical turn of mind, had reduced him to a stage of great intellectual uncertainty, not to say scepticism. In Clive Newcome we have the reaction of youth and health, of the love of energy, of art, of beauty, against the pale cast of thought which sicklies over the portrait of Pendennis. And in Philip we have the final triumph of muscularity, the victory of the sentiments reinforced by the flesh over the intellect. It is a sad sight. First we see the gentle nature going to buffets with itself, its insurgent forces led on by captains wearing the rival colours of Macaulay, Dr. Newman, Professor Newman, and a host more. Chaos sits as umpire, and by his decision embroils the fray. In Clive Newcome's letter from Rome we see the battle-field, strewn with dead corpses of the conquered, on whom a handsome funeral oration is pronounced before they are consigned to oblivion, and room is left for the empty heart to offer hospitality to their successors. In Philip we see that Mr. Kingsley has got the vacant throne, though his tenure of the conscience of the Cornhill preacher is somewhat threatened by Mr. Lewes's materialism, Mr. Home's spiritualism, and the kindly epicureanism of old Horace, to whom Thackeray took more and more in his last years, when he began to relent from his cruel surgery, abandoned the probe and the knife, and became a lady's doctor, a minister of bread-pills and bank-drafts to cases of distress; when he began to protest against discovery, to reckon it the chief misfortune of a man to

be found out, or to be esteemed precisely at his worth, to hate vice mainly because it made the conscience so uncomfortable, and to suspect all virtues that had unpleasant consequences. By the example of the Little Sister he tries to make lying and robbery in a good cause seem acts of virtue, just as Victor Hugo does with his *Sœur Simplice*. His code was tolerant of a little wrong done to secure a great right. But it never tolerated ascetic self-sacrifice. His hatred to Swift comes mainly from the fact that Swift's married life with Stella was that of brother and sister. He greets the phenomenon with a howl of execration. His ideal of love was always somewhat physiological, and never reached the chivalrous notion of perfect unselfishness. The most extravagant sacrifice made for it was in his eyes only one side of a bargain. Love was a price paid, not a free gift imparted. Our own good, not that of the beloved person, was always supposed to be its real object; and a man was conceived to sit down and calculate his possible gains before making his venture. "'Tis I that have fixed the value of the thing I would have, and know the price I would pay for it. It may be worthless to you, but 'tis all my life to me.'" He had got aground on the rock of self; and so he missed the tide that promised to carry him over the bar of doubt. Whether *Denis Duval* was to be a fourth portrait of the writer in a more advanced stage of growth, we cannot tell. The fragment published displays extraordinary care, and characters, like those of Agnes's parents, which must be quite subsidiary to the main business of the plot, are finished miniatures. In *Clarisse's catastrophe* we see a version of a tragical incident which occurred a few years ago in the English literary world at Paris, interpreted according to the medico-psychological doctrines of Mr. Lewes. Denis himself was to be a great muscular sailor, approaching still nearer to Mr. Kingsley's ideal than Philip; and Agnes was to be his guardian angel, just as Laura was to Pendennis. "I might have remained," he says, "but for her, in my humble native lot, to be neither honest nor happy, but that my good angel yonder succoured me. All I have I owe to her; but I pay with all I have, and what creature can do more?" Thackeray in his last work still adheres to his old heresies concerning love. He exaggerates its part in life; and he debases its nature by reducing it to a bargain.

The other characters in his novels were modelled after the two kinds of masks behind which he preached. His good characters were excerpts from himself, with certain imperfections suppressed, and certain germs of good developed to an ideal excellence. His questionable characters were formed upon the model of his negative masks. His art reversed the old maxim, that "people

oftener want something taken away than something added, to make them agreeable." His black sheep are made so, not by the addition of any bad qualities, but by the subtraction of good ones. We look in vain among them for a strong character—for iron prejudices, or an adamant will. There is no unconquerable pride, no Satanic love of wickedness, as in Iago or Aaron. There is much good-heartedness, much desire to do better, all stopped by an impassable gulf, a vacuum, a nothing. The barriers which shut them out from goodness are ditches, not walls; not alps, or boiling lava-streams, but morasses. They are helpless evil-doers, not heroically wicked. Of such great characters Thackeray had glimpses; and he cowered before them. He suspected Marlborough and Swift to be of their number. But his own villains are well called black sheep. Sheep they are; and one pities their tremulous helplessness more than one condemns their black bodies. This rule does not apply to his women; his ideal of women was already so negative, he so bowed to Pope's decision that they have no characters at all, that to make them wicked he was obliged to add. Subtraction would have left nothing at all, good or evil. Feminine softness and simplicity could be changed to their opposites only by the addition of firmness of will and activity of intellect. On this principle he contrasted Becky and Amelia in *Vanity Fair*. Afterwards, he never created such unmixed characters, but generally strove to give his good women some share of firmness and intellectual strength. There is a great deal of hard metal in Rachel Esmond,—of unrelenting pride, of silent vindictiveness, of unsleeping jealousy, of determination to command. So there is in Madame Warrington. Helen Pendennis is nearly as soft as Amelia; but Laura's heart is begirt by many excellent gifts of head; while in Ethel Newcome intellect, haughtiness, high spirits, resumed their proper position in the literary ideal of womanhood. Perhaps Thackeray's women might be ranged in two columns, one headed by Becky, the other by Amelia. In Becky's column the intellect and will is the central organ; in Amelia's, the heart. The two types gradually run together by borrowing of each other, till at last, in spite of Thackeray's predilections, taste conquers theory, and head with additions borrowed from heart proves itself more truly feminine than heart with additions borrowed from head. In Becky, Blanche, Beatrix, Ethel, we see a parallel to Amelia, Helen, Rachel, and Laura; and in Ethel, the lineal descendant of Becky, we recognise a much truer woman than in Laura, the lineal descendant of the ultra-feminine Amelia. Only contrast the two in the critical incidents of their lives—Ethel refusing to marry Farintosh, and Laura urging Pen to marry Blanche. The moral we draw is, that when affections are

superadded to intellect the intellect knows well what to do with them; but when intellect is superadded to heart the heart does not understand how to handle the edged tool, and makes a sad mess with it.

We will hazard another remark upon the charming portrait of Beatrix Esmond, upon which Thackeray has lavished all his art, and all his subtle knowledge of the women of the great world. It will be granted that, when a poet is discovering what his characters must say, he will let them say it in their own words; whereas, when he is inventing what they shall do in order to conform to his theory, the easiest plan is to describe them. The dramatic method is proper for objective, self-developing art; the descriptive method for subjective theoretic art. Now it seems to us that, if we divide the passages which relate to Beatrix in *Esmond* into those which deal with her dramatically and those where gossip babbles about her, we shall find two Beatrices; one the delightful vision which laughs and dances through the story, the other an attendant wraith, a malignant double which haunts her, but is not herself, to whom we must attribute much that we can scarcely believe of the real Beatrix. Of course, any woman can sink to any depth of degradation; that is a fact not to be questioned. The question here is, whether the fall of Beatrix is artistically consistent, whether it is the legitimate result of the germs of self-will, giddiness, jealousy, obstinacy, selfishness, and love of admiration, which are innate in her disposition, or whether it is a foreign addition plastered on her to justify Thackeray's theoretical spite against women of intellect? Was this theory so strong in him as to force him to calumniate the finest creation of his genius? His anxiety to justify himself shows that he had misgivings about it. He tells us that pride will have a fall; and yet he owns that Beatrix was not so proud as her mother. And then she only followed the example of the women of the Castlewood family. Again, the apologetical confession put into her mouth when dying, in *The Virginians*, is not only somewhat at variance with what is told us at the end of *Esmond*, but bears all the marks of an after-thought interposed to render probable something that was felt to sin against artistic credibility. It is hardly natural, moreover, to make the brilliant and experienced woman of the world the dupe of the dissipated young Prince. And as Beatrix's worst vices are plastered on by historical addition, so are the intellectual qualities of Rachel. She comes out dramatically as a woman of more solid judgment, of greater stability and depth, than her daughter. But when we are told that 'Trix was not so incomparably witty as her mother, we can only reply that she shows herself incomparably more so. The poet was

still groping in the dark for the just mixture of head and heart proper for ideal womanhood.

We see, then, how the characters in Thackeray's novels are confessions and exhibitions of his own inner world of thought and feeling—of his soul, his ideals, his loves and his hatreds, his convictions and his doubts. And the circumstances with which he surrounds his characters are only memorials of his varied experiences. He gives us pictures of his school-life at the Charter House, or, as he calls it, the "Slaughter House," or "Grey Friars" School, where he educates Pen and Clive and Philip, his three representatives. We have reminiscences of his country and college life in *Pendennis*, of his German experiences in *Barry Lyndon* and *The Newcomes*, of his Parisian experiences in *Philip*, of his connection with the literary world of *Fraser's Magazine* in *Pendennis*, and with the artists in *The Newcomes*. In all these he attempted to make his pictures literally true to nature. When accused of traducing his art by his pictures of the loose lives of men of letters, he replied, "My attempt was to tell the truth, and I meant to tell it not unkindly. I have seen the bookseller whom Bludyer robbed of his books; I have carried money from a noble brother man of letters to some one not unlike Shandon in prison, and have watched the beautiful devotion of his wife in that dreary place." All three representatives of himself, Pen, Clive, and Philip, begin life in affluence, lose their money, and for a while are forced to support themselves precariously on literature or their art. Philip even begins the world with the precise sum which is said to have been Thackeray's fortune, 30,000*l*. But there is one event in his life, the blow which deprived him of his wife's society, which had a much more important effect on his writings. It was his great sorrow. He never alludes to it except once, in a note at the end of his interrupted *Shabby-genteel Story*; yet his works are full of it. Milton once or twice mentions his own blindness, and then passes on, forgetting self in his epic inspiration. Thackeray never mentions, and yet never forgets, or allows his readers to forget, the cloud that darkened his life, and tinged all his feelings with a funereal hue. Like Hamlet, he had seen a ghost; and, though he swore all his senses to secrecy, he could not conceal the transformation of character which had been worked in him by the visitation. The meditation of his life was concentrated on one hopeless feeling, without antecedent or consequent, the shadow of which made the rest of his existence a weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable blank. His misfortune made him look upon the world with the eye of a humourist who had nothing more to do than to deliver his brief message and die, and planted the suspicion in his mind that in the secret closet of all woebegone

men a skeleton something like his own was hanging. To this we trace much of his peculiar humour.

Satire is the offspring of indignation; but humour is the child of melancholy. The first stage of humour begins with that mental and physical lassitude which succeeds acute sorrow, when the man, having strung his feelings beyond their usual tension, and exerted his thoughts beyond their common pitch, must either sink into inanity, or seek relief in some sportive change.

ἄλλοτε μὲν τε γὰρ φρένα τέρπομαι, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε
παύομαι· αἰψήρως δὲ κόρος κρυεοῖο γόοιο.

Niebuhr accounts for the gay and bantering tone of Cicero's speech *pro Muræna*, delivered amidst the harassing anxieties of Catiline's conspiracy, by the levity with which a great statesman turns to private matters, unable to conceive how a person to whom they are all in all can feel offended at the natural expression of a good-natured contempt. Hamlet, just harrowed by the Ghost's revelation, bawls out to his companions in the most boisterous way. Cruelty generally conceals itself behind a ludicrous and grotesque way of regarding the horrors it inflicts. "I deny that nature meant us to sympathise with agonies," says Charles Lamb; "those face contortions, retortions, distortions, have the merriness of antics. Nature meant them for farce." Pain and sorrow gradually fade away in humour:

"Men who wear grief long
Will get to wear it as a hat, aside,
With a flower stuck in it."

The transition may be difficult to explain, but it is a fact. Every cause has more than one effect. As the reaction of too keen a joy causes tears, so does the reaction of grief cause a kind of moody merriment as one of its effects:

"Each substance of a grief hath twenty shadows,
Which show like grief itself, but are not so."

Humour in its first stage is one of these attendant shadows. It is the act of the heart seeking to suppress the first feelings excited by overwhelming thoughts, and to substitute for them the secondary feelings which arise with the reaction of lassitude. It is the reality which the affectation of Byron strove to imitate when it confessed that the prizes of life were not worth living for, and therefore gave itself up helplessly to a hatred of mankind, pretended to have found out the hollowness of every aim of life, and resigned itself to be the slave of vices which had become hateful through satiety. Swift was a truer exponent of it; but even in his hands it appeared to Thackeray quite heartless and wrong.

The second stage of humour cultivates these secondary feelings no longer in order to suppress the sterner thoughts for which they were substituted, but to excite the like feelings by reminiscence and association. After the mind has descended from painful excitement to a kind of weary levity, it can reverse its course, and ascend again through something akin to this levity to something resembling the original excitement. This reversed motion is the second degree of humour. Its aim is to restore, in a reflective form, those same feelings which were so painful in their direct action as to force the mind to take refuge in levity. If we consider what it is from which we usually try to escape by this issue, we shall find that it is not the vicious feelings, such as hatred, envy, and revenge, which, however painful, give us a morose and gloomy joy as long as we care to brood over them, but those bitter-sweet feelings which the conscience does not condemn, though in their first access they are too keen to be long endurable,—pity, sorrow, awe, and fear. Cruelty is humorous, not to escape the morose pleasure of inflicting pain, but to escape the accompanying disapprobation of the conscience. Its humour is of the first stage; it is intolerant of the second, which would tend to renew the pricks of conscience. We may define humour, then, in its second and proper stage, to be an ironical method of restoring, through the imagination, those tender and pathetic feelings which in their first visitation over-excited the soul, and soon brought on the reaction of an almost delirious lassitude. It is an attempt to go up the same ladder which we came down; to reascend through levity to pathos, as we descended from pathos to levity.

There is an intellectual as well as a moral humour. As faith, overwrought, unbends itself in the irreverent familiarities of a Neapolitan mob, so is it possible to reverse the motion, and to reascend to faith through the ironical mockeries of an apparent scepticism. An example of this process is afforded by the Book of Ecclesiastes, which dull commentators have regarded as a mere cold, materialistic outpouring of Sadducism. The same learned pundits would doubtless gather from Erskine's humorous remark on a miser who had died worth 200,000*l.*, "A pretty sum to begin the next world with," that he believed ghosts bought and sold in limbo.

It is hard to imagine that the connection between any particular painful feeling and its humorous reaction depends on a pre-established harmony of things, and not rather on an accidental association of ideas, deriving its power from the organisation of the individual mind. Humour, on this view, is a personal thing. What is humorous to one man may not be so to another. He who is dull to a species of humour which affects the majority,

may be fully alive to another species which most men have no taste for. Humour reveals the man and his individual feelings, and has little to do with logic or dialectics. But it can never be selfish. Humour and the selfish passions—pride, conceit, vanity, an exaggerated sense of dignity,—and the desires built upon them—ambition, covetousness, and self-seeking,—are mutually destructive of each other. Pride cannot laugh at itself without ceasing to be pride; and the sense of personal dignity has found its true level when it can treat itself with easy contempt. The second kind of humour, that ironical levity by which we seek to restore the original feelings, is still more inconceivable as a stepping-stone to selfishness. Fancy founding pride upon self-ridicule, or vanity upon a confession of one's foibles! Humour, then, can never be the foundation of offensive egotism, though the humourist must be allowed to make people look through his eyes, and in the simplicity of his heart to preach a novel view of the world and of society, and to broach new plans for making mankind happy. Any more concentrated form of selfishness is hateful to him; since his method is only applicable to feelings of tenderness, melancholy, and sorrow, to the sentiments that respond to death, or misfortune, or the instability of happiness, or the extinction of love. Selfish motives and selfish vices have nothing in common with these feelings, and therefore excite in him no interest, but rather indignation and abhorrence; whereas the aberrations of weakness and tenderness stand in no such contradiction to his feelings, and are treated with great indulgence.

It may be asked how the pathetic feelings come to be so keen as to be intolerable, and yet so attractive as to make us seek to restore them. It is because they open out to us a dim view of an unknown abyss, of which they seem to be the echoes and vibrations. Through them our souls are brought into almost conscious contact with the infinite. This it is which gives them their insufferable keenness and overwhelming force, and at the same time brings them into direct relation with humour, the essence of which, as Coleridge points out, consists in confounding together all finite things, in making the great little and the little great, in order to destroy both, and to exhibit them as equal nothings in comparison with the infinite. It is also the reflection of the infinite in these feelings which draws us back towards them after we have done our best to escape from them, which wins us over to love them in spite of their painfulness, and causes us to return to them by the same path that led us from them. Not that humour seeks to restore these feelings in their direct energy, so as once more to pierce the heart and prostrate the nerves with terror and pathos. It seeks to bring them back modified and mitigated by the humorous levity which succeeded

them in the reaction of lassitude, and to restore pathos and terror under the veil of the ludicrous images which the cunning bravado of a light-headed exhaustion first imposed upon them. The preacher, on the contrary, seeks to excite these feelings in their native directness. Thackeray seems to have forgotten this distinction when he describes the humorous writer as one who "professes to awaken and direct your love, your pity, your kindness; your scorn for untruth, pretension, imposture; your tenderness for the weak, the poor, the oppressed, the unhappy;" as one who "comments on all the ordinary actions and passions of life, and takes upon himself to be the week-day preacher." The preacher and the humourist both profess this craft; but one tries to pierce the flesh with fear, and to make men fix their eyes on the Infinite, while the other only tries to awaken an indirect reminiscence of the Infinite, through the disproportion of his language and imagery to the finite things of which he professes to treat. What is the Cervantic method, speaking of ridiculous things in the grandest phrases, or Swift's method, speaking of grand things in the lowest terms, but a perpetual tacit allusion to a common measure, kept in the background, unseen but felt, which equalises all finite magnitudes by the overwhelming disproportion of its transcendent infinity?

But if Thackeray overlooked the distinction between the preacher and humourist, he did not forget the difference between the two kinds of humour. In a remarkable conversation between Pendennis and Warrington⁴ the two men symbolise the two degrees in question. Pen, who has tried every thing, like Solomon, and has found the vanity of all, breaks out into the listless sceptical humour, which neither hopes, nor cares, nor believes. Warrington, struck down by a sorrow essentially different from Thackeray's, but yet similar to it in some of its effects, nurses his grief, and makes it the kindly mother of an equitable view of mankind. The one seeks to escape the presence of the Infinite, through a humorous view of life; the other, by a somewhat similar view, to keep the Infinite ever in mind. "We set up," says Pen, "our paltry little standards to measure Heaven immeasurable, as if, in comparison to that, Newton's mind or Shakespeare's was any loftier than mine . . . measured by that altitude the tallest and the smallest among us are so alike diminutive and pitifully base, that we should take no account of the calculation, and it is meanness to reckon the difference." Warrington answers, "Your figure fails there; if even by common arithmetic we can multiply, as we can reduce, almost infinitely, the Great Reckoner must take account of all; and the small is not small, or

⁴ *Pendennis*, ii. 231-236.

the great great, to His infinity." Pen pretends to descend from the Infinite to the world, and to find all human differences pitifully base. Warrington ascends from these differences to the Infinite, and finds that their distinctions are even enhanced by the process. One divided by infinity is nothing; but one multiplied by infinity is infinite. It is curious that, though Thackeray adopts Pen as his representative, he should make Warrington the representative of his peculiar humour. Perhaps the explanation is, that he is both Pendennis and Warrington, and that the two interlocutors represent two phases of his mind between which he oscillates. Thus the Pendennis speaks in him when he says, "What a good breakfast you eat after an execution! how pleasant it is to cut jokes after it, and upon it!" while the Warrington speaks when with keen irony he seeks to reproduce in his readers the horror he felt at the "blood tonic" of a public hanging. We may remark, in passing, that if any one wishes to see the illogical nature of humour, he has only to read the paper entitled *Going to see a Man hanged*, where he will find an argument against executions, founded on these three propositions: 1. Every man in the crowd was as sensible, and politically as well educated, as myself. 2. The execution produced on me the most profound feeling of shame and horror. 3. Therefore executions are to be abolished, because they produce no feeling at all but one of levity on the unthinking and unreasoning mob. The writer does not seem to have remembered that this levity might be in their case what it was in his own—the reaction against a feeling of horror too overwhelming to be borne for many seconds in its direct incidence.

Thackeray calls himself a week-day, and not a Sunday, preacher. Perhaps the reason is twofold: first, that his style is humorous, seeking to attain a moral end in a roundabout instead of a direct manner; and secondly, that he does not meddle immediately with the highest things. He leaves the Sunday preacher to speak of God, and contents himself with the lower line of enforcing the social virtues. These virtues hold a middle place between the infinite and the finite; they have sufficient magnitude to obliterate by comparison all differences between mere material interests, and to put to shame all the pretensions of rank, wealth, fashion, talents, where virtue and love are wanting,—all the objects for which men usually strive, to the neglect of the heart, and of the love of wife and children. And then when he has done this he turns round upon the affections themselves, and declares them also to be tainted with vanity. Love dies, or corrupts into hatred. Hope satisfied is disappointment. "Oaths mutually sworn, and invocations of heaven, and priestly ceremonies, and fond belief, and love, so fond and beautiful that it

never doubted but that it should live for ever, are all of no avail towards making love eternal; it dies, in spite of the banns and the priest." "*Vanitas vanitatum!* which of us is happy in this world? which of us has his desire? or, having it, is satisfied?" Sorrow inspired him with the mood of Shakespeare's Richard II., and made him sit and talk of graves. It gave him the same humorous conception of death as an antic, scoffing at state, grinning at pomp, contemptuously granting a few hours for conceit to strut through his part, and then boring through his castle-wall with a little pin. It made him wish to throw away tradition, form, and ceremony, and to realise, ideally, Herr Teufelsdröckh's hypochondriac fancy of a whole court stripped naked, and dukes, grandees, bishops, generals, anointed presence itself standing straddling without a shirt on them, leaving the spectator suspended between laughter and tears. But amidst these grim fancies he remembered how the banquet of fruits tasted before it was turned to dust and ashes; how the music sounded before the sweet bells were jangled; how the brave garments glistened before the moth had fretted them. In the midst of the fever which embittered his fine taste for pleasure, furred his tongue, and dulled his appetite, he babbled of good cheer. And the cheery pipe of the brave Epicurean ceased not, though he was crushed and maimed under the heels of a gigantic calamity.

His sorrow, again, working on a nature already, perhaps, inclined to give to the sentimental side of humanity too wide a part in life, and leaving too little room for energy, thought, and skill, made him see the image of his own woe in all other sorrows, and attribute them to similar causes. As there is a selfishness of love, so there is a selfishness of grief. A man may be so enamoured of his own sentiment as to love being in love more than he loves the person with whom he is in love; and he may feel grief so grievously as to transfer his sorrow from the object for which he grieves to his grief itself; he may pity himself more than he pities his lost friend. Thackeray's married life was, we believe, eminently happy; and the blow which deprived him of the society of his wife was one which could only make him pity her and love her the more. Still the effect of a loss thus blamelessly inflicted was materially the same as that of less innocent blows. And Thackeray, sitting by his lonely fireside, might by a small effort of imagination put himself into the place of those who were as hopelessly injured, but by others' faults instead of by the unrespective course of nature. Shakespeare shows us Lear attributing every misery to unkind daughters. He might as naturally have exhibited Hecuba or Niobe seeing in every woe the image of sons and daughters untimely snatched away. He might in all three

cases have gone a step further back, and made Lear, Hecuba, and Niobe find the common source of every sorrow in having sons or daughters at all, or, having them, in loving them too well. A person in a similar situation, contemplating his misery only, and abstracting all consideration of the once dear objects for which he mourned, might easily work himself up to hate, not those objects, but his connection with them—to hate having had a wife, or children, whose loss could entail such a sorrow. All affection involves this possibility of wretchedness. Having thee, says Shakespeare, I have all men's felicity—

“Wretched in this alone, that thou may'st take
All this away, and me most wretched make.”

An ascetic nature would be led by such a course of thought to crush all earthly love. Thackeray was led by it to his theory of mitigated affections. He took the sting out of happiness by putting it on low diet. He guarded against the violence of the reaction by curbing the original energy. He indulged in a melancholy and listless view of life, which made him represent a second marriage as the nearest approach to contented felicity possible on this side the grave. In his novels, the first ventures of passion are generally unfortunate; most of his favourite characters either love or marry the wrong person, and then find their comfort in the company of a child to cheer their widowhood, or, like Warrington, gaze wistfully upon some unattainable Laura and veil their heads in the mantle of aimless endurance, or else find contentment in a new marriage from which they do not expect too much. Middle-aged love was for him the happiest because the most measured. For this cause his novels seldom end with the marriage of the young people, but pursue their career beyond, to show how ill-assorted are these unions of youth. He even advises us to drown our first loves like blind puppies; he hints that the edge of this keen passion should be blunted on two or three transitory attachments before it is fitted for domestic use. Thus the head of a house at Oxford, some twenty years ago, would get an undergraduate to gallop his hack all the morning before he would trust himself on its back for his afternoon ride.

It was not only the violence of passion which he feared as tending to an uncontrollable reaction, but the blindness which such a passion generally produces. He is fond of painting the miseries threatened by ill-assorted unions of families,—such as that of the Pendennises with the Costigans, or with Fanny and her relations, of Warrington with his wife's family, of Clive and his father with the Campaigner's household, of Philip with the Twysdens. For this reason there was one thing which he detested worse than blind passion as a matchmaker—money. For passion he had pity and forgiveness; but a purse-inspecting, lack-love,

mismatching Hymen was for him, next to the gallows and war, the wickedest thing he could think of. Passion might ferment into love; but what relation could there ever be between love and money? He forgot that money was a mere accident, and that it is not the money that a man marries, but the woman who has it; and he forgot the self-adapting powers of the human heart. And so, for a very different reason, he scouted, with Johnson, the idea that matches were made in heaven. The old moralist thought that almost any man and woman might make themselves comfortable together; and that, when it was so easy for people to sort themselves, it was mere irreverence to bring down a god in a machine to do it for them. But Thackeray considered matches in general so ill-sorted that it was as blasphemous to give heaven the credit of the business as to give it credit for the horse-dealing at Tattersall's. He approved of matchmaking; no woman worth a pin is not a matchmaker, he often says. But the most mortal of sinners is the mercenary matchmaker, whose voluntary victims, in a disgusting passage of *Philip*, he compares to the victims of passion, and calls the "true unfortunates." He kept a very hot hole in his Inferno for unbelievers who pronounced it unadvisable to marry without a thousand a year, and made several of his favourite heroes marry on nothing; but they are always saved in the nick of time by the death of a rich uncle or by a legacy. He gives no illustration of the fate of imprudent couples whom no such luck attends.

We have said enough to show with what native simplicity Thackeray exhibits his inmost soul and experiences in his characters, in the circumstances with which he surrounds them, in his humour, and in his moral judgments and opinions. And he reveals his intellect quite as clearly as his heart. We may perhaps call his a proverbial mind. The proverb is the verdict of popular feeling and shrewd common sense on a given line of conduct, pronounced without a thought bestowed on other lines for which an opposite decision might be more fitting. To the over-venturesome, the proverb-monger whispers "a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush," without a misgiving of encouraging that over-caution to which he shouts out the next minute, "nothing venture, nothing win." Proverbs are but extemporaneous, and therefore unarranged, ejaculations of caution or encouragement. They run in couples, pointed against the two contradictory extremes to which any true principle may be pushed. Our old writers were fond of keeping up a game of repartees, dialogue-wise, in proverbs. This could not be done with principles, which take the middle line; though their abuse may be corrected by their attendant proverbs, their true meaning cannot be contradicted without sophistry. There is no

current objection to the principles, "do as you would be done by," and "render to each his due," except in the world of cheats and pickpockets.

If this is the nature of proverbs, a man's mind may be called proverbial when he has a shrewd, observant common sense at the service of a precipitate judgment—when he is so preoccupied by the case in hand that he has no eyes or ears for exceptions, but chivalrously challenges all the world to dispute the sovereign claim of the clear truth which for the moment enthralled his soul. Sufficient for the occasion is the truth thereof. He throws himself into the controversy of the hour, takes the popular side with his whole soul, and devotes all the brilliancy of his wit to stating its principles in the most axiomatic form. He is not careful of contradicting himself. Relying upon the people, he thinks it next door to blasphemy when one man brings his poor logic into competition with the inspirations of the great heart of humanity. He habitually makes the reason a parasite of feeling, devotes the brain to the service of the heart, and is ashamed at no lapse of logic which is defensible by sentiment. He treats reason as the Philistines treated Samson; he sets it to grind, or brings it out to make sport. He suspects intellectual superiority to be rather a stumbling-block than a spur to jog-trot goodness, and only to be valued as lending a tongue to geniality, nature, cordiality, freshness, and honest impulsiveness, wherewith to defy, ridicule, and lampoon their opposites. Or he takes another road, and views every thing from the standpoint of the most wide-awake self-interest. He rejoices in exhibiting art, reason, genius, respectability, in undress and slippers, to the confusion of prim people. He recklessly shows up his enemies, himself, and his friends, who are duly grateful. He loves to contradict some respectable old platitude, some self-evident truth to which he has discovered an exception. "It is an error," says Thackeray, "to talk of the simplicity of youth. No persons are more hypocritical, and have a more affected behaviour to one another than the young. They deceive themselves and each other with artifices which do not impose upon men of the world; and so we get to understand truth better, and grow simpler, as we grow older."

The two classes into which Thackeray's writings and characters divide themselves are a natural result of the polarity of the proverbial mind, which evacuates the flats in the middle, and occupies the heights on each hand. Hence also comes his multifariousness, which is the despair of critics. He has no care to be consistent. His soul is a crystal of many facets, each reflecting truly and brilliantly the scene lying in its axis. His hospitable brain is tolerant of contradictions. He not only sees that

a fact is a fact, in spite of want of logic, but he also takes his generalisations for facts, and exalts his proverbial maxim, flashed out from two or three instances, into a general principle, and so passes from the truth that contradictory-looking facts are possible together, to the fiction that contradictory principles can coexist,—a fiction which gradually undermines all allegiance to intellectual truth, sets up sincerity as more true than orthodoxy, squeezes all dogma out of religion, all certainty out of philosophy, all principles out of politics, and all form, ceremony, degree, and order out of society. Then he more easily pardons sins against truth than against beauty, and so cuts away the old ground of respectable criticism. The literary honours he seeks are tears and sympathy with his sorrow and his mirth. He would be the toast-master to direct the sentiments of mankind, rather than the philosopher to guide their belief. With logical shamelessness he mixes a certain want of shame for æsthetic weaknesses which minds less tender seek to conceal. With his contempt for critics, he makes no secret of his annoyance at criticism; yet, with his want of fixed principles, he often adopts for the moment those of the critic who inflicts the wound. Or he staves-off criticism by being beforehand with it, anticipating grumblers by himself saying what he knows they will say. “Pereant male qui ante nos nostra dixerunt!” Nothing is easier than to criticise Thackeray’s weak places; but nothing is harder than to say of them what he has not somewhere said before us. He seeks indulgence for his sin by a ‘previous confession of it, and puts on the penitential sheet before he utters his lampoons. He is sorry that such a set has always been made against clever women, and then he creates a Becky and a Beatrix! He tells us that a public school ruins a boy body and soul,⁵ and then dwells lovingly on his Charter-House life. He abuses Dickens and Ainsworth for erecting thieves and prostitutes into heroes and heroines by an *ex-parte* statement of their virtues, and then praises *Oliver Twist* almost as pious reading. At the end of *Pendennis* he tells us how the hero, that is himself, became a member of parliament. In *The Newcomes* that dignity is achieved by the Colonel; but in *Philip*, after the Oxford failure of 1857, he makes the cynical but truth-speaking old lord wish some tyrant would shut up all our “jaw-shops,” and gives the sour vintage as a prize to the wicked Mulatto. To make a catalogue of his various contradictions would be an endless task, and would not help us much to discriminate his character, since similar contradictions are common to all comprehensive intellects. We call Shakespeare “myriad-minded,” because “millions of strange shadows” attended on him. Instead of the one shade which

⁵ *Miscell.* iv. 241.

common mortals cast, he, but one, could "every shadow lend." But he combined all their tones into one mighty volume, whereas in Thackeray we seek in vain for any such combining force. The first principle in Shakespeare's mind was that which gave the sceptre to "degree, priority, and place, insistence, course, proportion, season, form, office, and custom in all line of order." The first effect of Thackeray's philosophy is to undermine the supremacy of order and ceremony because of the abuses to which it gives rise. He hated the cut-and-dry in the state, in society, or in the mind. He had not much sympathy with the starched ruffles of the Elizabethan epoch. He liked the loose extemporaneous epigrammatic flashes of Anne's time, or the mythical wildness of the youth of Henry V., the young prince and Poins, of which period he once contemplated writing a story. He believed in wild oats. He thought, with old Flowerdale in the *London Prodigal*, that "they who die most virtuous have in their youth lived most vicious." Shakespeare believed in them too,—as a possibility, not as a necessity. He did not take a reformed prodigal as his universal type of the manly character. Thackeray made his wild-oats theory almost into an axiom, whereas Shakespeare only made it one among the numberless colours which he employed in painting his great panorama of humanity.

His dislike to the cut-and-dry, which led him to prefer the literature of the age of Anne,—Addison, Steele, Fielding, and Swift, and the "cheery charming gossip" of Horace Walpole, leading us through his "brilliant, jiggling, smirking *Vanity Fair*," together with Howell's *Letters*, Montaigne's *Essays*, French literature generally, and, above all, Horace,—did not prevent him from being a man of artificial mind. However much he railed at the forms of polite society, he understood them better than the forms of humanity. Compare his backgrounds with George Eliot's. George Eliot has nothing more busy, nothing more true to life, than that wonderful picture of Waterloo without the fighting, which we have in *Vanity Fair*. Yet, when we come to look at it, it is but a busy mass of camp-followers. All the artificial combinations of men—a regiment, a school, a college, an academy of arts, a boarding-house, a drawing-room, ambubaiarum collegia, pharmacopolæ—he paints them all to perfection; but not a populace, not a mob, not the society of a country town or a village, not a civil or political society, not even a family. Where George Eliot would have given us the movements of the Brussels mob and of the native society, Thackeray only gives us the pulsations of the hearts of the officer's wives and servants, and of runaway soldiers and their sweethearts. What idea have we of the domestic economy of the Pendennis, or Newcomes,

or Twysdens, comparable to that which George Eliot gives us of the miller on the Floss, his children, his wife, and sisters-in-law, or of the Bedes, the Poyzers, or the Casses? Thackeray is in his glory in the drawing-room, the club, the studio, the ball-room, at Baden Baden, or at the West-End of London; where George Eliot is almost as clumsy as a swan on a turnpike road. He hardly recognised the fact that the literary, artistic, learned, and polite society which he enjoyed so much was only the bloom of a vast tree, the top-story of an enormous basement, all held together by the gradation, law, and order, which his philosophy unduly depreciates. He was somewhat like the rustic who sat on the branch that he was sawing off.

His artistic forms were determined by his vocation as preacher and humourist. As preacher he was not subject to the law *actum ne agas*, but had a perfect right to iterate his lessons. "Oh, my beloved congregation, I have preached this stale sermon to you for ever so many years." As humourist he was not bound to be consecutive; for digression is the very form and vehicle of humour, which is not found in orderly arrangement, but in extraordinary comparisons and juxtapositions of the great with the little. He reconciled the somewhat inconsistent tasks of humourist and story-teller in three different ways. The most artistic is that used in *Barry Lyndon*, *Esmond*, and *Lovel the Widower*, where the hero is also the narrator. For in an autobiography the author does not profess to deal only with the events, but also with the impression they make on him: his reflections are perfectly in place; they are no impertinent interferences, but integral parts of the original design. In his other novels he either acts as chorus in his own person, or employs some fictitious character as narrator and chorus. In *Vanity Fair* he uses the former method, and asks leave, introducing his characters, to step down from the platform and offer his explanations about them. Otherwise, he says, you might fancy it was I who was sneering at devotion, or laughing good-humouredly at a drunken villain. Where he uses a fictitious person like Pendennis to narrate for him, the effect is improved; Pendennis and Laura, like George Eliot's village or Florentine communities, form a kind of background to the piece, and serve to connect the plot with the preachings.

Several causes conspire to make *Esmond* his best novel. We have already noticed the value of its autobiographical form. Another reason is its thoroughly literary character. Alone of his larger works it was not given to the world in monthly parts, but all at once. Its laborious imitation of the style of the writers of Anne's age, its circumstantial exactness to the costume, the manners, and the feelings of those times, were voluntary fetters, which

only increased the agility and grace of the athlete. It will not be so valuable to the antiquarian of the next century as a contemporary painting; but it will be proportionately more valuable to the poet as a picture of human nature. Pegasus never exhibits his mettle so well as when he is checked with the brake; nothing makes the reader yawn more than an art which flew down the writer's mouth while he was yawning. Labour sharpens the mind and polishes the wit; its benefit is not confined to the single detail on which it is expended; it reacts on the workman, and through him on his whole work and all its parts. To aim at clearness of expression is also to seek clearness of thought, logical arrangement of parts, and unity of the whole. *Esmond* has Thackeray's best plot, some of his best characters, his most subtle reflections, his most delicate pathos, and his most poetic language. There are single sentences in it which contain more poetry than all his ballads, the best of which are the funniest and most nonsensical.

Vanity Fair is his most objective work, because none of the characters in it are portraits of himself. Dobbin, perhaps, like his more finished successor Colonel Newcome, is a character partially copied from the simpler and less vigorous side of Thackeray's own nature. But he was never meant for a representative of the author, like Pen, Clive, and Philip. The other characters of the book are painted not from the author's self-consciousness, but from imagination not over-much disturbed by theory, and employing its extraordinary powers of observation with Shandean minuteness. Here his knowledge of the world comes out in great force, reflected in Becky's tact. He is said to have been not remarkably gifted with this quality; and in painting it so well, therefore, he gave proof of being able to appreciate what he was unable to assimilate. But it is one thing to write, another to act on the spur of the moment. Thackeray complains that his inward counsellor was a tardy Epimetheus, and that his best witticisms were generally too late.

He was chary of his ideas. As Cervantes traverses the same ground for the second, third, or fourth time, if he can find so many improved methods of going over it, so Thackeray gathers up the ideas he has wasted, or has not made the most of, and works them up again. His successive portraits of managing old women—Miss Crawley, Lady Castlewood, Lady Rockminster, the Baroness Bernstein, and Lady Kew—are well worth studying, as varied developments of a single idea. He used a character or an incident as a musician uses a tune; he repeated it, or varied it, or inverted it, as his fancy moved him. We see the last method employed in the inverted correspondence between the parentage of *Esmond* and that of Philip Firmin—and between

Esmond's renunciation of his mother's rights for fear of dispossessing Frank Castlewood, and the little sister's renunciation of her own rights for fear of dispossessing Philip.

We fear we have said too little on Thackeray's comic power; indeed, we have said nothing about it, except what is implied in our remarks on his humour. And, perhaps, the less said the better. "Qui ejus rei rationem quandam conati sunt artemque tradere," says Cæsar in Cicero, "sic insulsi exstiterunt, ut nihil aliud eorum, nisi ipsa insulsitas, rideatur." Neither will we praise the beauty of his language in our rough periods. Nor will we speak of his drawings. But there is one subject on which we are constrained to say a few words—his religious tendencies. There can be no doubt that he once tried to be a Catholic. "I cannot believe," he makes Esmond say, "that St. Francis Xavier sailed over the sea in a cloak, or raised the dead. I tried, and very nearly did once, but cannot." Comparing this with similar passages in *Pendennis* and *The Newcomes*, we cannot doubt its being a confession both of his tendency and of the obstacles which checked him. At some period of his life, and in accordance with the nature of his mind, more prone to believe in persons than principles, he was led by some that he loved or admired to wish to believe in the old religion; but then came in the wearied scepticism which he has painted in *Pendennis*, too exhausted to distinguish between substance and accident, between the eternal truths which the new convert must necessarily accept, and the extraneous remnants of ancestral tradition which old believers naturally cling to, without having the right to impose them on the proselyte. No, he seems to say, truth is truth; a chain is no stronger than its weakest link; a system is not more true than the most extraneous doctrine which it allows and encourages. If St. Francis's cloak-boat founders, St. Peter's bark is wrecked too. In relation to the Infinite, both are alike, and it is meanness to note the difference. Hence he contracted a great and increasing dislike for the Catholic system, upon which he stuck all the aberrations of casuists, all the impossibilities of legends, all the false opinions of extravagant theologians, all the political insincerities and crimes of plotters and conspirators for religious ends. The result was to turn our creed into a monstrous incredibility, which he very properly refused to accept. But while he was thus unfair to the system, he took care to paint portraits of its professors for which Catholics owe him some gratitude. He says that among them alone can real devotion be found, or real interest in doctrine for its own sake be met with. The portrait of old Madame de Florac is as good and true as any Catholic could have painted; and its effect is enhanced by a comparison with her pendants, Lady Walham and Lady Jane Crawley.

Father Holt, with all his absurd plots, is a much more reputable figure than the Tushers, Sampsons, Honeymans, and Hunts, who represent the clergy of his own communion. With his usual luck, his liking went one way and his judgment another. Those who consider his philosophical judgment stronger than his insight into character will do well to constitute him a new witness for Protestantism.

We end as we began; on whichever side we look at Thackeray, we see that his great characteristic was the manifestation of soul. Every thing in him was subservient to this great object of his life and art. Yet, with all this consistency, a thorough want of unity is every where noticeable. He divided his soul from his reason, and his reason against itself. His soul, numerically one, set about its task of self-manifestation in all simplicity and purity. Yet, rejecting the primacy of reason, it could arrive at no fixed criterion, no unassailable principles of judgment. It is weakly attracted by other souls; it clings to persons, to friends, to any one who says a kind word, does a kind deed, smiles or laughs or weeps with it. Hence it is at the mercy of impostors and pretenders, believing every man till it finds him out, and then believing him in nothing; exhibiting first an impetuous credulity that accepts the heresy for love of the heretic, and then an obstinate unbelief that rejects the truth out of disgust for the orthodox offender; walking through the world as a chameleon, borrowing its tints from the colours which surround it, from the hues which happen to be in the air, without possessing any sovereign principle which enables it to choose what is true, and to reject what is false and unreasonable.

But throughout these changes Thackeray in the main preserved his ethical uprightness, and kept his heart pure. Though, under the influence of the muscular school of religion, he in his later days showed a tendency to excuse little wrongs done to secure great rights, his lessons in other respects were all on the side of virtue. He never wrote what could raise a blush on the most modest face. He ever loathed such geniuses as Rousseau or Richardson, who could paint so accurately the struggles and woes of Eloise and Clarissa, and the wicked arts and triumphs of Lovelace. Like Chiron, he was a master of our school of gentlemen, the inventor of a music to charm our ears, of a medicine to heal some of our lighter wounds. Like Chiron, too, he was great, but not complete—a union of discords not harmonised by any triumphant, dominant note. The *fantasia* he played to us was brilliant and various, pathetic and comic by turns. The figure he displayed to us was a noble one, full of strength, and refined as far as art could polish it. But still—

“Stat duplex, nullo completus corpore, Chiron.”

INDIAN EPIC POETRY.¹

THE comparison of the forms which epic poetry has developed in different ages and countries, while it reveals their various individual characteristics, yet leads us to the conclusion that there are certain general features which will be found whenever and wherever such poetry arises. All these general characteristics may be stated in the one proposition that the epic, rightly so called, is essentially popular, the work of unlearned men for unlearned men. Its birth and home is amongst the lower orders, as is or was the case with the Servian ballads, the Finnish runes, the Danish and Swedish popular lays, and the songs of the Færö islanders ; or else, it is essentially the poetry of a warlike aristocracy, intended for their praise and amusement, which is the case of the *Chanson de Roland* and the Old Norse Eddaic songs. As war was in olden times more or less the occupation of at least every free-born man, it is sometimes difficult to say whether the epic songs celebrating its exploits are more especially the property of the people at large or of their noble chieftains. Instances of this difficulty are furnished by the German *Nibelungen*, the *Romances of the Cid*, and the *Iliad*. But one thing is quite certain. The poets, whether they belong to the lower ranks or to the aristocracy, are, like their audience, unlettered men, better able to wield the sword, or maybe in some instances the implements of agriculture, than the pen.

Hence it follows that all genuine epic poetry is at its beginning composed in the popular language, and handed down by oral tradition. Afterwards, when it has been written down, it may become the object of more or less artificial and learned imitation ; and then it may make use of an antiquated form of speech, nay, occasionally even of a foreign language, as is done in many medieval epics, based on popular tradition, but written in Latin.

Poetry can only be listened to in the intervals of serious activity. Such moments of repose are necessarily short. Festivities and banquets are not every-day occurrences ; and even when they arrive, but a small part of their duration can be occupied in listening to the minstrel. Necessarily, therefore, the poems recited must be short, as the time as well as the patience of the hearers would soon be exhausted. The ballad

¹ *Le Mahābhārata*, traduit complètement pour la première fois du sanscrit en français par H. Fauche. Vol. I. Paris, 1863.

is consequently the natural and original form of all epic poetry. Wherever in modern times we have been able, so to speak, to lay hold on the epic in the act of its generation, we have invariably found short poems, which might be easily connected with larger wholes, but which, as a matter of fact, have not been so connected. Witness the Scandinavian and Servian songs, and the Finnish Kalevala, which has been constructed by the Swedish editors out of a number of small pieces; and Macpherson's ingenious forgery must give way before the genuine Ossianic poetry, as contained, for instance, in the Book of Lismore, and consisting of course of short pieces. It stands to reason, therefore, that the Eddaic songs about Sigurd present a more original form of the Teutonic epic than the long continuous poem of the Nibelungen, and that the Poema del Cid is founded on short romances about the Spanish hero, similar to those that we still possess. In the same manner, we should be justified in concluding that the Iliad must have been preceded by short ballads on Achilles and the siege of Troy, and that the same would hold good of the Chanson de Roland, even if traces of the existence of such shorter poems had not been pointed out, in the former case by Lachmann, and in the latter by Fauriel. We need scarcely remark that, when such popular songs are once in existence, it may be possible, even perhaps *without* the help of writing, for a poetical genius to plan and execute a composition on a larger scale,—a so-called epos. Such a poem may, of course, hold every possible relation to the old ballads, from merely stringing them together, as in the case of the Kalevala, to such an almost complete unity as the Odyssey seems to present; and when once constructed, by whatever means, it will call forth naturally other works of a similar character. What we must insist upon is only this—that the origin of all these long works is invariably to be traced to short ballads.

The characteristics we have ascribed to epic poetry imply that in the vast majority of cases it would only originate and thrive in a semi-civilised society. Such a society is almost always habitually engaged in warfare. Hence epic poetry is, as a rule, extremely warlike, the only notable exception being presented by the Finnish Kalevala, the peculiarity of which in this respect is to be accounted for by the position of the nation, the Swedish rule having forced the Finns long ago to abandon war and take to peaceful occupations.

If we now turn to the two great works which are for us the representatives of the achievements of the Hindus in this department of literature, namely, the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana, we shall be struck at first sight with the remarkable con-

trast they present to the epic characteristics laid down above. For nearly the only point in which these Indian productions would seem to agree with the European epics is their strongly warlike spirit. A great battle between the Kauravas and Pándavas, two mythical races of kings, forms the centre of the Mahábhárata; and the subject of the Rámáyana is the war of Rama against a superhuman monster, Ravana. We shall presently have to limit our assertion, and shall point out that, intimately blended with the heroic enthusiasm, there is in these great poems a spirit of piety and religiousness which shows that other besides warlike influences have been at work in the creation of them. But in spite of these other currents of thought and feeling, the stir and activity of military life is visible every where and decidedly paramount. Even the gods act in a martial way. Not only do they provide their favourite heroes with celestial weapons, but Indra [Zeus], for instance, is busily engaged in fighting the demons, and S'iva encounters Arjuna in the shape of a mountaineer. The Brahmans themselves share this fierce spirit. Paras'uráma (i. e. the Ráma of the hatchet), a descendant of the holy sage Bhrigu, and son of the hermit Jamadagni, is a good example of this. The king Arjuna had been received hospitably by Jamadagni; but in return for this goodness he had carried off the calf of the sage's sacrificial car. Paras'uráma, incensed at this injustice towards his father, slays Arjuna, and Arjuna's sons in turn kill Jamadagni, whereupon Paras'uráma vows and executes severe vengeance on all the Kshattriya (warrior) caste.² "Having greatly and piteously lamented his father in manifold wise, he of great penance performed for him all the sacrificial ceremonies; Ráma, the conqueror of the towns of his foes, burned his father in fire; and he promised to destroy the whole caste of warriors. Full of anger and of strength, the powerful hero having taken his weapon, killed all the sons of Arjuna, like unto the god of death. And the Kshattriyas who were their followers, them also Ráma crushed all, he the best of champions: twenty-seven times emptying the earth of all Kshattriyas, he, the lord, made five lakes of blood in Samanta-panchaka. And then by a great sacrifice the son of Jamadagni satiated the gods, and gave the earth to the officiating priests. Thus there arose enmity between him and the Kshattriyas dwelling in the world, and thus the earth also was conquered by Ráma of unmeasured splendour."

Strange deeds these certainly for a member of the Brahmanic caste, and the son of a holy anchorite; and we may well maintain that epic poetry which attributes such deeds even to

² Mahábhárata, b. iv. 20100.

priests is intensely warlike. But, on the other hand, this story of Paras'urāma (who, by the bye, is entirely different from the hero of the Rāmāyana) evidently is intended to teach a severe lesson to the men of the military caste ; inasmuch as it records the fearful vengeance which an injured Brahman can bring upon his enemies.

And this leads us to the second peculiarity of the Indian epic, namely, its religious, or, to speak more correctly, priestly and hierarchical character. Every where the duties of religion, sacrifices, respect for the Brahmans, &c. are inculcated in it, and its heroes—at least most of them—are as eminent for their piety as for their bravery. In the episode of Savitrī, which forms part of the third book of the Mahābhārata, the character of Satyavat, who is the husband of the princess just named, and is evidently intended as a paragon of all possible excellences, is thus described by Nārada, the divine messenger:³ “He is like Vivasvat [the sun] shining, equal to Vrihaspati [the priest of the gods] in wisdom, like the great Indra a hero, like the earth patient, in benevolence like unto Ratideva the offspring of San-krita, by his own accord, pious, speaking the truth, as Śivi the king of Uś'īnara, as the magnanimous Yayāti of friendly aspect, like one of the two As'vins [Dioscuri] in beauty, is the strong son of Dyumatsena. He is a self-conquering and mild hero ; he is truthful, holding his senses in subjection. He is amiable, not given to discontent, modest, and resolute ; and for ever there is in him justice and unwavering firmness. Thus is he described by the sages rich in penance and virtue.” Nārada goes on to state that, but for the circumstance of his being destined to an early death, there would be indeed no fault in this excellent young hero. It is true this is only an ideal ; but some of the great personages of the Indian epic, such as Rama and Yudhishtira, the latter one of the heroes of the Mahābhārata, present similar features, as far as they can be made consistent with their warlike exploits. That such ideals of character, as well as that of the avenger Paras'urāma, were conceived by Brahmans there can be no doubt. After this, it is not surprising that the Indian epic should have long didactic passages, chiefly intended to inculcate the peculiar Brahmanical philosophy, and due obedience of the other castes to the priests. Nor shall we feel much astonishment when we hear that the Mahābhārata is actually looked upon as a religious book, and that it is described in the introduction in the following manner:⁴ “The twice-born,⁵ who knows the four Vedas, with the Vedāngas and

³ iii. 16672.

⁴ i. 645.

⁵ By “twice-born” are meant the three upper castes, as receiving their second spiritual birth by the study of scripture.

Upanishads,⁶ but does not know this story, cannot be a wise man. From the sin which a Brahman commits during the day, through the action of the senses, he is free if he recites the *Mahábhárata* at evening twilight; from the sin which he commits in the night by act, thought, or deed, he is freed if he recites the *Mahábhárata* in the morning." Similar promises abound throughout the work. Thus, at the end of the episode of the deluge, it is said that whoever is a constant hearer of it "he will go to heaven in happiness with all his wishes fulfilled." No wonder that the *Mahábhárata* should claim for itself equal authority with the Vedic writings:⁷ "The wise man who recites this poem, and those who hear it, reaching the station of Brahma, obtain similitude with the gods. For it is united with the Vedas, and the highest means of purification. In it the way to riches and pleasure is entirely propounded, and the highest wisdom is in this very holy epic. If a wise man recites before noble, liberal, truthful, and believing men this *Veda of Krishna* [name of the author, otherwise Vyása], he shall enjoy riches. Even from the guilt of the murder of an unborn child a man is released hearing this epic, even though he be a fearful sinner."

How entirely the peculiar religious notions of the Brahmans are blended with the idea of epic poetry, is clearly seen from an amusing attempt at translating the beginning of the *Iliad* into Sanskrit, which is to be found in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*.⁸ It was composed by a learned Hindu at the request of a European scholar, and runs thus: "Why has the noble son of Páliyas, Akhilísa, engaged in meditation, formerly uttered a curse against the Akháyas, he the proud sage, saying: All of you shall meet your end in battle, you wicked ones. These bodies of yours shall be the food of jackals, dogs, and birds, and your souls shall depart to the nether world." In spite of the names, few of us would have recognised the fierce son of Thetis in this disguise, using curses instead of weapons. But nothing could be more truly Indian; and the Hindu poems abound in stories of miraculous vengeance inflicted on evil-doers by the mere word of a holy anchorite. It is certain, then, that, however much the Kshattriya caste contributed to the *Mahábhárata* and *Rámáyana*, the Brahmans have had a great deal to do with their composition. If, therefore, the *Mahábhárata* states of itself that it was composed by Vyása, a son of the

⁶ These constitute (with the Brahmanas) the scripture of the Hindus, the Vedas themselves being collections of hymns, the Vedángas works illustrating them, and the Upanishads philosophical treatises.

⁷ i. 2299.

⁸ vi. 108.

sage Paras'ara, and first recited by the Brahman Vais'ampayana, we may take this, upon the whole, as a fair representation of the part played by the priestly caste in originating the epics. The groundwork must undoubtedly have been due to the minstrels of the warrior caste; but it has been overlaid and to a great extent intrinsically altered by Brahmanic additions and modifications. In so far as this has been the case, the originally popular and warlike character has been obscured, and other features have been substituted which separate the Indian epic from the similar productions of other nations.

As with the spirit, so it is with the form of these Indian poems. What more striking contrast could be conceived than that between a short ballad and the bulky volumes which go by the name of the *Mahábhárata*? The Sanskrit text of these, without a single note, occupies four large closely-printed quartos; and M. Fauche, the French translator, informs us in his preface that he hopes to finish the translation of the entire work in sixteen volumes, of which the only one yet published contains 599 pages octavo of closely-printed matter. According to a statement in the Introduction of the *Mahábhárata* itself,⁹ the work contains 100,000 *s'loka*s or double verses, counting all the episodes, but only 24,000 without them; that is, even in this latter shape it would be more than twice as long as the *Iliad*, whilst in its integrity it would have ten times the bulk of the Greek poem,—an estimate which is rather under than above the truth. Similarly the *Rámáyana* occupies in Gorresio's edition five large octavo volumes. It seems, indeed, as if the Hindus in their literary productions wished to rival the dimensions of the gigantic nature by which they are surrounded. Under these circumstances, it is natural that the range of subjects, especially in the *Mahábhárata*, should be almost unlimited. The poem itself boasts of the fact.¹⁰ "This is a treatise on riches, this is the great treatise on law, this is the treatise on love, spoken by the Vyása of unmeasured wisdom. There is no tale on earth unless it be derived from this poem, as there is no support of the body unless derived from food. On this poem the best poets exist, as the worshippers desiring success exist on the favour of *Is'vara* [*S'iva*]."

These statements are perfectly true. The whole legendary history of India is to be found in the *Mahábhárata*. The very story of *Ráma*, which is the subject of the second great epic, occurs with numberless other episodes in the third book.¹¹ The well-known poem of "*Nala and Damayanti*" is but an episode of the same book. Another is the "*Bhagavadgita*," a long exposition of the *Yága* philosophy, in the sixth book.¹² It is in-

⁹ i. 100.

¹⁰ i. 646.

¹¹ 16873.

¹² 830.

roduced in the strangest possible manner. Arjuna, being ready to fight, is suddenly struck by the thought that his adversaries are his relations, and that therefore he ought to spare them. Krishna, his charioteer, takes this occasion to expound to him the doctrine of the eternity and unity of all spirits, their indestructibility, and their identity and final absorption into the divine spirit, of which he (Krishna) declares himself the special incarnation. This philosophical disquisition takes place on the chariot, in view of the battle-field, where the armies are already in action. Arjuna, being satisfied at last that his enemies are as eternal and in substance the same as himself, then goes forward into the battle. Any thing more utterly at variance with probability and epic usages than this lecture, in the midst of the din of a battle, could scarcely be conceived; whilst the subject-matter of the episode, however beautifully treated, is equally foreign to the genius of epic poetry. Nor is this an isolated case, for in the twelfth book we have three long didactic treatises in verse,—the “Rāja-dharma, or duty of kings,” the “A’pad-dharma, or rules of conduct in misfortune,” and the “Móksha-dharma, or rules for obtaining release from finite existence.”

The Mahábhárata may therefore fitly be described as a kind of encyclopædia of mythology and philosophy, consisting of numberless poems, strung together by, and interwoven with, the story of a battle between the Kurus and Pándus. That such a production is to the highest degree artificial, and the work of the learned, in this case of the Brahmans, needs no proof.

An equally remarkable characteristic of the Hindu epic is the use of a language different from that of the nation at large. The inscriptions of king As’oka, the object of which was the spread of Buddhism, were addressed to the people; and from this fact, and from the circumstance that these inscriptions are not written in Sanskrit, but in different kinds of Pali (a language derived from Sanskrit in the same way as Italian is from Latin), we must conclude that in As’oka’s time (i.e. 250 B.C.) Sanskrit was a dead language. Now it can easily be proved that both the Mahábhárata and Rámáyana are, in their present form at least, much younger than As’oka. This results from the mention in both of them of nations with which the Hindus could only have become acquainted long after Alexander (330). The Greeks themselves are frequently mentioned, under the name of Yavana. This word is derived from the Greek name of the Ionians, *Ἰῶνες*, *Id(f)ones*, and was used at an early period throughout Western Asia as the name of the Hellenic nation (Hebrew *Yavan*, old Persian *Yauna*). The theory propounded by Lassen, that it sometimes signifies other nations,

—Arabs, Chaldeans, &c.—seems to rest on no foundation whatever. A king of the Yavana is mentioned as taking part in the great assembly of princes that were suitors for the hand of the heroine of the Mahābhārata;¹³ and in the decisive battle there appears on the side of the Kurus king Sudakshina of Kamboja (a region in the Penjab), together with the Yavanas and S'akas.¹⁴ These and similar passages evidently prove that at the time when the leading story of the great epic—for they occur in the body of the poem, not in episodes only—received its present form, the Hindus were perfectly familiar with the name of the Greeks, and regarded them as sufficiently near to themselves to take part in feasts and battles occurring in India. Such a view could of course only arise after Alexander, when the Greek kings of Syria, Bactria, and the Penjab, made themselves known and felt as powerful rulers. Lassen, indeed, assumes that some account of the heroic battles of Thermopylæ, Salamis, and Plataea, might have reached India; but we must not forget that although to us, who look back upon and are conscious of their vast consequences, these events appear all-important, they would not present that appearance to the contemporary Asiatic nations. A local defeat of the Persian arms, which left the Persian empire as a whole intact and powerful, is not likely to have spread the name and renown of a little tribe on the shores of the Ægean as far as India. We have, however, still more positive proof that the Yavanas mentioned by the Mahābhārata are the successors of Alexander, in a passage of the first book:¹⁵ "The prince of Sauvira was killed by Arjuna. He whom even the mighty Pāndu could not conquer, that king of the Yavanas was conquered by Arjuna. The prince of Sauvira, Vitula by name, very strong, and always defiant against the Kurus, was killed by the wise Pārtha [= Arjuna]. Arjuna overcame with his arrows the Sauvira prince. Sumitra, desirous of battle, known by the name Dattāmitra, accompanied by Bhīmasena, and with one chariot Arjuna conquered ten thousand chariots and all the western tribes." From this passage it results that there is in the poet's mind an intimate connection between the Sauvira (a people near the Indus) and the Yavanas, if indeed they are not absolutely the same. One prince of these united Sauvira-Yavanas is called Sumitra, otherwise Dattāmitra, and has been identified by Lassen with the Greek king Demetrius of Bactria, whose reign began at about 200 B.C., and who afterwards made great conquests in the Penjab. This conjecture is confirmed by the fact that the scholiast of Pānini knows a locality Dattāmitrī (á), of which the inhabitants are called Dattāmitriya; and a Pali in-

¹³ i. 7020.

¹⁴ vi. 590.

¹⁵ 5534.

scription lately found calls these Dátámitiyaka Yonaka,¹⁶—the Greeks of Dáttamitrá. Evidently Demetrius, like other Greek kings in Asia, founded a city called after himself. He is not the only Greek king mentioned in the Mahábhárata. In the second book¹⁷ one of the heroes is told by Krishna: "The lord of the Yavanas who rules Muru [Marwar] and Naraka, a king of infinite strength, holding the west, like Varuna, he the powerful monarch Bhagadatta, is an old friend of thy father's." Bhagadatta, "given by Bhaga" (the sun), seems to be a translation of Ἀπολλόδοτος, "given by Apollo," the name of one of the Greek Punjab kings about 160 B.C. It is clear that some time must have elapsed before these historical monarchs could become so mixed up with the ancient mythological tales of the Hindus. In one of the passages quoted above, the S'akas occur along with the Greeks as taking part in the great battle. They are frequently mentioned, and especially with the Tukháras or Tusháras, who fought beside them and the Greeks in the great battle.¹⁸ They are the nomadic tribes called by the Greeks Sacæ and Tocharæ, who were originally the inhabitants of the plains beyond the Iaxartes, but who overran Iran about 130 B.C., and afterwards also invaded the west of Hindostan. It is possible that the Hindus might have known these tribes when they still inhabited the northern plains; but when they appear as taking part in the battle fought in the midst of India, the most natural supposition is that there had been wars between them and the Hindus, which could only have happened after 130 B.C. We have most probably a trace of the Romans in the twelfth book,¹⁹ where Siva causes a fearful being, called Vírabhadra, to come forth out of his mouth. "Vírabhadra sends forth from the pores of his body [romakúpebhyo] the Raumyas, the lords of hosts. These hosts were like Rudra, terrible, of terrible strength." Rumá, indeed, is a district not far from Ajmer; but it is not likely that the inhabitants of this insignificant spot should be intended rather than the great conquerors of the west, whose country is otherwise known to the Hindus as Romaka.²⁰ In an episode of the Mahábhárata²¹ we find even mentioned along with Yavanas and S'akas another nomadic tribe, the Húnas, evidently the white Huns, who in the course of the fifth century of our era devastated Persia and, it appears, also part of India. It is scarcely probable, though barely possible, that they should have come under the notice of the Hindus before that time, seeing that the Greeks and Romans, who were much better acquainted

¹⁶ See Weber, *Indische Studien*, v. 160.

¹⁷ v. 578.

¹⁸ vi. 3297.

¹⁹ 10304.

²⁰ *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Great Britain*, xx. p. 383.

²¹ i. 6685.

with Turan than the Indians, never mention them. Be that, however, as it may, sufficient reasons have been adduced to prove that the Mahābhārata, such as we have it, is considerably younger than king As'oka (250), and therefore belongs to a period when Sanskrit had long ceased to be a spoken language.

The same must be said of the Rāmāyana. The references, indeed, to foreign nations and recent events are more rare in it; but this is easily explained by the fact that southern India was the scene of Rāma's wars, so that there was less occasion to mention events happening on the outskirts. Nevertheless the Yavanas and Śakas appear in connection with each other (Śakān Yavanamis'ritān, "Y. mixed with S."), as powerful nations;²² and lest it should be objected that this passage stands in an episode, they appear again in the fourth book²³ and apparently in the immediate neighbourhood of India, if not in India; for they are placed between the Gandāhra (Penjab) and the Odra (Orissa). That at least the Greeks would not be thus introduced before Alexander, we have shown above, and a confirmation is afforded by the fact that the town Demetria, founded by Demetrius of Bactria, is mentioned also,²⁴ in the form Dandāmitrā, an evident corruption of the older form Dāttāmitra. These facts are sufficient to show that the Rāmāyana, like the Mahābhārata, received its present form at a time when Sanskrit was extinct.

To sum up our preceding remarks, we may say that the epics of India, though, on the one hand, they are not lacking in the warlike spirit so characteristic of this kind of poetry, are, on the other hand, artificial creations, of immense bulk, of a strongly sacerdotal character, and written, in part at least, in a language no longer spoken by the nation.

The question now presents itself: How is this state of matters to be explained; and what means have we of tracing the origin of these vast compositions to the simpler songs which, unless the analogy of all other epic poetry is entirely misleading, must certainly have preceded them.

In comparing the epic poems with the oldest monument of Indian literature, the Rīgveda, we find great differences between the two. Already the language of the epics is much more modern, having exchanged many of the ancient words

²² i. 55, 20.

²³ 44, 13.

²⁴ iv. 4320. Gorresio, following, it would appear, the majority of Mss., puts here in the text "strīnām s'okāvāhan sthānan dattam Indrena rushyatā," which he translates by "la sede dolente che Indra irato assegnò alle donne;" but in his note he confesses that he knows nothing further about this limbo of ladies. The reading of codex G, rejected by him, is evidently more ancient, "the country of the women (Amazons), the country of the Pahlavas, Dandāmitrā, and Arundhatī;" although we do not know what the latter word is to mean here, as it generally signifies one of the lunar constellations.

for new ones ; it is poorer in forms, more regular, and although, upon the whole, simple enough, yet more polished than that of the ancient hymns. The Rigveda, except in the tenth book, does not yet seem to know the institution of castes, which is frequently mentioned in the epics, and gives them much of their peculiar colour and character. Most of the hymns appear to have been composed in the Penjab, whereas in the Mahábhárata and Rámáyana the scene is the middle or even the south of India. The whole social state represented in the Rigveda is very simple ; and its warriors, "desirous of cows," battling about them with each other, and invoking their gods to bestow them, present a strange contrast to the Brahmans and anchorites of the epics, fighting by words and curses rather than weapons, engaged in superhuman efforts after holiness, and lost in the mazes of pantheistic speculation. It is true that instances of the peculiar Indian philosophy appear in the tenth book of the Rigveda ; but in general the religion of the hymns is very simple, a worship of the shining gods of heaven, of the bright fire, of the healing waters,—accompanied by a dread of the powers of darkness and evil. Of the three gods most commonly invoked in the hymns, one, Mitra, seems to be altogether forgotten in the epics ; and if Agni, the god of fire, and Indra, the thunderer, are still most zealously worshipped in the epic times, yet their character is in many respects altered, and a race of new gods has arisen above them. Brahmá, "the grandfather of the world," the creator, has grown from the Brahmanas-pati, "lord of prayer," of the Rigveda, who does not occupy any very high position, into a universal power over all gods. Vishnu, of whom Krishna in the Mahábhárata, and Rámá in the Rámáyana, are incarnations, is indeed mentioned several times in the hymns, but it is as a minor deity, while S'iva's name does not even occur. Yet in the epic these three dominate and are more powerful than Indra, who of old was the supreme chieftain of the gods. These and many other differences show that there is a wide gap between the Vedic times and the epics.

Nevertheless, as might be expected, connecting links are not wanting. The Indian nation was, after all, the same people in both periods ; and the traditions and facts of the Rigveda, although altered and even disfigured, frequently reappear in the epic. We will give a few instances of this. One of the most important points in the Vedic mythology is the combat of Indra, the god of thunder, with the demon Vritra (the concealer) or Ahi (the serpent, Lat. *anguis*). It is the subject of a magnificent hymn in the first book of the Rigveda (32) :—
 "I will praise the exploits of Indra, which the bearer of the

thunderbolt achieved of old. He killed Ahi, he brought out the waters, he opened the quick torrents of the mountains. He killed Ahi that lay before the mountain; Tvashtri (the divine artist) made for him his praiseworthy thunderbolt; like lowing cows the waters ran quickly flowing towards the ocean. When thou, O Indra, didst slay the first-born of the Ahis, then didst thou destroy verily the charms of the charmers, then bringing forth the sun, the sky, thou surely didst not meet an adversary. Indra killed the Vritra of Vitras, he broke his shoulders by the thunderbolt with a mighty blow; like stems broken by the hatchet, thus lies Ahi upon the ground. . . . As he lies there, like a river poured out, the delightful waters pass over him; Ahi fell down at the feet of the waters which with might he had imprisoned. The mother of Vritra has fallen, Indra inflicted [the blow of] his weapon on her from below. Above was the mother; beneath, the son; the demon lies, as the cow with her calf," &c. Vritra is here represented as a demon withholding the rain from the earth, and thereby enveloping the sun and the sky in darkness, the mountains being apparently intended for the clouds. The killing of this demon is described as an old exploit of the god; but at the same time it was only the "first-born of Ahis" that was thus killed. This circumstance, and the frequent use of the present tense, show that the poet was still quite conscious of the original meaning of the myth, and that in any thunderstorm passing before his own eyes he recognised the old battle fought over again. In the following episode from the Mahábhárata, this consciousness is entirely lost, and the destruction of Vritra appears as a single isolated fact in Indra's life. The tale is besides full of strange incidents, very different from the noble simplicity of the hymn just quoted. "There were," it says,²⁵ "in the first age of the world fearful Dánavas (Titans), longing for battle, Kálakeya by name, most terrible hosts. They, gathering round Vritra, uplifting many kinds of weapons, assailed from all sides the gods, and Indra their chief. Then the gods were bent on the destruction of Vritra, and with Indra at their head they went to Brahmá. When the supreme lord saw them standing all with their hands folded, he spoke to them: I know, O ye gods, what is your errand. I will give you a counsel, whereby ye shall kill Vritra. There is a great sage, by name Dadhícha, of noble disposition. To him go ye all in a body and ask for a boon; he of virtuous mind will grant it with delighted soul. Him you must address all in a body, if you wish for victory: 'Give us your bones for the welfare of three worlds.' He, laying down his body, will give you his bones." This strange counsel is car-

ried out. The gods find Dadhicha in his retreat in the wood resounding with the humming of bees and the song of the cuckoo, where buffaloes, boars, and deer live, unscathed by the tigers. The sage, "shining brightly like the bringer of day," grants the request of the gods, dies of his own accord, and Tvashti (Vulcan) makes of his bones the thunderbolt. "Then Indra, holding the thunderbolt, protected by the strong gods, attacked Vritra, who stood covering heaven and earth, protected on all sides by the Kálakeya of large body, with their arms uplifted, like unto mountains with their peaks. Then there arose a great combat of the gods with the demons at a moment striking the universe with fear. Of swords flashing, swung, and struck against each other by the arms of the heroes, there was a tumultuous sound as they fell upon the bodies; and the earth was covered with heads falling from the sky, as with palm-fruits broken from their stalk. The Káleyas, with golden armour, with clubs as weapons, poured down upon the gods like mountains the forests of which are on fire. As these powerful demons rushed onward in their arrogance, the gods could not withstand their strength, but overcome by fear they ran away. When the thousand-eyed destroyer of cities saw them flying, and Vritra gaining strength, he felt great anxiety. For a time the god Indra was shaken by fear; but quickly he addressed himself to Vishnu for protection. When the eternal Vishnu saw Indra filled with anxiety, he put his own strength into him, increasing his vigour. Thereupon the hosts of the gods, beholding Indra preserved by Vishnu, put all their own power into him, and so did the Brahma-sages. Indra restored by Vishnu, the gods and the blissful sages arose powerful. But Vritra, knowing that the lord of the gods stood before him in strength, sent forth loud roars, and by his roar the earth and the regions, and the air, and the sky, and the whole ether were shaken. Then the mighty Indra, in great confusion hearing his loud and fearful howl, overwhelmed with fear, cast his thunderbolt to kill him. And struck by Indra's thunderbolt the great Titan, wearing a golden garland, fell as formerly Mandara, the best of high mountains escaping from the hand of Vishnu. Thereupon, when the lord of Titans was killed, Indra full of fear ran on to hide himself in the sea; through fear he did not think of his thunderbolt, which had slipped from his hand, nor of the dead Vritra. And all gods were glad, and all the sages in their joy praised Indra, and rapidly having approached the Titans, they killed them all, who were confused by the death of Vritra."

The reader will observe in this epic version the prominent part borne by the pious sages and by Vishnu, the magical

power ascribed to religious devotion, and the absence of any indication that Vritra was originally a serpent. This combat of the god of thunder and celestial light with the dragon is one of the oldest mythological ideas of the Indo-germans. We find an echo of it in the Persian Shah-nahmeh, where Feridun is said to have overcome Zohak [=Zend *Aji dāhaka*, destroying serpent, *Ahi*], on whose shoulders grew serpents, and to have confined him in the volcanic mountain Demavend. Here also the adversary has become a mere demon, his animal form being only hinted at. But the Greek hymn on Apollo still relates how the shining archer-god killed the terrible serpent Python; and the Hy'miskvidha of the Edda represents the thunderer Thórr struggling with the great sea-snake that surrounds the habitable earth like a girdle. One may almost assert that the latter two poems have remained more true to the spirit of the Vedic poem quoted above, though the names are altered and the scene shifted, than the epic poetry of the Hindus. There is more manly vigour, and less fantastic glamour in these two European songs. The Norwegian Thórr, rowing on the icebound northern ocean "at the end of the heavens," and by means of his angling hook, baited with the head of an ox, drawing up the snake from the abyss of the sea, and lustily beating its skull with his hammer—this northern god is the brother of the Vedic Indra far more truly than the epic namesake of the latter.

The killing of the demon-serpent belongs to the divine mythology of the Indo-germanic races. But we know full well that there must also have been heroic tales anterior to their separation into individual nations. One of the oldest of these is the tradition of Manu or Manus, i.e. "the man" (lit. "the thinker"), the mythical ancestor of the human race. He was known to the ancient Germani under the form Manna.²⁶ In the Vedic hymns he is called Father Manu, and represented as the ancestor of the Hindus, and even of the whole human race,²⁷ as the kindler of the sacrificial fire, and as the ordainer of holy rites. In the later Vedic times, represented to us by the ritual compositions in prose which are called Bráhmaṇas, Manu has become connected with the story of the deluge, which is not mentioned in the hymns, and which is, perhaps, not indigenous in India. The story is thus told in the S'ata-patha-bráhmaṇa:²⁸ "To Manu they brought in the morning water to wash. As they bring it with their hands for the washing, a fish comes into the hands of Manu as soon as he has washed himself. He spoke to Manu the word, 'Keep me; I shall preserve thee.'

²⁶ Tacitus, *Germ.* c. i. Tacitus of course latinises the name to *Mannus*.

²⁷ See an article on Manu by Dr. J. Muir, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xx. pp. 406 sqq.

²⁸ i. 8, 1. 1.

Manu said, 'From what wilt thou preserve me?' The fish said, 'The flood will carry away all these creatures. I shall preserve thee from it.' 'How canst thou be kept?' said Manu. The fish replied, 'As long as we are small, there is much destruction for us; fish swallows fish. First, then, thou must keep me in a jar. If I outgrow it, dig a hole, and keep me in it. If I outgrow this, take me to the sea, and I shall be saved from destruction.' He soon became a large fish. He said to Manu, 'When I am full-grown, in the same year the flood will come. Build a ship then, and worship me; and when the flood rises, go into the ship, and I shall preserve thee from it.' Manu brought the fish to the sea, after he had preserved him thus. And in the year which the fish had pointed out, Manu had built a ship, and worshipped the fish. Then when the flood had risen, he went into the ship. The fish came swimming to him, and Manu fastened the rope of the ship to a horn of the fish. The fish carried him by it over the northern mountain. The fish said, 'I have preserved thee. Bind the ship to a tree. May the water not cut thee asunder while thou art on the mountain. As the water will sink, thou wilt slide down.' Manu slid down with the water; and this is called the slope of Manu on the northern mountain. The flood had carried away all these creatures, and thus Manu was left there alone. He went along meditating a hymn, and wishing for offspring. And he sacrificed there also. Taking clarified butter, coagulated milk, whey and curds, he made an offering to the waters. In a year a woman was brought forth from it. . . . She went off, and came to Manu. Manu said to her, 'Who art thou?' She said, 'I am thy daughter.' . . . Manu went along with her, meditating a hymn, and wishing for offspring; and by her he begat this offspring which is called the offspring of Manu."²⁹

This is sufficiently strange; and one sees indeed, at a glance, that so fantastical a story is later than the time of the hymns. Nevertheless it is sober prose if compared with the account in the *Mahābhārata*.³⁰ The episode of the fish (*Matsyopkhjanam*, as it is called) begins by stating how Manu practised severe austerities for ten thousand years, uplifting his arms, standing on one foot, his head hanging downward, and his eyes always open. He then goes to the banks of the river *Virinī*, and a small fish there implores him to save it from large rapacious ones. Manu, in compliance with this request, puts it into an urn. But it soon begins to grow. Manu, on its request, puts it into a great lake; then, as it still increases in bulk, into the *Ganga*; and as even this becomes too narrow for it, Manu ultimately carries it

²⁹ See Professor Max Müller's *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 425.

³⁰ iii. 12748.

off to the sea. The text assures us that during all this time "the fish, though very great, could be lifted according to will by Manu, who, as he carried it, was enjoying the pleasures of its touch and smell." The fish then tells him that a general deluge is at hand, and advises him to build a ship, to put all the seeds of living beings in it, and go upon it himself with the seven (mythical) sages. Manu follows this advice; and when swimming in his ship on the flood, he begins to think of the fish, which consequently appears with a horn upon its head, round which Manu fastens a rope. "And bound by this rope the fish dragged onward the ship in the water with mighty strength, carrying them over the ocean, as it were, with its waves dancing and its waters roaring. The ship, tossed about by the mighty winds on the main, shook like a drunken woman; neither earth nor the regions were visible; all was water, air, and sky." After "many hosts of years" the fish brings them to the highest peak of the Himalaya, to which the ship is fastened, and which therefore is called *Nau-bandhana* (i. e. binding of the ship). The fish then reveals his true nature. "I am the lord of the creatures, than whom there is no higher one. In the form of a fish you are delivered by me from this danger. And Manu must *create all beings together, gods, demons, and men, and all the worlds, the moveable and the immoveable. And through severe penance shall he have confidence; by my favour he shall not be confused in the creating of beings.*" Having thus spoken, the fish disappeared in a moment." This supremely wonderful transaction is fitly concluded by Manu, after he has gained the necessary power through his self-castigation, *creating* (not, as Europeans would expect, and as the older tale has it, *engendering*) all creatures.

The two preceding examples of Vedic stories turned into epic ones belong to mythology; but also historical personages, mentioned in the Vedic hymns, have been transformed into heroes of epic legend. One of the most remarkable instances of this kind is furnished by Vis'vámitra and Vasishta. Professor Roth has proved,³¹ from the hymns that have reference to them, that Vis'vámitra was at one time the purohita or family priest of king Sudas, a mighty ruler near the Yamuná; that in all probability Vis'vámitra was driven from this position by Vasishta and Vasishta's family; and that afterwards Sudas, aided by the prayer of the Vasishtas, gained a great victory over ten united tribes in the Punjab, amongst which were the Bhárata, the tribe of Vis'vámitra. There is nothing extraordinary in a king's exchanging one chaplain for another; and only the great power and renown of the two priests and their respective families can

³¹ In his essay *Zur Litteratur und Geschichte der Vedas*, p. 87.

have given this quarrel any particular significance. It seems that Vis'vámitra, having fallen into disfavour with the king, caused his tribe to take part in the war against Sudas. When, however, the Bharatas came to the river Hyphasis (Vipas'), they had some difficulty in crossing it. On this occasion Vis'vámitra composed the following hymn, one of the most beautiful specimens of Vedic poetry:³² "From out the slopes of the mountains, full of longing, like two mares set free, vying with each other in the race, like two shining cows to the fondling of their young ones, thus run Vipas' and S'utrudri with their waters. Sent by Indra, fulfilling his order(?), ye go towards the ocean, like warriors on their chariot, uniting your waves together, swelling, one meeting the other, ye clear streams. I have come to my maternal river, to the broad, blissful Vipas'; we have come to both the streams that go to their common goal like cows licking their calves. 'With our swelling waters we go to the place appointed by the gods. Our purpose of flowing is never changed. What does the sage desire who so fervently invokes the rivers?' 'Rejoice at my friendly voice, ye streams, [pause] for a moment in your courses. To the river I pray, Kaus'ika's son, seeking help, with great fervour.' 'Indra has dug our beds, armed with the thunderbolt; he killed Vritra, who had gathered up the streams. Savitri, the god with beautiful hands, led us forward; by his command we go in broad channels. For ever praiseworthy is this heroic deed of Indra, that he slew Ahi. Those that surrounded the floods he slew them with the thunderbolt; then flowed the waters, desirous of flowing. Do not, O poet, forget this word, whatsoever later times may tell thee; be friendly, O bard, to us in thy songs; do not slander us. Amongst men be praise to thee.' 'Listen, ye two sisters, to the poet; he has come from afar with his chariot. Lower yourselves well; become easy to cross; remain beneath the axletree with your floods.' 'We will listen, O poet, to thy words. From afar hast thou come with thy chariot. I shall bend down for thee, as a suckling woman [to the child]; I shall embrace thee as a maiden the man.' 'When the Bháratas shall have crossed, the host ready for battle, hastening, moved by Indra, then your ordered course may flow onward. I choose your favour [or praise?], who are worthy of sacrifices. The warlike Bháratas crossed over; the sage enjoyed the favour of the streams. May ye swell, giving food and riches; fill your beds; go quickly."

We have given this hymn nearly in its entirety, not because it throws any additional light on the subject of the enmity between Vis'vámitra and Vasishta, but because its beautiful

³² Rigveda, iii. 3, 4.

simplicity offers a strong contrast to the fantastic legends of the epos. The quarrel of the two sages forms the subject of a renowned episode in the *Rámáyana*.³³ King Vis'vámitra, who is here represented as belonging to the warrior caste, having reigned ten thousand years, came once upon a time to the hermitage of the holy Brahman Vasishtha. This latter possessed a wonderful cow, *Kánaduh* (*i. e.* milking the wishes), or *S'abalá* (variegated); and to honour his royal guest, he ordered her to bring forth superabundance of good cheer. Accordingly the cow produces "sugar-canes, honeycombs, fried grains, and the good liquor of the lythrum, excellent drinks, and manifold viands, mountain-like heaps of things to be sucked and to be eaten, choice food, cakes, and streams of milk, vessels full of manifold sweet and well-tasting liquors here and there, and spirits of molasses of a thousand kinds. The whole army of Vis'vámitra was highly pleased, the men delighted and satiated, having been entertained by Vasishtha." Vis'vámitra evinces a natural wish to possess so wonderful a treasure; but the sage refuses to part with it, even though Vis'vámitra promises him in return a *koti* (10,000,000) of cows. Hereupon the king takes the cow by force. She, however, makes her way back to her master, and advises him to make use of her miraculous powers for his and her protection. On his command she by degrees brings forth *Pahlavas*, *S'akas*, *Yavanas*, and other powerful hosts, which destroy Vis'vámitra's army and his sons. Vis'vámitra thereupon practises a course of austerities, until *S'iva* appears to him and grants him the weapons of gods and demons. By these he destroys Vasishtha's hermitage; but further mischief is prevented by Vasishtha, who overcomes all his enemy's missiles by only using his staff. Vis'vámitra thereupon comes to the conclusion that the power of a *Kshattriya* is nothing in comparison with that of a Brahman, and consequently begins a new course of penance, through which he ultimately succeeds in obtaining the quality of a Brahman, *Brahmá* himself with all the gods descending to announce to him his new dignity. Of the many incidents in Vis'vámitra's long self-castigation we shall only mention one, on account of its passing strangeness. King *Tris'anku* having taken it into his head that he would rise with his body alive to heaven, asks Vasishtha to help him in the offerings necessary for this purpose. Vasishtha refuses, and so do Vasishtha's sons, who even by their curse turn *Tris'anku* into a *Paria*. The king thus baffled applies to Vis'vámitra, who receives him kindly, and forthwith begins a sacrifice for him. But the gods do not make their appearance at it. So Vis'vámitra, in his anger,

³³ i. 52, 13. We quote, in general, *Gorresio's* edition.

“swinging the sacrificial ladle, spoke to Tris’anku, ‘Behold, O king of men, the power of my penance. I here will carry thee to heaven quickly with thy own body. O Tris’anku, go to the sky with thy own body, lord of men. By the power of all the penance stored up by me since childhood, by the power of that penance, go thou to the sky with thy body.’ When this word had been spoken by the hermit, that king with his body rose up into the air and to the heaven before the eyes of the hermits. When the slayer of Paka (Indra) saw Tris’anku entering heaven, he spoke with all the hosts of the gods this word: ‘Tris’anku, fall on the ground; there is no place for thee in heaven, thou hast been struck by the curse of thy preceptor [meaning Vasishtha]; fall with thy head downwards.’ Thus addressed by the great Indra, Tris’anku fell from the sky, and he cried, with his head downward towards Vis’vámitra, ‘Help me.’ Having heard this word of him, falling from the sky, Vis’vámitra, in high anger, spoke, ‘Stay, stay.’ Then, by the power of his Brahma-penance, like unto a second creator, he created in the south another group of seven sages [this is the Sanskrit name for the Great Bear], and another row of lunar constellations [twenty-eight in number,—a kind of lunar zodiac], he began to create in the southern region of the heavens by the confidence in the power of his Brahma-penance. And having created the host of lunar constellations, with his eyes flaming with anger, he began to create new gods with a (new) Indra as their chief.” Naturally enough, the gods—only the lower ones, or devas, are here meant—are frightened at this prospect. They come to terms therefore with Vis’vámitra; he is to give up his design, but what he has achieved is to remain unaltered. “These stars shall stand outside the way of the sun;”³⁴ and this Tris’anku shall stand with his head downward contented in the southern sky, shining in his own splendour.” There is clearly some astronomical fact alluded to in this story, which goes a little to mitigate its extravagance; but what a vast difference between the Vis’vámitra of the legends and the poet of the Rigveda!

We have adduced sufficient examples to enable our readers to see, on the one hand, the connection between the oldest Indian literature and the epics, and, on the other hand, the vast distance which separates them. To sum up, the ultimate origin of the epics is to be sought in oral traditions, some of them dating from times when the Indo-germanic nations had not yet separated, others from the time of the hymns; to these were

³⁴ The word *ayogāni*, which follows, is obscure. Gorresio translates, “*essenti da congiunzione colla luna*.” Schlegel’s recension has *anekani*, “several.”

added, no doubt, many memories of the centuries that must have elapsed from the composition of the hymns to Alexander and As'oka,—centuries of which, for us, the later Vedic writings are the representatives. Lastly, even the exploits of the Greeks and other western nations have added a little, though very little indeed, to the epic stores. But the first trace of epic tales existing as an acknowledged form of literature, we find in the 15th book of the Atharvaveda, which, however, bears more the character of a Bráhmaṇa.³⁵ There we hear of certain compositions, called Itihása (story, etymologically *iti ha ása* “thus it was”), Purána (old legends), Gáthá (song), Nárasaṁsi (praise of men). The same names are frequently mentioned in the Bráhmaṇas³⁶ and Aranyakas. Epic tales are evidently intended by the two first words in these passages, as the Mahábhárata³⁷ applies both expressions to itself. Yet the ancient Itihásas were no doubt tales in prose, like the story of Manu, quoted before. On the nature of the two other kinds of composition light is thrown by an interesting passage in the S'atapatha-bráhmaṇa.³⁸ At the preparation of the great horse sacrifice, “lute-players are assembled. Then the Adhvaryu [priest] addresses them: ‘Lute-players, praise ye him who sacrifices, together with the old pious kings.’ They do thus.—A lute-player belonging to the warrior-caste [*rājanya*], turning to the south, sings three strophes [*gáthā*] made by himself, the contents of which are, ‘he fought,’ ‘he won that battle.’” This passage shows that amongst the warrior-caste there arose, at an early period, the habit of composing short songs in praise of pious and gallant princes, both of olden times and of their own. These gáthás were metrical, whilst the itihásas were in prose. From the fusion of these two kinds of literature, we apprehend, arose epic ballads properly so called, in verse, like the short gáthás, but more extensive, like the itihásas. The subject-matter was taken, as shown before, partly from old religious traditions, partly from the exploits of later heroes and kings. The origin of the more warlike songs is undoubtedly to be sought amongst the Kshatriya caste, as the passage from the S'atapatha-bráhmaṇa testifies; and that this caste continued for a long time to determine to a great extent the development of epic literature, is evident from the heroic enthusiasm that is clearly perceivable in the battle-scenes of the Mahábhárata. But, of course, the Brahmins must soon have taken part also in this new kind of literature, which they

³⁵ Atharv. xv. 6.

³⁶ For instance, S'atapatha-bráhmaṇa, xi. 5, 6, 9: compare Müller, *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 40.

³⁷ i. 17, 19.

³⁸ xiii. 4, 3, 3. 5.

ultimately succeeded in colouring so deeply with their own particular views. The name for a bard who recites epic tales is *sūta*, which at the same time means charioteer. The *sūta* is described as the son of a woman of the priestly caste and of a Kshattriya father. Here we see clearly the intimate connection of the epic poetry with war; and, on the other hand, the double influence that has been at work in the creation of the old ballads. The *Mahābhārata* is said to be composed by the sage Vyāsa, son of a Kshattriya woman; it is first recited by the *Brahman* Vaisāmpāyana, before the *king* Janamejaya, when he is engaged in a great sacrifice of serpents. It is recited a second time before an assembly of *Brahma*-sages at a sacrifice in the forest Nemisha. The bard on this occasion is Ugrasravas, who is styled Sautā, that is, descendant of *Sūta*, a name for minstrel, as we said before. In the third book of the *Mahābhārata*, Mārkaṇḍeya and other *Brahmans* visit the banished Pāṇḍu kings in their forest retreat, and tell them the tales of old. The *Rāmāyana* also was first made by the rishi Vālmīki; he then teaches it to two of his disciples, Kusā and Lava, the sons of Rāma, and therefore Kshattriyas, whose united name (Kusā-lava) signifies bard; and these go and sing it in the royal capitals before the kings, and also before Rāma himself at his horse-sacrifice. From all these testimonies, mythical though they are, we conclude that epic poetry continued to be chiefly cultivated amongst the warrior caste; that it celebrated, by preference, the heroes of that caste; that many, probably most, of the poets and minstrels belonged to the Kshattriyas, or were allied by birth to them; and that the songs were recited (not read) in their assemblies. We lay great stress on the last point. All testimonies, from the *Brāhmanas* downwards, are unanimous in representing the epic songs as handed down by oral tradition. Hence, we may naturally infer that they were originally short. When and by whom greater poems were first indited, we have now no means of ascertaining. But the flourishing time of the epos must have been a period when Sanskrit was still spoken. For besides the analogy with other nations, which forces us to deny the possibility of any original epic poetry ever arising in a dead language, the forms of the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyana* are very simple, if compared with the later medieval artificial Sanskrit, and show all the vigour, power, and flexibility which characterise a living speech.

In the history of the epic, special importance must be attached to the country Magadha (South Behar), for *Māgadha*, literally a man from that region, has come to mean minstrel. Magadha was, in Alexander's time, and for a century after-

wards, the most powerful kingdom of India; and if the Buddhist traditions are trustworthy, it had been so for more than two hundred years before. The kings of this realm were very favourable to Buddhism; and within its precincts the great missionary movement arose in the third century B.C. It seems that we must add to this merit the one of having produced numerous epic poets. We shall not be very far wrong in assuming that epic poetry reached its highest development there in the fifth and fourth century, or perhaps earlier, certainly not later, because Sanskrit was already extinct in the third century, and that there were composed the spirited ballads on the battle of the Kurus and Pándus, which lie at the bottom of the Mahábhárata. Perhaps at that time larger works may already have been attempted. But the arrangement of the whole mass of floating song in the shape of one bulky written poem, and the thorough recasting of the whole in accordance with the Brahmanical spirit, must be later still. Nor has even this been done at once. For the Mahábhárata itself states that it has three different beginnings,³⁹ in which Lassen rightly recognises three different recensions, probably following one another. The Indians have personified this last stage of development in the person of Vyása, the mythical author of the Mahábhárata. Vyása is properly only a surname of Krishna Dvaipayana, and means "collector, redactor." We have already shown that additions continued to be made to the Mahábhárata in the spirit of the ancient songs during the time of the Greek Punjab kings, and down to the fifth century A.D., but probably even later. For Weber states that an episode of the Mahábhárata, on which S'ankara wrote a commentary in the seventh century, had increased by six or seven stanzas up to the time of Nílakantha, that is, in six or seven centuries. As so many strata have covered, and no doubt partly destroyed, the original layer, it would be folly to attempt to cut out of the Mahábhárata the original small ballads, after Lachmann's fashion; and even Lassen's attempt to go back at least to the first of the three versions is not likely to be successful.

The Rámáyana is a more compact poem. There are fewer episodes; and as the two recensions which we have,—one from the north-west of India, the other from Bengal,—agree upon the whole, it is not unlikely that we have in it, with few alterations, the work of one man, who undertook to treat the story of Ráma in the spirit of the ancient epic, which he must have known by study, as Panyasis or Callimachus studied and imitated Homer. The only difficulty in this hypothesis is the power and originality displayed in the Rámáyana, which seems

³⁹ i. 51, 52.

too great for a mere learned poet. But perhaps these may be due to antecedent popular songs, which were only recast; in which case, indeed, the so-called author would be also a kind of reviser.

Having now, as far as our scanty materials allow, ascertained the growth of the Indian epic, we proceed to give our readers a sketch of the leading stories in both the great poems.⁴⁰

The Mahábhárata, or Great Bhárata, is most probably called so as recording the exploits of the race of Bharata, a mythical king, descended from Soma (the Moon). The ninth from him was Kuru, after whom the heroes of the Mahábhárata, being his descendants, are called Kauravas or Kurus. Later in the line we find Vichitra-vírya, who, however, dies childless, and leaves two widows, Ambiká and Ambaliká. By the sage Vyása, the mythical author of the Mahábhárata, each of these has a son, Dhrita-ráshtra (*i. e.* holder of the kingdom), who was born blind, and Pándu, so called on account of his pale complexion. They were brought up by their uncle Bhishma, in Hastinapura (near Delhi); and eventually Pándu became king, his elder brother being excluded on account of his blindness. Both took wives, Dhrita-ráshtra choosing Gandhári, and Pándu being chosen at a *svayam-vara*⁴¹ by Prithá or Kuntí. Prithá, before her marriage, had a son by the sun-god, who was born with a mail-coat. His mother being afraid of her relatives, although the sun-god had miraculously restored her maidenhood, exposed the child in the river, and he was found by a charioteer, Adiratha, who reared him as his own son. When Vasushena, as he was called by his foster parents, had grown up, the god Indra one day appeared to him in the shape of a Brahman, and asked him for his armour, which the pious hero gave away. Indra in return gave him strength over gods, men, and demons, and changed his name to Karna. Karna's story has some points in common with the Teutonic hero Sigfrid, who also, at least according to Viltina saga, was abandoned by his mother in the river, and like him was invulnerable, and after a life of heroism died an untimely death. Pándu afterwards took a second wife, Mádrí. Dhrita-ráshtra had a hundred sons by Gandhári, of whom Duryodhana (*i. e.* bad in fight) was the eldest. Pándu, who had retired into the woods, leaving the throne to his blind brother, one day shot a pair of deer, male and female, which turned out

⁴⁰ Cf. the analysis of them which is given by Professor Monier Williams in his book on Indian Epic Poetry, p. 91.

⁴¹ A form of marriage in use amongst the Kshattriyas, according to which the reigning king convenes a large assembly of kings, and his daughter then chooses from amongst them at her own will.

to be a certain sage and his wife, who had only taken the form of these animals. The sage cursed him, and predicted that he would die in the embraces of one of his wives. He consequently became a hermit, and kept apart from his two wives. They, however, had sons by different gods. Prithá bore Yudishthira, whose father was Dharma. Dharma means law, and is another name of Yama, the Hindu Pluto. Accordingly the child became a highly virtuous prince, firm in battle, as his name implies, and at the same time not less pious, altogether realising the Hindu ideal of a chivalrous and dutiful king. Bhíma, the second son of Prithá, was the child of the god Váyu (wind). He was of prodigious strength—when he fell accidentally as a child, he split a rock to pieces—and of savage bravery, doing justice to his name, which means terrible. Prithá's third son, by Indra, was Arjuna (*i.e.* white, shining). He is the chief hero of the Mahábhárata, and is always under the special protection of his divine father, whose wars against the demons he occasionally carries on instead of his parent. Mádrí had twins by the two As'vins (Dioscuri). They were called Nakula and Sahadeva, and were both great heroes. These five Pándus (Pándavas), or sons of Pándu, as they are called oddly enough, are represented as thoroughly noble, whereas Dhrita-ráshtra's sons, commonly called Kurus or Kauravas, although that name is applied also to Pándu's offspring, are described as mean and low-minded. Pándu died while the five heroes were still children, having forgotten the curse laid upon him and embraced Prithá. With him Mádrí burned herself, as a faithful Hindu wife ought, and Prithá, who had disputed her this honour, returned with the five princes to Hastinapura. They were educated together with Dhrita-ráshtra's children, and instructed in archery and warlike exercises by the Brahman Drona. When their education was completed, a great tournament was held, in order to try their skill, and Arjuna came off victorious, when suddenly Kárna entered "like a walking mountain." He challenged Arjuna to single combat, but, as the combatants were obliged to tell their names and pedigrees, Karna's face became "like a drooping lotus," and the fight did not take place. But Duryodhana, by making Karna king of Anga on the spot, engaged his good services for ever on his side against the Pándus. After various deeds of heroism by the five brothers, Yudishthira was installed by Dhrita-ráshtra as heir-apparent; and in consequence of the increased renown of the Pándavas it came to pass that the citizens of Hastinapura assembled and proposed to crown Yudishthira at once. Thereupon Duryodhana laid a plot against the life of his adversaries. He caused his father to send them away on an excursion from the capital.

Meanwhile he sent a friend of his before them, to prepare a house for their reception, which he was to fill with hemp, resin, and other combustible materials, plastering the walls with mortar composed of oil, fat, and lac. This was to be set on fire, when the Pándavas would be asleep in it. In consequence of a warning, however, they escaped by an underground passage, having substituted for themselves a Pariah woman with her five sons; and the house having been set on fire, they were accordingly supposed to have perished in the flames. For a time they lived with a Brahman, putting on the disguise of mendicant Brahmans.

Not long after, Draupadí or Krishná, the daughter of Drupada, king of the Panchálas, was about to hold her *svayamvara*. She had been in a former life the daughter of a sage, and had performed severe penance in order to obtain a husband. The god S'iva, in consequence, appeared to her and promised her five husbands in an after-existence. She was thereupon born in Drupada's family, and destined to be the wife of the five Pándavas. The princes accordingly set out for Drupada's court. The king, who secretly wished to have Arjuna for his son-in-law, had devised a trial of strength for the wooers of his daughter, similar to the test adopted by Penelope. It consisted in hanging up on a moveable machine a mark, which was to be hit by a bow very difficult to bend. A kind of stage or arena was prepared for the competitors; and, after due offerings by the royal purohita (chaplain), Draupadí was led forward by her brother Drishta-dyumna, who announced the object of the meeting "with a voice like a thunder-cloud." The effect of the sight of Draupadi seems to have been very marvellous.⁴² "Those youthful kings, adorned with earrings, vying with each other, sprang up, all of them, weapons in hand, contemplating in their mind arms and strength, having their pride kindled by their beauty, heroism, nobility, virtue, wealth, and youth, like princes of elephants from the Himalaya maddened by the power of passion. Looking towards each other with eager envy, having their limbs penetrated by desire, crying towards each other, 'Krishná is my own!' they rose up suddenly from their seats. Those Kshattriyas going to the stage, having assembled through the wish of winning Draupadí, shone like the hosts of the gods surrounding Umá, the daughter of the king of mountains" [S'iva's wife]. "Having their bodies afflicted by the arrows of Cupid, with their hearts drawn towards Krishná, those lords of men, descending into the arena, proclaimed enmity, even (friends) towards friends, for the sake of Drupada's daughter.

⁴² Mah. i. 7005.

Then came on their chariots the hosts of the gods,—Rudra their chief (*i.e.* Siva), Indra, and the Dioscuri, and all the genii, and the winds, led by Yama and the Lord of riches, the Titans, the griffins,⁴³ the mighty serpents, and the elves and fairies." Many of the kings tried the bow, but were unsuccessful, being drawn down on their knees by its weight. At last Arjuna, still disguised as a Brahman, came forward, and stood⁴⁴ "beside the bow like a mountain not to be shaken." Having mentally invoked his divine father, Arjuna seized the bow, and "in the twinkling of an eye he had bent it, taken five arrows, and hit the mark, which, being well pierced, fell suddenly on the ground. Then there was a sound in the sky and a great noise in the assembly, and the god rained divine flowers on the head of Arjuna, the killer of enemies." Draupadī and her father joyfully accepted Arjuna, and were ultimately persuaded to have her married to all the five brothers, when Vyāsa had acquainted them with Draupadī's divine destination. The Pāndavas having now revealed themselves, and become strengthened by their union with the king of Panchāla, were received favourably by Dhritarāshtra, who gave Hastinapura to his own sons, but allowed the five brothers to occupy a district near the Yamuna, where they built Indraprastha (near Delhi). Some time after, Arjuna, in his wanderings, met with Krishna, a prince of the Yadu race, who always remained the truest friend and counsellor of the brothers. This was no small gain to them, as Krishna was an incarnation of Vishnu himself.⁴⁵ Arjuna marries also Krishna's sister Subhadrā, by whom he has a son, Abhimanyu, father of Parikshit, and grandfather of the Janamejaya, at whose great sacrifice the Mahābhārata professes to have been first recited. After various exploits, Yudishthira wished to celebrate his inauguration as king. But Krishna informed him that he could only do so when Jarāsandha, king of Magadha, should be destroyed. This was a powerful monster, who held "all kings" in prison in his capital,⁴⁶ as "a lion, the king of the mountain, keeps mighty elephants in his lair." However, he was ultimately conquered by Bhīma. But the fight was terrible.⁴⁷ "Jarāsandha, the conqueror of foes, advanced towards Bhīma, mighty in splendour as the Titan Bala towards Indra. Then being

⁴³ This is a free translation of *garuda*, which signifies certain mythical birds.

⁴⁴ i. 7049.

⁴⁵ Professor Lassen thinks, however, that all passages in the Mahābhārata implying Krishna's divinity, as well as the divinity of the hero of the Ramāyana, are in both poems later additions and do not belong to the original plan. That may be; but, as we have already seen, we cannot hope to recover the original form of the Mahābhārata.

⁴⁶ Mahāb. ii. 627.

⁴⁷ 897.

protected by Krishna, having pronounced spells over him, the strong Bhímasena went onward to Jarásandha, longing for the fight; and the two tigers of men with many weapons met each other, the strong heroes, in highest joy, desirous of conquering each other. Pressing their hands together, yelling like elephants, thundering like clouds, both wielding many weapons, struck by each other's palms, face to face, like two enraged lions, they fought, dragging each other about. . . . To see their fight, the citizens assembled—Brahmans, merchants, and warriors, in thousands, S'údras, women, and aged men altogether; the place was densely covered by crowds of men. As they met each other, striking with their arms, disentangling and again entangling them, their shock against each other was very fearful, as of two mountainlike thunderbolts. Both were fully rejoicing in their strength, the best of strong heroes, wishing each other's destruction, desirous of conquering one another. This fearful combat disturbed and confused men, in the battle of these two strong ones, as of Vritra and Vāsava. They dragged each other to and fro, backward and aside, and they hit each other with their knees. Then chiding one another with loud noise, they struck blows like the falling of rocks; both broad-chested, having long arms, both skilled in pugilism, they fell upon each other with their arms, as with iron clubs. It was begun on the first day of the month Kártika, and lasted night and day, without their eating food, without stopping. But on the fourteenth night the king of Maghada stopped through weariness." After a pause the fight was renewed, and Bhíma broke the back of his adversary; and "as he was trampled down, and the son of Pándu was roaring, the sound became tumultuous, causing fear to all living beings. All inhabitants of Magadha trembled through the noise of Bhímasena and Jarásandha. 'Is the Himalaya split? is the earth torn asunder?' Thus the people of Magadha thought because of the noise. Then leaving at the door of the royal race this king as in a sleep, but with life departed, the conquerors of foemen went away. Krishna, having ordered the standard-bearer to get ready Jarásandha's chariot, and caused the two brothers to ascend it, liberated the prisoners." They then went home to Indraprastha, and held the inauguration festival.

When the inauguration was over, Krishna returned to his own city. Soon after Duryodhana expressed to S'akuni his resolution to get rid of the Pándavas; and S'akuni, who was skilful at playing with dice, prevailed upon Yudishthira to play with him. In this match Yudishthira lost all his territory, his riches, and at last even Draupadí. Nevertheless, the five Pán-

davas were to give up their kingdom only for twelve years, and were allowed to retire to the wood accompanied by their wife. In their-forest life they were visited by pious Brahmans and other friends, who consoled them with many stories. One of them is the well-known story of King Nala, who, like Yudishthira, lost his kingdom by gambling, and then in despair left his wife, but ultimately recovered both. Arjuna meanwhile engaged in a course of severe penance, to obtain his father's divine weapons, in order to secure victory over the Kurus. During the course of these austerities he had to fight Śiva, who appeared to him in the shape of a wild mountaineer, Kirāta, but ultimately revealed his true nature, and presented him with his own particular weapon Pás'upāta (so called from Pasu-pati, i.e. lord of creatures, a surname of Śiva). After this Indra and the other guardian gods of the celestial regions presented Arjuna with other missiles; and at last he was taken to the divine palace of Indra, who embraced him, and placed him beside himself on his throne. At the end of the twelfth year the five brothers came forward from their retreat, and after some preparations, the Kurus and Pándus met each other in a great battle on the plain of Kuru-kshetra, north-west of Delhi, each of them assisted by their respective friends; Drupada and Krishna, together with Balarāma, Krishna's brother, being on the side of the Pándus, whilst Karna was the chief hero of the opposite party. The opening of the fight was accompanied by fearful prodigies—showers of blood fell, thunder was heard in a cloudless sky, the moon looked like fire, asses were born from cows, &c. In the battle the heroes perform prodigies of valour. "Arjuna is described as killing five hundred warriors simultaneously, covering the whole plain and filling the rivers with blood; Yudishthira, as slaughtering a hundred men in a mere twinkle; Bhíma, as annihilating a monstrous elephant including all mounted upon it, and fourteen foot soldiers besides, with one blow of his club; Nakula and Sahadeva, fighting from their chariots, as cutting off heads by the thousand, and sowing them like seed on the ground."⁴⁸ The result of this prowess of the Pándus is the death of nearly all the leaders on the other side, Duryodhana and Karna included. The latter, after innumerable deeds of valour, was slain by Arjuna. Their meeting is thus described:⁴⁹ "They went against each other amidst the sound of shells and drums, with white horses, the two excellent men. As two elephants of the Himalaya inflamed with desire of a female, thus did they meet each other, the heroes of fearful valour, Arjuna and Karna. As cloud comes on cloud, as spontaneously a mountain on a mountain, thus did they

⁴⁸ Professor Monier Williams, l. c. p. 27.

⁴⁹ viii. 4513.

meet each other amidst the noise of bows, strings, hands, and wheels, pouring forth a rain of arrows. As two peaks with high summits, full of trees, creeping plants and herbs, full of mighty and various cascades and dwellings, thus the two strong heroes unshaken struck one another with their mighty weapons. Their falling upon each other was powerful, as formerly that of the lord of the gods and Vairochana; whilst their horses, their charioteers, and their own bodies, were hit by arrows, and others could not bear it, as the blood and water flowed. As two great lakes, inhabited by flocks of birds, with tortoises, fish, and expanded lotuses, but much disturbed and shaken by the wind, thus did the two chariots with their banners meet. Both were like in prowess to the great Indra, both were heroes to be compared to the great Indra; and with arrows like the thunderbolts of the great Indra they struck each other like Indra and Vritra. The two shining armies, composed of elephants, foot-soldiers, horses and chariots, wearing manifold armour, ornaments, clothes, and weapons, trembled at the wonderful fight of Arjuna and Karna, whose steeds were bounding in the air. The joyous warriors lifted up their arms together with robes and hands shouting with lions' voice, desirous of seeing how Arjuna went against Karna, wishing to slay, like a mad elephant against an elephant. Then shouted the Somakas to Prithá's son: 'Advance, O Arjuna; smite Karna, cut off his head; enough of hesitation.' Then also many of our warriors spoke to Karna, 'Go on, go on, O Karna; kill Arjuna with sharp arrows. Again may the Pándus go for a long time to the wood.' When at last Karna fell,⁵⁰ "his body, every where pierced by arrows, overflowed by streams of blood, shone like the sun with its own rays. Having burned the hostile army by the shining rays of his arrows, the sun of Karna had set before the strong Pluto, Arjuna."

After the battle, Dhrita-ráshtra acknowledged the right of his nephews; and Yudishthira was consequently inaugurated king, while Bhíma was associated with him as heir-apparent. The rest of the poem possesses little interest except for incidental episodes; but the story is nevertheless carried on to the death of the heroes. Yudishthira and his brothers ultimately gave up their kingdom to Arjuna's grandson Parikshit, and set out on a journey towards Indra's heaven on mount Meru, the mythical Olympus, lying in the north. Draupadí went with them, and also a dog. At last they reached Meru; but one after the other they dropped down dead, until Yudishthira was left the sole survivor, still accompanied by the dog. Indra refused him admittance to his heaven, as no dogs can enter

there. But the dog revealed himself as Yudishthira's father Dharma, and they entered heaven together. There Yudishthira found Duryodhana, but not his own brothers. He declined remaining in heaven without them, and was conducted by a divine messenger to Naraka (Tartarus), where he heard the cries of his brothers scorched by flames. He declared that he would share their fate, and sent away his divine attendant. But now Indra with the other gods appeared to inform him that all had been illusion; and after having bathed in the Ganga, he returned with them to the real heaven, where he met his brothers, and Krishna in all the splendour of his divine nature.

From the above abstract our readers will have seen to what an extent the warlike character predominates in the poem, and also that it is deeply tinged with a devotional spirit. Into the episodes other elements enter largely, as we observed before. Thus the episode of Nala is a thoroughly sentimental love-story; but it is by this time so well known to English readers that we shall say no more about it. Similar in spirit is the episode of Savitrî, a beautiful and virtuous princess, who by her faithful love, and at the same time by her theological learning, so touches Yama, the god of death, as to cause him to restore the life of her husband, whose soul he was in the act of carrying away.

The picture of the Mahābhārata would be imperfect without alluding to the philosophical doctrines of some of the episodes, especially the renowned Bhagavadgîta. The reasoning in this poem starts from the fundamental principle,⁵¹ "there can be no existence of the non-existing; there is no non-existence of that which exists." Consequently all things are of the substance of God, who, being incarnate in Krishna, describes himself in the following terms:⁵² "I am the origin and the dissolution of the whole world. There is nothing higher than I, O Arjuna. On me is all this universe fixed, as strings of pearls on a thread. I am taste in the waters, I am splendour in sun and moon, I am devotion in all scriptures, I am sound in the air, male power in men, I am pure fragrance in the earth, I am the light of the giver of light, I am the life in all living, I am penance in ascetics. Know me to be the eternal seed of all creatures, the wisdom of the wise, the radiance of the radiant am I." The ethical consequences of this doctrine are as follows:⁵³ "He who sees me in all things, and all things in me, for him I am not lost, nor is he lost for me. He who worships me as existing in all beings, turning towards unity, in whatever way he acts, he acts united with me." "He who already in this life before the release from the body can overcome the power arising from desire and pas-

⁵¹ ii. 16.

⁵² vii. 6.

⁵³ vi. 30.

sion, he is united (to me), he is happy. He who has pleasure, delight, and splendour in himself, he is united (with me), he, becoming Brahma, reaches the extinction in Brahma [the Absolute]. The extinction in Brahma is reached by sages whose sins are annihilated, who are freed from duality, have overcome themselves, and rejoice in the good of all beings. Those who are free from desire and passion, striving, with subdued minds, near unto them, versed in the knowledge of the soul, is the extinction in Brahma."⁴ It is this quietistic morality that has ultimately quenched the warlike spirit, still so clearly visible in the Mahābhārata.

The question remains, what historical truth there is in the tradition of the great battle, or whether there is any. Lassen is of opinion that the Mahābhārata records in a mythical form the shock sustained by the Aryan inhabitants of the inner Hindostan in consequence of a new influx of immigrants of the same race. He grounds this view chiefly on the name of Pāndu, which means "white, pale," and on that of his son Arjuna, "white, shining," as the new stream of Aryans from the north-west would be naturally of lighter colour than those who had already dwelt in the country for a considerable time. Krishna the name of their chief counsellor, and Krishnā that of their wife, meaning black, would imply, in Lassen's opinion, that the new-comers were aided by a part of the black aborigines of Hindostan. In confirmation of such a theory one could adduce the fact of Draupadī's, Mādri's, and Prithā's polyandry; a custom entirely unknown to any Indo-germanic nations, but still practised by some of the northern tribes of India that are Tibetan by race. The fact, however, that the father of both Pāndus and Kurus was also called Krishna seems altogether to overturn Lassen's theory. Besides, Prof. Weber has pointed out another, and far more likely, explanation of Arjuna's name. It appears as a surname of Indra, the shining god of the firmament, in the Veda; and nothing is more probable than that his son should be originally identical with him, as he actually takes his father's place in the fights with the demons. In this case, Arjuna, of course, never had any existence. It is strange that scarcely any of the chief personages of the Mahābhārata appear in any Vedic writing, except Krishna, who is mentioned, however, only as a human being, in the Vrihad-Aranyaka and Chandogya-upanishad. This is not favourable to the historical character of the Mahābhārata. In the White Yajurveda the Kurus and Panchālas appear as two tribes closely united; and in the same way they are mentioned in the Śata-patha-brāhmaṇa, which knows

nothing of an internecine war between them.⁵⁵ On the other hand, the Bráhmāna in question alludes to the destruction of Janamejaya, son of Parikshit, and of his brothers, Bhíma-sena, Ugrasena, Śruta-sena, with their whole race, as a recent and notorious event. This destruction of a kingly race, on which, however, we have no farther details, Weber considers to be the historical base of the tradition of the great battle with which a part of the myths referring to the god Indra was combined. If this be true, however, it is very strange that the Pándus, that is Janamejaya's own family, should be victorious in the great battle, and that moreover that battle should be described in the epic as having happened three generations before Janamejaya, and its history should be told to him. It seems to us impossible, in the absence of all historical testimony, to decide what were the actual facts on which the Mahá-bhārata may or may not be founded; but Weber's suggestion with regard to Arjuna we unhesitatingly adopt as true.

On the Rámáyana (*i. e.* the exploits of Ráma) we must be more brief. Its hero is Ráma, son of Daśaratha, king of Ayodhya (Oude), of the solar dynasty. Daśaratha had no son. Accordingly he undertook a great horse-sacrifice to procure offspring. The gods assembled to receive their share of the sacrifice, and promised Daśaratha a son. They applied, then, to Brahmá, and represented to him that the world was in danger of being destroyed by the king of demons, Ravana, who could only be killed by a man, as he had obtained from Brahmá, by severe penance, the boon of being invulnerable to divine beings. Vishnu accordingly promised to take the form of man. At the sacrifice of Daśaratha a supernatural being rose from the fire and offered a cup of nectar to the priest, which the queens of Daśaratha were to drink. It was unequally shared between them, and Kaus'alyá, who got half of it, brought forth Ráma, who consequently was possessed of half the nature of Vishnu. Sumitrá having taken the fourth part bore Lakshmana and Śatrughna, each containing an eighth part of Vishnu's essence; lastly, Kaikeyi drank the remaining portion, and her son Bharata was endowed with a fourth part of the nature of the god. All the brothers were great friends, and in the body of the poem they are treated as human beings, even Ráma seldom appearing in his divine character, although he is a pattern of human heroism and piety. He married Sítá, the daughter of king Janaka of Mithila (Tirhut), whom he won in a similar way to that in which Arjuna won Draupadi, by not only bending but even snapping a wonderful bow. Ráma was to be installed by his father as successor to the throne, when

⁵⁵ Weber, *Indische Litteraturgeschichte*, pp. 131, 132.

Bharata's mother, jealous at the preference shown to the son of her rival, reminded the king of a promise made in former years, that he would grant her two boons she might ask of him. She accordingly requested that Ráma should be banished, and Bharata installed in his stead. The king was obliged to comply; but he soon afterwards died broken-hearted. Ráma meekly submitted to his fate, restrained Lakshmana's anger, and declined Bharata's generous offer to give the throne back to him. He then proceeded with his wife and Lakshmana into the forest of Dandaka, south of the Yamuna (Jumna).

Having learned that the holy hermits there were much molested by Rákshasas (demons, Titans), he promised his assistance against them. One of them, S'urpa-nakha, the sister of Ravana, fell in love with Ráma; but he refused her, whereupon she caused two of her brothers to attack Ráma and Lakshmana with an army of Rákshasas. They were, however, defeated. S'urpa-nakha consequently applied to Ravana himself, who was the demon-king of Lanka (Ceylon), a monster with ten faces, twenty arms, copper-coloured eyes, and white teeth like the young moon. At the instigation of his sister, Ravana fell in love with Sítá, and determined to carry her off, with the help of another demon, Maríeha. This latter one took the shape of a golden deer, for which Sítá evinced so strong a desire, that Ráma went to hunt it. Maríeha, mortally wounded by the hero, uttered cries imitating Ráma's voice, which so alarmed Sítá that she sent Lakshmana to seek for him. Thus left alone, she was taken captive by Ravana, who carried her through the air to his city, but tried in vain to shake her faithfulness, against which neither the promise to make her his queen, nor the torments inflicted on her by female demons (Rákshasís), availed any thing. Ráma and Lakshmana, in their search for the lost maiden, reached the dwelling of Sugriva (i. e. beautiful neck), king of the Monkeys, who had lost his capital, Kishkindha [in the Dekhan], in warfare with his brother Bali. Ráma reinstated the king of the Monkeys, who in return promised to help him in the recovery of Sítá. Sugriva, therefore, as soon as the rainy season was ended, sent divers armies of his monkeys in search of her. One of them, commanded by Hanumat (large-jawed), succeeded in finding out the hiding-place of Sítá. Hanumat even leaped across through the air to Ceylon, and had an interview with Sítá, who refused to be carried on his back to Ráma, because she could not, as a modest woman, touch any one but her husband. Hanumat, having been taken prisoner by Ravana's son, Indrajit, and having afterwards escaped, returned to his master with the intelligence of Sítá's whereabouts. Thereupon Ráma and the

monkey-king marched southward, and were joined by Vibíshana, Ravana's brother, who had in vain tried to dissuade his brother from resistance against Ráma. Nala, the son of Vis'vakarman, that is of the architect of the gods, built a pier across to Ceylon, which is supposed still to exist in the reefs reaching from the continent to the island. By this the monkey armies passed over; and, after much fighting, Ravana was at last killed by Rama in single combat. Sitá, suspected of unfaithfulness, offered to submit to an ordeal. But whilst she was entering the flames, the gods appeared to bear witness to her purity, and Agni himself (the god of fire) delivered her up in safety to her husband. Ráma, after having installed Vibishana in the place of his demon brother, returned to Ayodhya with his wife, and henceforth occupied the throne which Bharata had kept for him meanwhile, but which he now vacated. The faithful Hanumat was rewarded by the gift of perpetual life and youth.

As our readers have already had specimens of the warlike style from the Mahábhárata, we shall subjoin two passages from the Rámáyana of a different character.

The first we take from the introduction.⁵⁶ It is the Hindu account of the invention of poetry by Válmiiki, the mythical author of the poem: "Having heard this speech of Nárada" (the messenger of the gods, who had commanded Válmiiki to sing Ráma's exploits), "Válmiiki, learned in speech, with his disciples, felt great astonishment; and in his mind the great sage revered Ráma, and with his disciples he saluted Nárada. Honoured by him, according to custom, Nárada, the divine sage, having obtained permission, returned to the abode of the gods. As soon as Nárada had gone to the world of the celestial, Válmiiki, the best of sages, went to the banks of the Tamasá. The great sage approaching a holy bathing-place in the Tamasá, said to his disciple who stood by his side, observing it to be free from mud, 'Behold! O Bahradvāja, this bathing-place free from gravel, clear and quiet, like the mind of good men. This is a bathing-place still and agreeable, with good water, with soft sand; at this place I will enter the waters of the Tamasá. Take thou my garment of bark, and come quickly back from my hermitage; do it well, so that there may be no delay.' He quickly returning from the hermitage, according to the words of his master, brought the dress of bark to his master; and having taken the dress from his disciple, put it on, plunged into the water, bathed, and having offered the fitting prayers in silence, and poured out libations to the Manes and the deities, he went looking about every where in the Tamasá

forest. Then he saw on the banks of the Tamasa, walking about without fear, a couple of curlews, of beautiful aspect; and a hunter, approaching unseen, shot one of this couple in the presence of the sage. Seeing him in convulsions on the ground, with his limbs overflowed with blood, the female curlew, in her sorrow, lamented piteously, flying about in the air. When the sage, accompanied by his disciple, saw this bird killed in the wood, there arose pity in his mind: then, through this feeling of pity, the best of the Brahmans, of just mind, perceiving the female curlew piteously crying, sang thus: 'Never mayst thou, O hunter, find peace for eternal years; because thou hast killed one of the pair of curlews that was intoxicated by love.' When he had spoken this word, he became at once thoughtful. 'What is this which I spoke pitying this bird?' and having mused for a moment and considered this speech, he said to his disciple, Bharadvāja, who stood by his side, 'This speech is bound in four feet of an equal number of syllables; and because it was spoken by me in sorrow (s'ochatá), therefore it shall be called verse (s'lōka).'

The next passage we will give describes the interview of Sítá with her husband after her release from Ravana:⁵⁷ "Thus addressed by Ráma, Vibíshana, full of impatience, led forward Sítá into the presence of the noble-minded Ráma. And having heard Ráma's words with regard to Sítá, all the dwellers in the wood and all his subjects, with Vibíshana as their chief, looked towards each other: 'What will Ráma do now? His hidden anger is apparent; it becomes visible by his looks.' Thus thinking, they all trembled seeing Ráma's behaviour; they were frightened by his unusual looks; apprehension arose within them. . . . And the Mithila maiden (Sítá), with her body drooping through shame, went forward to her husband, followed by Vibíshana. They saw her approaching as Venus in a bodily shape, like a divinity of Lanka, like Prabhá, the wife of the sun-god. She, with her face wet with tears, ashamed in the assembly of men, stood, having approached her husband, as the beautiful S'rí [Venus] comes towards Vishnu. And also Ráma, seeing her bearing divine beauty, though his mind was full of suspicion, did not speak to her for tears. Ráma, with pale countenance, tossed about on an ocean of anger and love, had his eyes very red, but it pleased him to restrain his tears. Seeing her standing before himself, the godlike lady, overwhelmed in her mind by shame, deeply afflicted, lost in thought like one bereft of her lord, the maiden carried off by the Rákshasa through violence, afflicted by captivity, scarcely having preserved her life, as it were, returned from the world

⁵⁷ vi. 99, 37.

of death, taken away by force from the empty hermitage, pure-minded, sinless, blameless, yet Ráma did not speak to her. With her eyes full of tears, ashamed in the assembly of men, having approached her husband she wept, saying, 'O hero, son of noble men.' Hearing her wailing, the chieftains all wept, sorrow rising in them, having their eyes filled with tears. And covering his face with his garment, Lakshmana, full of affliction, made an effort to restrain his tears, resolved to remain firm. Then Sítá of beautiful waist, perceiving the great change in her husband, stood before him conquering her shame. The beautiful maiden of Videha, conquering her sorrow, and relying on her faithfulness, restraining her tears by her pure soul, presented various aspects caused by astonishment, joy, love, anger, and weariness, as she gazed on her husband."

We have already observed that we see no reason to regard the Rámáyana as older than the Mahábhárata. The very unity of the Rámáyana leads to an opposite conclusion. Such large works only arise after epic poetry has run through many stages, and when the individual poet has a vast mass of previous songs to serve for his education. The comparative freedom of the Rámáyana from allusions to foreign nations of later times, is easily explained by the fact that the exploits of its hero have the south of India for their scene. Besides, there are not wanting allusions to the Greek kings, and even later times. We cannot share, therefore, the naïve assurance of Gorresio, who actually believes in Válmiki's authorship. The only feature worth mentioning that might be adduced in favour of a very ancient period, is the circumstance that of Dasaratha's wives none burns herself with him; a custom well known to Cicero, who probably got his knowledge from the historians of Alexander. But between a custom sometimes followed and a necessity always to be followed, there is some difference. That the suttee ever was a necessity it would be difficult to prove.

The historical basis of the Rámáyana is considered by Lassen, with whom most competent scholars seem to agree, to be the remembrance of the fight between the civilised Aryans of Hindostan and the savage natives of Southern India. The monkeys who assisted Ráma are in this view the representatives of that portion of the Dekhanic population that willingly fell in with the Brahminical life. We have very little faith in the distillation of history out of epic legends. The fact that the Dekhan was civilised by the Aryan Hindus rests happily on better evidence than that of the Rámáyana, namely, on the nature of that civilisation itself. The poem must be judged as a poem. For those, however, of our readers who have the

amiable weakness of wishing the characters of fiction to be made as authentic and historical as possible, we may mention that the father at least of Sítá, Janaka, king of Mithila or Videha, seems to be a historical person, for he is mentioned in the *S'ata-patha-bráhmaṇa*⁵⁸ as Janaka, king of the *Koś'ala-Videha*. The *Koś'ala* are in the *Rámáyana* the people of his son-in-law, *Ráma*.

The other epic poems of the Hindus are numerous. They consist first of the *Puráṇas* (i. e. old legends). These are ascribed to the same author as the *Mahábhárata*, namely, *Váyása*. We pointed out before that certain Vedic writings mention compositions of this name, but these compositions have nothing in common with the works now so called except the name. We have eighteen *Puráṇas*, but there were apparently at an earlier period only six, as the *Bhágavata-Purána* states⁵⁹ that *Váyása* originally made six collections, which were communicated by him to *Romaharshana* or *Lomaharshana*, called *Súta* (bard), who taught them to six different disciples. From these *Ugras'ravas*, *Romaharshana*'s son, also called *Súta*, learned in his turn the six collections. This *Ugras'ravas* is the same person as the bard who recited the *Mahábhárata* for the second time. There seems to be nothing historical in all these traditions, except the former existence of six *Puráṇas*. This circumstance explains why, in the eighteen which have come down to us, there is much sameness of matter, and why often whole portions are even identical in words. The language and style of the *Puráṇas* are, upon the whole, the same as those of the *Mahábhárata*. As to their contents, they are a kind of mythological encyclopedias, to be compared with the *Bibliotheca* of *Apollodorus*, or, better still, with *Hesiod's* *theogony*, executed on a gigantic scale. Most of the *Puráṇas* have besides a sectarian object, to set forth the praise of some particular god, more especially of either *S'iva*, or *Vishnu*, and his various incarnations. The favourite deity of each *Purána* is accordingly represented as identical with *Brahma* or the Absolute. These vast compilations are of rather modern origin. The *Vishnu-purana* knows the *Gupta* kings, whose reign began at about 170 A.D.,⁶⁰ and apparently even the *Mahometan* invasions, which did not begin before the eighth century. No wonder, therefore, that in these late works the old warlike elements of the *Mahábhárata* have become overgrown and almost entirely smothered by the reli-

⁵⁸ Weber, *Ind. Litt.* p. 130.

⁵⁹ See Bournouf's edition of it, i. p. xxxvi.

⁶⁰ Wilson (*Translation of the Vishnu-purana*, p. lxxii.) says that they reigned in the seventh century. But the above more correct date has since been ascertained from new monuments. Their reign extended indeed to the seventh century.

gious element. The exploits of the gods are described in the most hyperbolic phraseology, tiresome in the extreme to our European taste.

The Mahābhārata is generally described in India as an *itihāsa* (legend), whereas the Rāmāyana is called a *kavya* (poem). This latter name implies greater unity and individuality. There are other *kavyas* besides the Rāmāyana, the authors of which are well known and real persons. Kālidāsa himself wrote two, the *Raghu-vans'a*, or history of Raghū's family, the race of Rāma, and the *Kumāra-Sambhava*, or birth of Kumāra, the god of war. These, though more artificial than the old epic, are still truly poetical works. But as time went on, the Hindu epic degenerated more and more. Such works as the *Nalodaya*, or history of Nala, a poem chiefly remarkable for playing with words and rhymes; the *S'is'upāla-bādha*, i. e. death of Sisupala, with verses that may be read forwards and backwards, upwards and downwards; the *Bhatti-kavya*, narrating the history of Rāma so as to exemplify in every canto particular grammatical forms, which is done by using, for instance, the same tense all through it;—such compositions as these are no more poetry than the *Pugna Porcorum* of our middle ages. The height of absurdity is reached by the *Rāghava-Pāndaviya*, which is written in such a manner that one may read it, at will, as the history of Rāma or of the sons of Pāndu. Works like these only show the utter extinction of all epic spirit in their authors.

We have still to say a few words on the artistic peculiarities of the Indian epic. Our readers are in some measure able to form conclusions on the subject for themselves from the specimens with which we have interspersed the preceding pages. They will have remarked that there is really much poetical power in some of them; and they will also have observed that the style has many points in common with the Greek. The extensive use of similes, the repetition of certain epic formulas, the constant application of what has not inappropriately been called *epitheta ornantia*, a general tendency to spread out the narrative and dwell on its details, are common to both. The likeness would appear still more striking if the similarity of the two languages in grammar could be conveyed by any translation. The epic machinery of supernatural events also, and the close proximity and—so to speak—the terms of equality between gods and heroes, may be added to these general features. But we must nevertheless not forget the vast difference between the *Iliad* and the Mahābhārata, and, let us frankly confess it, the inferiority of the Hindu epic. For, when the poetic literature of India was discovered by Europeans, it was natural and

excusable—especially if we consider the marvellous expectations previously entertained regarding that country—that in the first joy of the discovery of noble poems in a quarter where nobody had looked for poetic power (but rather for primitive religion and philosophy), men should have indulged in exaggerated enthusiasm. But it is time now, when we know India better, to recover our artistic sense, and return to the Greeks with increased and increasing admiration. Let us compare the Mahābhārata with the Iliad. Putting aside the loose form of the Indian poem, there remain other grave blemishes likely to jar on European feelings. The peculiar Brahminical morality and philosophy is a discordant element. This is not the place to pass a judgment on the intrinsic merit of these doctrines. Whatever may be thought of the Brahminical ideal of society, the philosophical development—say, for instance, in the Bhagavad-Gita—is of no small power. Such a poem must for ever occupy a memorable place in the history of philosophy, beside Parmenides and the Stoics, beside Spinoza and Hegel. But it is equally certain that this philosophy of the “One and All” is not favourable to the simplicity and straightforwardness, the naïve energy of epic poetry. In this sense—in this merely artistic sense, we repeat—Homer’s heroes, simple as they are, savage if you like, are vastly superior, as poetical figures, to the warriors of the Mahābhārata, who in the interval of their battles can reason high about God and man, fate and eternity. But this is not all. In the passage describing Karna’s last combat with Arjuna our readers will have observed the superabundance of similes; and this excess of riches is a universal feature of the Indian epic. How would Homer have dealt with this profusion of images? The answer is not difficult. Compare for a moment the introduction to the *κατάλογος νηῶν*, describing in a series of similes the gathering of the Achæans and Trojans. Instead of heedlessly scattering about comparisons with mountains and lotus-lakes, and lions and elephants, the Greek poet (or poets) would have dwelt on each of these; depicted the lion, the elephant, the mountain, and the lotus-lake in all their peculiar features; describing them, delighting in them, shaping them into clear images, and communicating his delight and his clear perception to his hearers. And not only the Greek poets would have dealt so with similes, but the older Indian poets also—we mean the authors of the Vedic songs—would have adopted a similar course. For the hymns we have laid before our readers above are, in the simplicity of their imagery, much more akin to the Iliad than to the Mahābhārata. It is clear, therefore, that when the Aryans had reached the inner plain of Hindostan a change came

over them. The tropical sun, the strange scenery, the gigantic nature, displayed in the vast mountains of the north, as well as in the immense rivers of the south, the large palm-trees and huge creeping plants, the unheard-of beasts and birds,—all these together have influenced the Indian mind, driving it to excess, and at the same time lulling it into weary repose. Hence the fierce sensuality of their love-poems; hence, as the opposite side of the picture, their self-renouncing, self-despairing philosophy; hence also their wild flights of fancy in the epic. We are crowded by similes, hurried from one to another, each splendid and glowing, but none remaining long enough before our minds to give us a clear picture. There are snowy mountains, wild jungles, streams with floating lotus-flowers, elephants and tigers roaming through impervious forests, rain and sunshine in fitful changes, sun and moon, night and morning, gods and demons in combat; but our eyes are dazzled by these shifting scenes, our minds grow weary, and in the midst of palms and lotuses we long for home, for a simple northern meadow, with a cloudy sky and scant glimpses of sunshine, with a few daisies instead of lotuses, and instead of mighty rivers a small brook murmuring through the grass. To speak more precisely: Hindu epic poetry deals lavishly with similes. When the youthful Pindar did the same, Corinna is said to have addressed him with these warning words: "Not with the sack [must you sow], but with the hand, O Pindar." The Greek poet profited by the lesson; but the Indians are constantly sowing with the sack.

The effect of this superabundance of imagery is, in the first place, want of perspicuity. The mind cannot realise so many ideas at once. But the Hindus apparently count this want of clearness as a merit. When in the *Iliad* a god disappears, he flies away in the shape of a bird; thus offering to the imagination, in spite of the miracle, something to fasten upon. The Indian epic simply says that he disappears [*antar-adhíyata*], without giving the hearer any clue to his manner of doing it. Homer is moderate in his use of numbers; in the Indian epic we are constantly told that this hero reigned for thousands of years, and that ascetic stood ten thousand years on one leg. All this shows the comparative absence of clearness, form, and measure. But the want of artistic shape and moderation, though it may at first sight seem to arise from superabundance of strength, ultimately results in weakness. In one passage⁶¹ Arjuna is represented as using the terrible weapon of Siva against the Titans, and scarcely was it shot when there appeared "thousandfold shapes of deers, of lions, tigers, bears,

⁶¹ Bopp, *Arjuna-samágama*, x. 44.

buffaloes, snakes, cows, elephants, monkeys in heaps, bulls, boars, and cats, s'alas, wolves, ghosts, vultures, griffins, bees, trees, mountains, and *oceans*; gods, sages, and gandharvas, vampires, yakshas, and foes of the gods," &c. "Of these, and many other beings of divers forms, this whole world was full, when that weapon had been shot; and they had three heads, four tusks, four arms."

There is no doubt that the Indian poet means by the above description to represent the highest effort of superhuman strength. But now compare with this the passage of the *Iliad*,⁶² where Diomedes is said to have thrown a stone at Æneas, "such as two men could not lift, as mortals now are, yet he threw it easily." How much less imposing is Diomedes than Arjuna! how modest the imagination of the Greek poet compared with the flight the Hindu's mind has taken! And yet on which side is the strength—on which is the weakness? on which the beautiful—and on which the ridiculous?

It would be unjust, however, if, without qualification, we were to measure the poetical productions of the Hindu by the standard which we owe to the Greeks, and which we should never have possessed except for them. The Hindu epic, if not strictly faultless, has yet acted as a power creative of poetry on other nations. For not only are there translations of the two great poems in the modern languages of Hindostan, Bengali and Hindustani; but also the Dekhanic people, when they became brahmanised, adopted the epic traditions of the Aryans, and reproduced them in their own language. Indeed, these tales were carried as far as Java by the Indian colonists. For in Kavi, the old literary language of that island, containing a large admixture of Sanskrit, and formed under its influence, we find both a Brata-Yudda (*Mahābhārata*) and a Rama-kavi (*Rāmāyana*). It is gratifying to dwell on these facts, which indisputably show that the Aryan-Hindus, in spite of their shortcomings, were yet, in epic poetry as well as in other things, a civilised and civilising nation.

ASCETICISM AMONGST MAHOMETAN NATIONS.

[COMMUNICATED.]

THE celebrated Egyptian ascetic Dhou-el-Noun, in the third century of the Hejirah, relates the following story of his spiritual teacher Schakran, in whose person he speaks: "When I was young, I lived on the eastern bank of the Nile, near Cairo, and gained my livelihood by ferrying passengers across to the western side. One day, as I was sitting in my boat near the river-shore, about noon, an aged man presented himself before me; he wore a tattered robe, a staff was in his hand, and a water-skin suspended to his neck. 'Will you ferry me over for the love of God?' said he. I answered, 'Yes.' 'And will you fulfil my commission for the love of God?' 'Yes.' Accordingly I rowed him across to the western side. On alighting from the boat, he pointed to a solitary tree some distance off, and said to me, 'Now go your way, and do not trouble yourself further about me till to-morrow; nor indeed will it be in your power even should you desire it, for as soon as I have left you, you will at once forget me. But to-morrow, at this same hour of noon, you will suddenly call me to mind; then go to that tree which you see before you; I shall be lying dead in its shade. Say the customary prayers over my corpse, and bury me; then take my robe, my staff, and the water-skin, and return with them to the other side of the river; there deliver them to him who shall first ask them of you: this is my commission.' Having said this, he immediately departed. I looked after him, but soon lost sight of him, and then, as he had himself already forewarned me, I utterly forgot him. But next day, at the approach of noon, I suddenly remembered the event, and hastily crossing the river alone, I came to the western bank, and then made straight for the tree. In its shade I found him stretched out at full length, with a calm and smiling face, but dead. I recited over him the customary prayers, and buried him in the sand at the foot of the tree; then I took the garment, the water-skin, and the staff, and returned to my boat. Arrived at the eastern side, I found standing on the shore to meet me a young man, whom I knew as a most dissolute fellow of the town, a hired musician by profession. He was gaudily dressed, his countenance bore the traces of recent debauch, and his fingers were stained with henna. 'Give me the bequest,' said he. Amazed at such a demand from such a character, 'And what bequest?' I answered. 'The staff, the water-skin, and the garment,' was his reply. Hereon I drew them, though unwillingly, from the bottom of the boat where I had concealed them, and

gave them to him. He at once stripped off his gay clothes, put on the tattered robe, hung the water-skin round his neck, took the staff in his hand, and turned to depart. I, however, caught hold of him, and exclaimed, 'For God's sake, ere you go tell me the meaning of this, and how this bequest has become yours, such as I know you.' 'By no merit of my own certainly,' answered he. 'But I passed last night at a wedding feast, with many boon companions, in singing, drinking deep, and mad debauch. As the night wore away and morning drew near, tired out with pleasure and heavy with wine, I lay down on the ground to sleep. Then in my sleep one stood by me, and said, 'God has at this very hour taken to Himself the soul of the ascetic such-a-one, and has chosen you to fill his place on earth. Rise, and go to the river-bank; there you will meet a ferryman in his boat; demand from him the bequest; he will give you a garment, a staff, and a water-skin; take them, and live as their first owner lived.' Such was his story; he then bade me farewell, and went his way. But I wept bitterly over my own loss, in that I had not been chosen in his place as successor to the dead saint, and thought that such a favour would have been more worthily bestowed on me than on him. But that same night, as I slept, I heard a voice saying to me, 'Schakran, is it grief to thee that I have called an erring servant of mine to repentance? The favour is my free gift, and I bestow such on whom I will, nor yet do I forget those who seek me.' I awoke from sleep, and repented of my impatient ambition." And so he concludes his narrative with some verses of Arab poetry, which we will here render as best we may:

"The true lover seeks no self-advantage from his beloved;
 All choice on thy part, O lover, is treason in love; ah, didst thou but understand it aright!
 Should He please to raise thee in His favour, it is His mere gift and graciousness.
 Or should He keep thee at a distance, thou hast no right to complain.
 Nay, if thou findest not thy pleasure even in His seeming coldness towards thee,
 Give up thy rank among lovers, that place is not for thee.
 Ah, my God, if indeed love has rendered Thee Lord of my soul,
 Or has surrendered me to Thee as a bond-slave, Thine even to the death,
 Grant, or deny, or keep silence, it is all one,
 My glory is to be ever Thine, and that suffers nor change nor abasement.
 I seek nought of Thee in love's service save Thy own good pleasure,
 And if it be Thy good pleasure to treat me with coldness, that too is mine."

Is this a passage from the lives of the Fathers of the Desert, or from the hagiology of modern Egypt? As he who has not travelled abroad or become acquainted with foreign nations can never rightly understand his own, so he who has not studied the

history and development of other religions can but ill understand or appreciate that which he professes. Truth is one; and religion, in its highest sense as the ultimate expression of truth, can only be one if it is true. For religion has its objective as well as its subjective side, and denotes the objects worshipped as they exist in themselves, as well as in their relation to the worshipper. Moreover, whatever differences there may be between one religion and another objectively considered, yet subjectively religion can have but one subject-matter, one ground upon which its line is traced—the human mind. Infinite as are the forms, immense the divergence between Paganism, Judaism, Christianity, and Mahometanism, and again between their countless sections and sub-sections, aberrations or developments, orthodoxies or heresies, they have all as the subject-matter of such multiform variety one common field of action—the human race. Now that religions do really and most deeply modify, influence, determine, the character of those who hold them, no thinking mind can doubt. Yet the converse is equally true; and while such varied religions as divide among themselves the hundreds of millions of the human species are exercising, each over its allotted section, an influence more or less pernicious or beneficial, the one subject mind, so diverse in its unity, so truly one in all its diversity, is constantly and most efficaciously reacting on its ruler, modifying, restricting, developing, and bringing back in a certain measure to unity, creeds so diverse and forms so varying. The Arabs have no truer saying in their famed proverbial store than the favourite adage “Beni Adam,” “Sons of Adam,” by which they concisely formulise the uniformity, the unity, of human mind and conduct, amid all the variations of ages, nations, and climes. And this holds good with regard to religion as to all the rest.

No one therefore should be surprised, much less scandalised, to find in other religions, which he regards as false, pretty much the same order of progress, of action, or of decline, as in his own, which he regards as true. Possibly he may be right in this his belief, possibly he may be wrong; but right or wrong, he should remember that the nature which forms the ground-work, or the subject-matter, of both religions is the same.

And this fact should serve to make us less anxious to discover, and less ardent to uphold, certain theories, whereby some endeavour to trace all religions to one common source, thus making them all branches—some straighter, others more gnarled or distorted—of the same common stock or tree. Religions are often, like language, not daughters but sisters; even the link between them is very generally not that of consanguinity, but affinity. And as among trees the same general and leading features of roots, trunk, branches, and leaves, are to be found generally with

a certain uniformity in all, though their minute features and intrinsic qualities are widely different, so is it in a measure with religions. This consideration will serve to clear up the apparent inconsistency of looking for asceticism among Mahometans. How is it possible to find asceticism in a religion based on fatalism, "propped by sensuality, maintained and propagated by brute-force, in which the highest type of man is the ferocious warrior; the noblest reward proposed, a bevy of voluptuous hours? And how can one sentence bring together words of such opposite meaning as asceticism and Mahometanism? or what can they have in common? how coexist?" Asceticism cannot be found in Mahometanism in its absolute and ideal character, but only as it exists subjectively; in its votaries, in Mahometan persons and nations, it may exist, however inconsistent it may be with the theory of the religion. True it is that Mahometanism as such seems absolutely to exclude from its range not only whatever might bear the name of ascetic, but even the virtues and ideas that could serve as a basis to asceticism. And so in fact it did for a while, that is, during a short period of early vigour, and whilst the action of the new and invading principle was strong enough to smother the reaction of the human mind, and resist whatever modifications such reaction might strive to impress on it. But so complete a triumph was not of long duration; internal development, however contrary to the real and original intentions and tendencies of the new system, went on and strengthened, till, fostered and excited by external influences, unavoidable too in the course of events, a new creation appeared,—new as to the ground it thus occupied, yet nowise new, rather very old, in itself. And thus asceticism, so long known and prevalent in the ancient religions of India and China, in Buddhism and Brahminism, not entirely repressed by Grecian symbolism or Roman materialism, fostered in the Egyptian temples and not excluded by the simplicity of the Sinaitic law, familiar to the teachings of Zoroaster, and long since dominant and brought to a yet fuller and nobler form under the kindred influence of Christianity, found place for its roots and outspread its branches in the ungenial soil of Mahometanism itself.

What was its origin, to what influences it owed its first rise and rapid propagation, how far doctrines or practices, remembrances or anticipations, strange to the law and credence of Islam gave it strength or form, its history will best show. It is our object to trace this history as far as our limits will permit. Much will remain unsaid; yet it is something to open the first line of investigation in a subject of such manifold interest and bearing.

No doubt can be entertained by any one who has attentively

studied the Coran, or considered the life of Mahomet as known in contemporary, or at least in early Arab, tradition, that the camel-driver of the Hedjaz was as adverse to all approach to asceticism in theory as he was remote from it in practice. This is shown by his often-repeated words; and certainly his personal history in no way belied them; and such too were, as might have been expected, the tendencies of the religion he founded. A short and uniformly monotonous form of prayer; a few external ceremonies, almost all intimately connected with whatever is most animal, most debasing in human nature; a most servile fear of a most material hell; a most base desire of a heaven of wine and harlots; a blind and inexorable destiny for God; and a crowd of slaves for creatures or worshipers;—such is Islam, as Mahomet conceived it, and as such he constantly preached it. Certainly the law and the lawgiver had little of the ascetic in them. And the “*Sahih*,” the “*Mischkat el Mesabih*,” and similar documents, attest with what energy, “in season and out of season,” he endeavoured to render his first followers and companions even as he was; nor without success.

Yet even in his lifetime an attempt was made to engraft on this strange trunk a branch of very different growth. The facts are well known. One evening, after some more vigorous declamations than usual on the prophet’s part,—he had taken for his theme the flames and tortures of hell,—several of his most zealous companions, among whom the names of Omar, Ali, Abou-Dharr, and Abou-Horeirah are conspicuous, retired to pass the night together in a neighbouring dwelling. Here they fell into deep discourse on the terrors of divine justice, and the means to appease or prevent its course. The conclusion they came to was nowise unnatural. They agreed that to this end the surest way was to abandon their wives, to pass their lives in continued fast and abstinence, to wear hair-cloth, and practise other similar austerities: in a word, they laid down for themselves a line of conduct truly ascetic, and leading to whatever can follow in such a course. But they desired first of all to secure the approbation of Mahomet. Accordingly, at break of day they presented themselves before him, to acquaint him with the resolution of the night, as well as its motives and purport; but they had reckoned without their host. The prophet rejected their proposition with a sharp rebuke, and declared marriage and war to be far more agreeable to the Divinity than any austereness of life or mortification of the senses whatever: and the well-known passage of the Coran, “O true believers, do not abstain from the good things of the earth which God permits you to enjoy,”—revealed, of course, by Gabriel on this very occasion,—remains a lasting monument of Mahomet’s disgust at this premature outbreak of ascetic feeling.

Such a lesson, joined to many others of a similar character, was not likely to be soon forgotten. For a century after the prophet's death we hardly find any authentic manifestation of the same tendency. Continued warfare, sometimes against the surrounding nations, sometimes, and with equal animosity, among themselves; the intoxicating excitement of a new and vast sphere of life and action, in which all more or less participated; the charms of plundered wealth, of captive beauty, of fair lands subdued,—lands which to the half-starved natives of the barren Hedjaz seemed the very paradise promised as future recompense,—Egypt and Syria, Persia and the islands of the Mediterranean, Africa and the Indus;—all this was little calculated to foster in the flushed conquerors ascetic ideas or corresponding practices. One family alone seems from the very outset to have manifested the germs of an opposite disposition. Ali, the son of Abou-Zhalib, and his numerous race, gave proofs first of a mystic, then of an ascetic, turn of mind, destined to exercise in after ages, down to the present day, and probably as long as Islam shall have being, a strange and deep influence on the Mahometan world. Their early establishment on the frontiers of Persia, the study or contact of Persian ways and literature, much contributed to bring out and to modify in them their peculiar inclinations. It was in fact in the very lands formerly subject to the Persian rule and religion that Mahometanism, as we shall soon see, admitted—first in a few scattered instances and hesitatingly, then widely spread and fully—the new school, so different from, nay so opposite to, that of its founder. Yet the love of study, a remarkable delicacy of feeling, and a high, even over-wrought, enthusiasm might have sufficed alone to produce such a result in the family of Ali, even independently of similar influences; and in fact, if Ali himself, his son Hasan, his grandson Zein el Abidin, and after them Djaufar es-Sadik, Mousa el Kadhim, Ali er-Ridha, and others of their race, were successively looked up to by the ascetic brotherhood as guides and instructors in word and deed, yet they never seem to have given in to the pantheistic or Manichæan tendencies so remarkable at a later period among the *derwiches* of Persia. But, as their lives and actions are, to a certain extent, known in Europe, we shall pass over their detail in silence, and content ourselves with having thus indicated once for all a family which was the very backbone, so to speak, of the ascetic frame, to dwell more fully on those less known in our Western world, though most deserving of serious and discerning attention.

For brevity's sake, we shall not note down, one by one, the authorities whence these same facts or events are derived, contenting ourselves with here indicating their names once for all. Ebn Khallican, Moukri, the Nablousi, Abd el Ghani, the

Souk el Aschwak, Roudhat el Abrar, El Akhlak es-Sabaa, the writings of Mohi ed Din el Hamawi, of Omar Ebn Faridh, of the Ghazali, of the Kalyoubi, the Anwar el Kadisich, the Kibrit el Ahmar have furnished us with the greater part of the facts and dates here cited; oral tradition, gathered in intimate intercourse with many yet living among the mystics and ascetics themselves, has supplied a lesser share. Nor do we pretend here to determine the amount of historical credit due to these works or authors, such historical criticism belonging to another and different study. *Valeant quantum valent.* After all sifting and pondering, a very considerable residue will remain. The events recorded, the sayings reported, were mostly public, and subjected in their very age to the examen of doubt, scepticism, and hostility. Nor do we attempt to explain, to account for, these phenomena. We have indeed a very definite, and to us certain, idea as to their origin and character; and our readers will probably have one also. But to resume our narrative.

The first historical outbreak of ascetic feeling had been, we have already seen, spontaneous, and of an Arab character among Arabs. But the lawgiver himself was still alive; he set his own full influence against it, and stifled it in the germ. War and conquest, with all their train, prevented its speedy reappearance. But now the first ardours of movement and novelty had subsided; the sword was, in many regions, sheathed; and another generation had sprung up, accustomed from their birth to the gardens of Damascus or the rose-groves of Schiraz, and through very custom less sensible to their charms, no longer new. Meanwhile the great mass of the conquered populations, though outwardly professing Islam—nay inwardly believing it—yet retained, even unavoidably, much of their old feelings and hereditary creeds. And the first country where all these circumstances combined to produce their necessary result was, as might have been expected, Persia.

Its inhabitants, whether followers of Zoroaster or allied to their near neighbours the Indians, had already been for ages in presence of mystical ideas and ascetic practices, and had largely imbibed them. Besides, they were far removed by lands and seas from the original centre and radiating focus of Arab Mahometanism; and difference of race, added in a great number to the Schiite divergence of creed, rendered them antipathetic, if not to the religion and law, at least to the ways and practices of the Arabs. These last had at first rejected—put down—asceticism in every form or fashion; this was already a strong reason for the others to patronise and adopt it. The result was not long in showing itself.

Zaous, Abou Abd er-Rahman, of Persian origin, but born in the Yemen, led the way. He had passed his early youth in the society of Zein el Abidin, the son of Hasan, and grandson of Ali, and the first of that family who embodied in his manner of life, as in his writings, those mystical ideas and austere practices which afterwards distinguished the race. Abou-Horeirah, the devoutest of Mahomet's own companions, and Ebn Abbas, renowned for his religious lore and unrepurchased conduct, were also his masters. He took up his abode at Mecca, and there distinguished himself by the severity of his life as well as by the peculiarity of his dress, having adopted the high woollen cap, the *soufi*, whence in process of time arose the title of Soufi, given to ascetics of his class, as well as the long and patched garment entitled the *khirkah*, distinctive of the future brotherhood. Mecca was no longer the abode of the Caliphs, or centre of government. The death of Othman, in transferring the supreme power to Ali, had given the rank of capital in the Mahometan world for a moment to Coufa; and later still the family of Ommiah had fixed their royal residence at Damascus. But it was still the centre of religious feeling, and crowds of pilgrims from all parts of the empire, and especially from Pesra, Balkh, Bokhara, and their neighbourhood, thronged its streets, or adopted there a more permanent dwelling. Among these Zaous soon found numerous disciples and imitators, whom he admitted to that secret doctrine which he had learned from the grandson of Ali, while the uninitiated crowd contented themselves with admiring his long prayers, his fasts, and extreme poverty, and above all his open contempt for all worldly dignity and rank. Of these virtues many examples are recorded in his history, as we have it from numerous authors of a later date; but we must exclude them from this narrative. Zaous died in the 102d year of the Mahometan era, but not without leaving many and zealous successors in Mecca itself, besides those who carried back to their own native countries the memory and imitation of their master.

One of the most distinguished of these was Hasan Yesar, like Zaous, of Persian origin, but born like him in Arabia, at the town of Medinah, where his mother had been brought as a captive and sold to Omm Salma, one of the numerous wives of the Prophet. Arrived at man's estate, and having received his liberty, he retired to Basra on the Persian Gulf, a town well known for its attachment to the family of Ali and their doctrines, and henceforth a stronghold of the ascetic sect. Here he lived undisturbed, though his open disavowal of the reigning family of Ommiah exposed him to some danger, against which, however, the popular veneration proved his safeguard. During

the reign of Yejid, son of Maāowiah, founder of the Ommiade dynasty, he gave public proof of his politico-religious opinions. This caliph having nominated Omar-Ebn Hobeirah governor of the province, this last sent for Hasan Yesar, along with several individuals renowned for learning and piety in the town of Basra, to consult them, whether feignedly or not, on the validity of his appointment by Yejid. The companions of Hasan gave a courtly and temporising answer. Hasan kept silence till pressed to speak. He replied, "Son of Hobeirah, God makes light of Yejid, but Yejid cannot make light of God; for God can protect you against Yejid, and Yejid cannot protect you from God; yet know the time is nigh when God will send against you an angel to make you descend from your throne, and to drag you from your spacious castle to a narrow tomb; and then naught can save you except your own works, O son of Hobeirah. But if you needs must disobey God, know that God ordained human power as a means of defence to His religion and to His servants. And how can you abuse God-ordained power to oppress that religion and the servants of God? No creature can exact as obedience disobedience to the Creator." The new governor trembled, and abstained from reply or comment.

One of Hasan's favourite sayings was, "I never knew an undoubted certainty liker among men to an uncertain doubt than death." His life proved his own freedom from the general illusion; and his death, which occurred in the year 110 of the Hejira, was cheered by visions of glory.

Another of the disciples of Zaous, named Abou Mohammed Ata, a Negro and a slave by birth, coeval with Hasan, inhabited Mecca, where he is said to have exercised a great influence over the pilgrims to that town. But a certain tendency to practical immorality, not uncommon in overstrained mysticism, appears to have betrayed itself in his teachings. We shall meet with striking examples of this hereafter. However, Mecca and Medinah were too near to Syria, and the influence of the Ommiade dynasty, to be suitable localities for the permanent residence of the doctors of the new school. As the distinction between the east and the west of the Mahometan empire became more and more marked, the lines of orthodox sensualism and of ambiguous or heterodox mysticism were more fully drawn out; and while the west appeared awhile as the stronghold of the former, the east gave a ready shelter to the latter. Mecca alone continued to form a sort of exception, the pilgrimage uniting there all the various schools of doctrine and their teachers, especially during the annual solemnities attending the pilgrimage; and thus the place continued a centre of meeting, though no longer of habitation, to the ascetic faction.

Basra was now their head-quarters. For a full century we shall find it such, till the dynasty of the Moghrebins and Fatimites in Africa and Egypt at last rendered Cairo in the west much what Basra had been at the outset in the east. But this was yet to come.

Malik Ebn Dinar, a Persian and a slave by birth, adorned by his virtues, amongst which the love of manual labour, united with its sister-qualities of poverty and humility, was eminently conspicuous, next appeared as chief among the ascetics of his age. He flourished in the second century of Islam, and enjoyed the friendship and esteem of the personages then most noted for learning or piety. His frequent citations of the Bible might almost give rise to a suspicion of Christian tendencies, or at least warrant the belief that he counted among his masters in the mystic school others than Zaous and the inhabitants of Mecca. He died at Basra in the year 131 of the Hejirah.

Not less celebrated in his day was Omar Abou Othman, born in the Hedjaz, but, like most of those above mentioned, of Persian origin. He also inhabited Basra, and was a disciple of Hasan Yesar, who described him as one worthy of angels and prophets for preceptors and guides,—one who never exhorted save to what he had first put in practice, nor deterred from any thing except what he inviolably abstained from. Like his master, he possessed an admirable freedom of spirit in his intercourse with the great, whose proffers he steadily refused to accept, and an extreme affability towards the poor. He was a vigorous asserter of the free-will of man against the predestinarian systems then developing into dogma. At his death he turned to one of the assistants, and said, "Death has come on me and found me unprepared;" then, addressing himself to God, he added, "O Lord, thou knowest that I never had to choose between two things,—one according to thy good will, and the other pleasing to myself,—but I preferred thy good will to my own satisfaction, and now my hope is in thy mercy." He died in the 144th year of the Hejirah.

About the same time Omar Abou Durr and Sofein Abou Abd Allah displayed—the one at Coufa, the other at Basra—similar examples of austerity and virtue. Hammad Abou Ismail, son of the celebrated Abou Hanifah, Abd Allah Merouji, and Mohammed Ebn es-Semmak, distinguished themselves in the same region and by the same conduct. Ebn es-Semmak possessed a high degree of eloquence, and often spoke in public. Many of his sayings are preserved; amongst which the sentence, "Fear God as though you had never obeyed Him, and hope in God as though you had never sinned against Him," may well be considered worthy of a Christian preacher.

But whether at Mecca or at Basra, the various ascetics above mentioned, and numerous others, especially in the second century of Islam,—here omitted for brevity's sake,—whatever personal influence they might exercise, or whatever virtues they might practise, had never formed a particular and distinct association or brotherhood. No common rule united them; no one was in any rigorous sense superior or director of the rest; they lived each according to his own special character; in a word, they were individuals, not an order or a body. But now appeared one who modified advantageously the character of their existence, and, by establishing a strict union and brotherhood among them, assured the permanence of their asceticism while he heightened their enthusiasm, developed their hitherto uncertain theory, and organised its practice,—the founder and father of the numerous Derviche family, the celebrated Fodheil Abou Ali Zalikani. Born, like the greater number of those already mentioned, of Persian parents (he was a native of the province of Khorasan), he had been in early youth a highway robber, and abandoned to all the vices which accompany such a mode of existence. One night he had scaled the walls of a house where a girl of whom he was enamoured dwelt, and, concealed on the roof, awaited the moment to descend and gratify his passion. But while thus occupied he heard a voice repeating the well-known verse of the Coran: "Is it not high time for those who believe to open their hearts to compunction?" "Lord, it is high time indeed," replied Fodheil; and leaving the house, as well as his evil design, he retired to a half-ruined caravansarai not far off, there to pass the rest of the night. Several travellers were at the moment lodged in the caravansarai; and, concealed by the darkness, he overheard their conversation. "Let us start on our journey," said one; and the others answered, "Let us wait till morning, for the robber Fodheil is out on the roads." This completed the conversion of the already repentant highwayman. He advanced towards the travellers, and, discovering himself to them, assured them that henceforth neither they nor any others should have ought to fear from him. He then stripped himself of his weapons and worldly gear, put on a patched and tattered garment, and passed the rest of his life in wandering from place to place, in the severest penitence and in extreme poverty, sometimes alone, sometimes with numerous disciples, whom he took under his direction, and formed into a strict and organised brotherhood. But with all his austerity of life, his prolonged fasts and watchings, his ragged dress and wearisome pilgrimages, he preferred the practice of interior virtue and purity of intention to all outward observances, and used often to say that "he who is modest

and compliant to others, and lives in meekness and patience, gains a higher reward by so doing than if he fasted all his days, and watched in prayer all his nights." At so high a price did he place obedience to a spiritual guide, and so necessary did he deem it, that he declared, "Had I a promise of whatever I should ask in prayer, yet would I not offer that prayer save in union with a superior." But his favourite virtue was the love of God in perfect conformity to His will, above all hope or fear. Thus when his only son—whose virtues resembled his father's—died in early age, Fodheil was seen with a countenance of unusual cheerfulness; and being asked by his intimate disciple Ragi Abou Ali, afterwards Kadhi of the town of Rei, the reason wherefore, he answered: "It was God's good pleasure, and it is therefore my good pleasure also." "To leave ought undone for the esteem of men is hypocrisy, and to do ought for their esteem is idolatry," were also his words. "Nay, much is he beguiled who serves God from fear or hope, for His true service is for mere love," and, speaking of himself, "I serve God because I cannot help serving Him for very love's sake,"—are expressions of his more worthy in truth of admiration than of sinister comment.

An often-repeated anecdote relating to this extraordinary man may here find place, though perhaps not unknown to some of our readers. Haroun er-Rashid, the celebrated Caliph of Bagdad, was on his way to Mecca. The road from Coufa to the gates of the sacred city had been strewn with the finest carpets; and whatever luxury and power could minister to lighten the fatigues of the pious but laborious journey surrounded the prince. While thus advancing by easy stages on his ornate way, he fell in with Fodheil, who, alone and on foot, according to his invariable custom, crossed his path. The Caliph, already acquainted with him, but desirous of yet further intimacy, detained the unwilling ascetic for some hours under a silken tent. After a long conversation, when the instances of Fodheil had at last procured him permission to depart, Haroun said to him, "Tell me, have you ever met with any one of greater detachment than yourself?" "Yes," answered Fodheil, "I have." "And who can that be?" rejoined the Caliph. "You yourself," answered the ascetic. "God bless us!" said Haroun, in utter amazement; "what do you mean?" "Yes," answered Fodheil, "it is even so: your detachment is greater than mine; for I have only detached myself from this world, which is little and perishable, while you, as it seems, have detached yourself from the next, which is immense and everlasting." But the life of Fodheil alone would, if given at length, suffice for a volume; we pass over accord-

ingly innumerable doings and sayings of authentic record, as well as wonders and miracles of perhaps more equivocal authenticity, to continue the history of the master in some of his principal disciples.

Fodheil died in the year 187 of the Hejira. In his lifetime the famous Ibrahim Ebn Adhem, son of noble parents, in the town of Balkh in Khorassan, had been his most cherished follower and nearest imitator. Unlike his master, he had been remarkable for his pious inclinations from his earliest youth; but it was under the direction of Fodheil that he abandoned his worldly hopes to enter on a life of poverty and humiliation. Seventeen times he went on pilgrimage to Mecca across the whole breadth of the Arabian peninsula, without guide or provisions, putting his trust in God alone. It is said that, being once on the point of perishing with thirst in the sandy desert, he begged of God a draught of water, and immediately an angel stood before him with a full pitcher in his hand. But Ebn Adhem repented of his over-haste in demanding this solace, and requested the angel only to pour the water over his burning head instead of giving it him to drink. The angel complied, and at the same instant his thirst and weariness vanished, and so he arrived safely at his journey's end.

Returned to his native town, as he passed through the streets in beggar's guise, a soldier who had known him in wealth and nobility, irritated at seeing him thus, as he thought, disgrace his family, met him mid-way and struck him on the face. "God bless you," said Ibrahim, and continued his way without other notice. But the soldier, emboldened by his forbearance, followed him in the crowd, and struck him again yet more brutally. Ibrahim gave the same answer; and when the soldier repeated the insult a third time, "God bless you" was still the reply. But the arm of the soldier was suddenly paralysed, and he fell on the ground in convulsions. The bystanders, witnesses of the outrage and of its consequences, broke out into half-adoring admiration of the patient ascetic. But he, unwilling to receive their honours, fled, and did not stay till he joined next day a band of his companions, disciples of Fodheil, like himself, outside the town. They, supposing that the punishment of the soldier (who had meantime, however, been restored to health) was the result of a curse from Ibrahim, received him with reproaches. "You have made a most unnecessary display, and have disgraced the ascetic garment," said they. "Not I," answered Ibrahim. "God is my witness I only prayed to Him for good; but the Master of the face was jealous over it as His own;" implying that God had taken his cause in hand, and regarded the insult given him as addressed to Himself.

This forbearance under injury, and reluctance to have their right manifested before men, is one of the most prominent features in the disciples of Fodheil. A young man among his followers, whose name is not recorded, was, according to a celebrated writer, on his way in the desert, along with several worldly companions—merchants, soldiers, &c. They showed him much ill-will, and he bore it patiently. At last, one day they came to a well, whose scanty waters could only be reached by a bucket attached to a long rope. When all had satisfied their thirst, the young ascetic approached to quench his own. But one of the bystanders struck the bucket from his hand with such violence that it slipped from the noose, and fell to the bottom of the well. The disciple of Fodheil hid his face between his hands, thanking God for this severe mortification. But a noise and shaking like that of a distant earthquake was heard and felt, and the water rose in the well till it reached the rim, bearing the bucket along with it. The ascetic fled from the admiration of men, and did not again appear during the journey. Returned to Damascus some months after, one of the merchants saw the same youth stretched on a heap by the roadside in utter destitution and misery. "Are not you he," said the merchant, "at whose prayer the well filled with water? and whence now this wretched condition?" "Were it not for such abasement as this I had not found such honour," answered the dying youth. We have selected this one among hundreds of parallel examples.

Ibrahim el Adhem died before his master. But the main work was done; and the ascetic impulse, now embodied in a hierarchical form, had nothing to fear from the loss of any single individual, however eminent.

After the death of Fodheil we find the supreme direction of the brotherhood confided to Bischar el Hafi, native of Meron, and inhabitant of Bagdad. When young he had, like Fodheil, led a reckless life, till one day walking in the streets he saw written on a piece of paper, torn and trampled on by the feet of the passers-by, the name of God. He picked it up and, having cleaned it to the best of his ability, took it home and placed it out of the reach of further profanation. The same night he heard a voice saying to him, "Bischar, thou hast honoured my name, and I will accordingly render thy name honourable in this world and in that to come." He awoke from sleep a changed man, and began a new life of penance and virtue.

The name "Hafi" signifies *barefoot*. It was given him on the following occasion. One of his shoes having given way, he took it to a cobbler to get it repaired. But the artisan, thinking the work hardly worth doing (in which he was probably not far

wrong), answered him with an angry "What a plague you are with your shoe! is it worth while troubling a man about that?" Bischar threw away on the spot both that which he held in his hand and the other from his foot, and never wore shoes again. His fast was so severe that he would not even touch food that had any thing of man's preparation in it. His greatest trial was from the veneration of men: "O God," he used to say, "save me from this honour, the requital of which may perchance be confusion in another life." He died about the beginning of the third century of the Hejira.

A little before this a remarkable example of the power of the ascetic impulse over the human mind had been given in the person of Ahmed, the third son of Haroun er-Raschid. This lad—for he was at the time only sixteen or seventeen years of age—after a childhood passed in resisting the seductions of his father's splendid court, suddenly abandoned the palace and the capital, and hid himself in Basra, where for a long while he eluded his father's anxious search. Disguised as a mason, he lived among the day-labourers of the town, and passed about three years in the most entire detachment from all that the world can offer; what little remained from the wages of his labour he gave to the poor, and never reserved any thing from one day to the next. When near twenty years of age he fell ill, and, unwilling even then to seek human help, or to discover his real name (he had borne the assumed title of Gherib, *i. e.* the stranger), he wasted away, abandoned by all, at the entrance of the cemetery of the town, stretched on a piece of old matting, with a stone for pillow. When at the point of death, he sent for a wealthy inhabitant who had once shown him kindness, and gave him a precious jewel, which he had borne about him in secret, the gift of his mother Zobeidah to him when a child. This, without any explanation or disclosure of his real quality, he gave to his friend, telling him to bear it to the Caliph at Bagdad, and to add that he who sent it wished him at his last hour such happiness as he himself now enjoyed. He then remained in silent prayer a few hours, and died; he was buried among the poor in the common cemetery. When his father and mother had recognised the token of this new Alexis, they wept bitterly. But the Caliph said, "I weep not for him, but for myself; the gainer is my son, the loser I." He then visited his burying-place at Basra, and caused a magnificent monument to be erected on the spot.

Before closing the series of detailed narration (which if carried on for the following centuries would lead us too far), we must mention yet one more hero of asceticism, remarkable for having laid in Egypt the foundations of this mystic school, of

which he was one of the brightest ornaments, as well as for having been the first to undergo that persecution which afterwards cost the lives of many. It is indeed wonderful how such persecution, though often threatened, had not yet in fact reached those whose whole lives, not to say their doctrines (of which more hereafter, but they were secret as yet) were an open disavowal of, nay a contradiction to, the teaching and examples of the Prophet. Abou el Faïdh Thouban, more commonly known by the title of Dhou-el-Noun, of Nubian descent, offers at the beginning of the third century so wondrous a history of superhuman virtues and supernatural prodigies, that we are compelled to acknowledge the Egyptian equal or superior to any of his Persian predecessors or contemporaries. He visited many lands, and never took with him any provision for his journey; confidence in God and contempt of the world were his favourite virtues.

At this time Cairo, had become, what it still is, one of the most vicious as well as one of the most populous cities of the East. Dhou-el-Noun signalised himself by his open rebuke of the vices of the inhabitants, and especially of the local governors, who caused him to be often beaten and imprisoned, a conduct which only drew from him expressions of resignation and joy. "All this is as nothing so I be not separated from Thee, O my God," was his exclamation while dragged through the crowded street, with blows and insults by the soldiers of the garrison. He was even sent, as guilty of treason and heresy,—an accusation which his disavowal of the existing Caliphate in the person of Motawakhel Billah, and his mystical doctrines might seem to justify,—to Bagdad, then the seat of government. But when led before the Caliph he spoke with such vigour and unction on the necessity of repentance and the vanity of the world, that Motawakhel caused his chains to be struck off, and sent him back with esteem and safe-conduct to Egypt. Three things he daily asked of God in prayer. The first was never to have any certainty of his means of subsistence for the morrow. The second was never to be in honour among men. And the third and last was to see God's face in mercy at his death-hour. Near the end of his life, one of his more intimate disciples ventured to question him on this triple prayer, and what had been its result. "As for the first and second petitions," answered Dhou-el-Noun, "God has liberally granted them, and I trust in His goodness that He will not refuse me the third." He died in the year 245, and his tomb is still an object of popular veneration at Cairo. But his disciples continued his work; and a new and vigorous centre of asceticism was thus permanently established in Egypt, and soon became connected with the yet austerer schools of Africa and the West.

Between this century and the next, two events occurred of great importance to the disciples of the mystic school. We have seen their gradual progress from the state of separate and disconnected individuals to that of united bands or companies under a single head, and acknowledging a supreme religious authority quite independent of caliph, doctor, or imam. Yet they had hitherto no common dwelling or fixed meeting-place in the towns they frequented; nay, this erratic and unstable kind of life seemed to them most in accordance with the extreme poverty and detachment which they professed. It was also in some part owing to the strong Arab tinge of character which pervaded them; for although most of them were, as we have already seen, of Persian or Ethiopian parentage, yet many of them had been born in, and all inhabited, countries where the Arab language and population prevailed; and their pilgrimages to Mecca doubtless yet further fostered this tendency. But the Persian character is of a more domiciliary cast; and there could be little doubt that the ascetics inhabiting the eastern provinces would sooner or later settle in what we may here call, for want of a better name, convents or monasteries. While those provinces continued under Arab government, such a measure could hardly have been tolerated. But already the great empire of the Abbaside Caliphs was falling into decay, and the tributary dynasty of the Samanide princes, founded about the year 260 of the Hejira by Ismail es-Samani, soon extended from Bokhara over the neighbouring regions of Balkh, Samarcand, and Khorassan, and became a true Persian government, dependent in little more than name on the Arab Caliph of Bagdad.

All the princes of the Samanide race were remarkable for their patronage of learning and piety. But Nasser Ebn Ahmed, third in the royal succession, signalised himself by his love of retirement and religious meditation. He founded an oratory at Bokhara for that purpose; and it soon became the resort of numerous ascetics. Other similar buildings arose throughout the kingdom; and the Derviches of the East now took on them their permanent name and manner of life.

The second event which signalised this era was the outbreak of open heterodoxy in the ascetic faction. From the very outset their tenets had been opposed, like their practice, to the prevailing system. But few and scattered amidst an immense population, still in all the fresh vigour of fanaticism, they found concealment of these tenets absolutely necessary. Thus Ali Zein el Abidin, grandson of the famous Ali, and grand-master, so to speak, of the secret sect, says of himself, in verses preserved to our day,—he was no mean poet,—what we give in as faithful a translation as we can:

"Above all things I conceal the precious jewel of my knowledge,
 Lest the uninitiated should behold it, and be bewildered ;
 Ah, how many a rare jewel of this kind, should I openly display it,
 Men would say to me, 'Thou art one of the worshippers of idols ;'
 And zealous Muslims would set my blood at price,
 Deeming the worst of crimes an acceptable and virtuous action."

Such were the fears and such the conduct of his disciples or imitators for two centuries. But once numerous, and having learned their strength from their union, they began to think concealment less necessary, and at last aspired to substitute their dogmas for those of Islam.

They had indeed borrowed much, as far as doctrine went, from the old Persian creed, and yet more from the Christian. The ideas of a radiant Divinity mediating between the Supreme Fountain-head of being and the created world ; of an all-pervading Spirit whose manifestation was in love ; of detachment from material and visible objects ; of poverty, humility, and obedience as the true path to God ; the belief even in Divine Incarnation and a Deity as man conversing with men ;—these ideas, if not absolutely derived from Christianity, were at least fostered by it and near of kin. Other more pantheistic tendencies, such as Divine absorption, universal manifestation of the Deity under the seeming appearances of limited forms, the final return of all things to the unity of God, a tendency sometimes also to regard matter as intrinsically impure and evil, and in certain instances an absolute reprobation of marriage, united again, as might be anticipated, with monstrous and shameful sensuality,—were to be remarked especially in those whose habitation as well as their origin attached them to the old Persian traditions, whence a considerable share of these tenets doubtless originated. The Arabs dwelling in brotherhood were nearer to Christianity ; the Persian to the teaching of Zoroaster or Manes.

Meanwhile a continual, though often repressed, effort pervaded the East to throw off the rule of the Omniade or Abbaside Caliphs, and to substitute for them the real or pretended descendants of Ali. The history of the Khowaridj, of the Ismailiens, of the Rowafidhs, continued in later times by the Fatimites of Egypt, by the Druses, and by the Soufi dynasty of Persia, affords at once the evidence and the result of this effort. With this the ascetic movement often blended ; and thus the overthrow of the family and religion of Mahomet, in order to substitute in its place that of Ali, or some new system of the mystics themselves, became a scheme common and familiar to all.

Accordingly, while the political rebels attacked the government by open force, the mystics undermined its religious hold on the people, at first in secret, at last with more daring pub-

licity. And though their reputation, often well deserved, of high personal virtue, nay miraculous sanctity, screened them at times from orthodox severity, yet they not unfrequently fell its victims. Thus perished at Bagdad, in the year 309 of the Hejira, Hosain Abou Meghith el Halladj, though not till after he had founded a new and well-defined school of doctrine, destined to count among its professors in later times three names of gigantic reputation and influence in the East,—the ascetic Abd-el-Kadir el Ghilani, the doctor Mohi ed-Din Ebn-Aarabi el Moghrebi, and the poet Omar Ebn el Faridh, author of the celebrated *Divan*, unrivalled in depth and beauty, which bears his name.

Hosain el Halladj was a native of Baidha, a village near Schiraz, but educated in the province of Irak, in the neighbourhood of Coufa. Thence he came to Bagdad, where, like other ascetics of his age, he lived by the labour of his hands, and became a disciple of Djenid Abou Kasim, equally famous for sanctity and mysticism in that town, though of most questionable orthodoxy. But Halladj soon outdid his master in every way. His fasts were prolonged to three or four continuous days, and were accompanied by ecstasies, in which he was often said to be seen raised from the earth and surrounded with light. In this state he often gave utterance to strange expressions, denoting an intimate union with the Deity; and the verses he composed in his calmer moments have not unfrequently the same purport. Such are these:

“I am He whom I love, and He whom I love is I;
We are two spirits, inhabiting one outward frame:
And when you behold me, you behold Him,
And when you behold Him, you behold us twain.”

He taught the freedom of the human will, and denied the predestinarian system of Islam, on which he wrote the following bitter satire, in verses of no ordinary beauty, and frequently repeated in the East, but under breath, to the present day. We have often heard them thus:

“What can man do, if the decrees of predestination surround him,
Binding him in his every state? answer me, O learned professor.
He (*i. e.* as if He, that is God) cast him into the ocean, bound hand
and foot, and then said to him,
Woe to you, woe to you, should you get wet with the water.”

He it is who thus in his verse addresses God:

“I love Thee with a twofold love, the love of friendship,
And the love grounded on this alone, that Thou art worthy of it.
But as to that my love which is the love of friendship,
It is a love which leaves me no thought for any save Thee;
And as to the love of Thee according to Thy worthiness,
O raise from betwixt us the veil, that I may behold Thee.
Nor is any praise due to me either for this or for that (love),
But to Thee alone the praise both for this and that.”

His life was in accordance with his sentiments, and never had a master more entire command over the love and veneration of his disciples.

But at last his prolonged absence from the customary Mahometan prayers, his neglect of the sacred pilgrimage, joined to a strong suspicion that his covert doctrine was nothing else than a form of Christianity, excited the suspicions of the more orthodox teachers of the town; and perhaps their jealousy of his superior popularity might coincide with their doctrinal zeal. He was accused of affecting divine honours, and in spite of the utter want of proof was condemned to death in the 309th year of the Hejira. He was cruelly scourged, then his hands and feet were cut off, and last his head. His body was burned, and the ashes thrown into the Tigris. His last words were to exhort the countless spectators of his torments not to permit any unjust doubts of the Divine Providence to arise in their minds at such a spectacle; "for," said he, "God herein treats me as a friend treats his friend, to whom he passes the cup of which he has first drunk himself." The Christian sense of these words requires no comment. About the same time some of his companions met a similar fate. Others fled; and the mystic school of Bagdad was permanently transferred, at least in great measure, to Egypt and the West.

It would be a long task to trace the lives and fortunes, to record the sayings and acts, of those who followed in their path. But before concluding this subject we must briefly mention three widely-famed personages who flourished in the sixth and seventh centuries of Islamism, and who gave their names to the three principal brotherhoods into which the ascetics of the countries where Arabic is spoken were henceforth divided. Their work has remained to this day.

The first of these was Abd-el-Kadir el Ghilani. Born on the southern shores of the Caspian Sea, he came when yet young to Bagdad, where he often resided. Such was the austerity of his life, such the wonders attributed to him, such the sublimity of his doctrine, that he was looked on universally as the Kothb of his day. This name requires some brief explanation.

Long before this the mystics of the East had persuaded themselves that there existed on the earth, among the initiated (or illuminated, as they often called themselves), a secret hierarchy, on which they all depended, and in whose obedience and instructions they learned and followed the truth, unknown to the uninitiated crowd around them. Of this hierarchy the supreme dignity was supposed to be vested in the Khidr. This was a man indeed, but one far elevated above ordinary human

nature by his transcendent privileges. Admitted to the Divine Vision, and possessed in consequence of a relative omnipotence and omniscience on earth ; visible or invisible at pleasure ; freed from the bonds of space and time ; by a sort of ubiquity and immortality appearing in various forms on earth to uphold the cause of truth ; then concealed awhile from men ; known in various ages as Seth, as Enoch, as Elias, and yet to come at the end of time as the Mahdi el Montager (the expected guide) ;—this wonderful being was the centre, the prop, the ruler, the mediator of the ascetic band, and as such honoured with the name of Kothb, or axis, as being the spiritual pole round which and on which all moved or were upheld. Under him were the Aulia, or intimate friends of God, seventy-two in number (though some restrict them to narrower limits, twenty-four, for example), holy men living on earth, who were admitted by the Kothb to his intimate familiarity, and who were to the rest the sources of all doctrine, authority, and sanctity. Among these again one, preëminent above the rest, was qualified by the vicarious title of Kothb-ez-zaman, or axis of his age, and was regarded as the visible depositary of the knowledge and power of the supreme Kothb—who was often named, for distinction-sake, Kothb el-Akthab, or axis of the axes—and his constant representative amongst men. But as this important election and consequent delegation of power was invisible and hidden from the greater number even of the ascetics themselves,—and neither the Kothb-ez-zaman nor the Aulia bore any outward or distinctive sign of dignity and authority,—it could only be manifested by its effects, and thus known by degrees to the outer world, and even then rather as a conjecture than as a positive certainty.

But that Abd-el-Kadir el Ghilani was the Kothb of his time no one doubted, and as such he announced himself unhesitatingly in his moments of religious excitement, though at others he strove to conceal himself under the veil of a mean and despicable appearance. However, in his quality of Kothb he founded the brotherhood of the Kaderieh, or, as we should say, the Order of Abd-el-Kadir, and gave them for device or banner, to use their own term, poverty and abasement. The association counted in its ranks some of the greatest names of eastern honour in mystic and poetic literature,—Mohi ed Din Ebn Aarabi in Syria, and Omar Ebn el Faridh in Egypt. Both belonged to this brotherhood. Their doctrine was that of Hosein el Halladj, whom Abd-el-Kadir taught them to look on as their master, though it was often veiled by them under a seemingly orthodox terminology ; and their austerity and contempt of the world gave them a great influence over the mass of the people. They subsist to this day.

A little later, but in the same century as Abd-el-Kadir, *i.e.* the sixth, Ahmed Ebn Refaäi, in the desert in the neighbourhood of Basra, founded a second and yet stranger order of ascetics. Their wandering habits and half-savage life distinguish them from the calmer and more social Kaderieh; and it is from this brotherhood that many of those half-juggler, half-enthusiast associations have sprung, of which travellers in the East have many tales to relate. They are somewhat ill-looked on by the more learned or more right-judging classes of men; yet their enthusiasm, as well as their extravagant feats, often procure them the admiration of the populace. Ahmed el Refaäi died near Basra in the year 575 of the Hejirah.

Somewhat later still,—that is, towards the beginning of the seventh century,—the Scheikh Ali Abou-l-Hasan Esh-Shadheli appeared in Egypt and in the Yemen, and gave rise to the confraternity of the Shadheliéh. Calm, modest, studious, and fond of retirement, yet of great courtesy to those who visited or consulted him, he instilled the same spirit into his numerous disciples, and it still distinguishes his followers. A marked propensity to associate with Christians, and an open approval of many points in their religion, have in our own days drawn on them the ill-will of the Turkish government. Their number is very considerable; and they show more vitality than either of the two preceding brotherhoods.

These three associations are again subdivided into many and distinct bands, each of which bears the name of its founder or first director. Some, and especially the Refaäiyeh, distinguish themselves by their very peculiar dress and high woollen cap; others, like the Shadheliéh, by the string of beads: all possess the long robe, or khirkah, peculiar to the ascetic profession, and mentioned at the beginning of this article; but they do not always wear it in the crowd, especially the Kaderieh, who are bound to avoid whatever might have an air of ostentation or draw on them general notice.

As for the Persian Derviches, separated more and more by political and religious division from their Western brethren, they have ended by having little in common with them; while the pantheistic teaching so prevalent in the East is constantly disavowed by the followers of Abd-el-Kadir, the Refaäi, and the Schadheli, though their disavowal has not always sufficed to save the Kaderieh from all suspicion on this very head; while the Schadheliéh are in their turn accused of pan-religionism, not entirely, it may be, without reason.

Yet, amid all the decline brought on the East by Ottoman misrule, amid all the jarring and ungenial influences that have ruined and laid bare those once populous and flourishing re-

gions, amid bitter bigotry within and Western materialism from without, and mere anarchy every where, they still subsist, still maintain much of their old doctrines and their hereditary practices. What revivals or decay they have gone through, what more noted examples of austerity and virtue they have afforded, how far prevailing modifications of creed and thought among the masses have reacted on them also, to what degree the Naksch-bundi association, that freemasonry of the East, has found its way among them,—all this would form the subject of an interesting enquiry which we have not space to pursue here. For the same reason we must abstain from attempting a full analysis of their doctrine, theoretical or practical, setting in full light what is its connection with, what its opposition to, the Islam of Mahomet. And we can only allude, in passing, to the double symbolism whereby the highest and most spiritual mysteries of asceticism were often veiled under the semblance of human personages and passions, or the dogmas and the teachers most hostile to Mahometism made to assume the sound or appearance of orthodox nomenclature or characters. Thus Mecca and Mahomet, the Prophet's sepulchre or the victory of Bedr, are the apparent themes of eulogium or veneration; but it is another Mahomet than he of the Hedjaz, another Mecca, and another Bedr. Thus they strove, not without frequent success, to penetrate the enemy's camp in his own dress and likeness; and while regarded by all around them as friends, they dealt deadly blows and did the work of destruction, themselves secure: never less orthodox in Islam than when they appeared most so. This subject alone would suffice for an ample treatise. But any one who has paid attention to the facts we have already described can form, if not a complete picture, at least a certain outline of this view. We have not pointed out the resemblance step by step, the counterpart, or the antithesis thus afforded to the development of asceticism in Christian nations. Some such parallelism, however, must naturally suggest itself to an attentive reader; and we therefore laid down at the outset certain principles which seemed proper to lessen unmeaning wonder, or obviate unseasonable scandal. Fuller knowledge solves many problems.

Another point of great interest which a fuller narrative and deeper investigation might fairly bring to light we have here advisedly passed over. But those, though they are few in number, who can throw themselves into the feelings of other nations than their own, may gather from what we have said some conclusions both as to what arms Eastern Mahometanism may justly fear, and under what form or by what line of conduct Christianity might find its way, and become once more

dominant, in Arab lands. Perhaps we have sufficiently indicated the only efficacious measures towards such an end, as well as their cost. But modern Europe is little likely to give to the East, even in such a cause, new Fodheils or Halladjas. At any rate, it is easy to see how little adapted to success are the means hitherto, generally at least, adopted; and why European luxury and commerce can make, indeed has already made, in the East, a certain number of infidels, countless embittered enemies, but no Christians.

THE COLONISATION OF NORTHUMBRIA.

THE investigator of the early Teutonic colonisation of England finds in different parts of the enquiry counterbalancing aids and privations. To the south of the island is mainly confined that help towards elucidating its early history which is derivable from the collection of grant-deeds and charters known as the *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*. The six northern counties, on the other hand, or Northumbria, can point to the illustrious Northumbrian writer of the eighth century, the greatest literary light of the dark ages, whose works supply far more information bearing on their annals than on those of the southern counties. It is to the colonisation of these northern counties that we desire now to draw attention. They were settled under circumstances in many respects exceptional, the detailed examination of which promises to open an extremely interesting and but partially explored field. Not that there is any lack of works upon the early history and antiquities of every one of these counties, taken separately. But in the Saxon times Northumbria formed, ordinarily at least, one political whole, and its history ought therefore to be similarly treated. To treat of the early state of the north of England merely in its connection with the separate modern counties which compose it, can only lead to a fragmentary and unsatisfying knowledge. Again, in regular histories of England, it is surprising how little pains have been expended—apparently from the belief that the subject is too unimportant to require it—upon the construction of a really critical account of the political and social development of the different Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, Northumbria included. Even Lingard slides without misgiving over the most palpable difficulties, and often presents us with a narrative which, under the mask of a rhetorical and apparent coherency, conceals improbabilities of the gravest kind. Sir Francis Palgrave leaves gaps both in his reasoning and his narrative, and falls besides into downright blunders. Turner's is still the most valuable history in our language for those times; but besides his inability to appreciate the religious element in Saxon society, he falls into errors from the want of adherence to those rigid critical principles by which the present generation has learned both to discriminate between the value of different documents, and to search out the criteria of historic truth among collateral sources of information of all

kinds, many of which the historian of the old school never dreamed of consulting.

The objects of the present paper are: 1. to describe the Teutonic colonisation of Northumbria, showing the lines along which it proceeded, and the checks and reverses which it sustained, distinguishing between the Angle and Danish or Norwegian operations; and 2. to explain, as far as possible, the circumstances and conditions under which the six northern counties were brought to their present forms and boundaries.

It is usual to commence the history of the Angle kingdoms north of the Humber with Ida, who, according to the Saxon Chronicle, began to reign in Northumbria in the year 547, having his royal residence at Bamborough. Upon this view, colonisation would have begun in Northumberland sooner than in Yorkshire. This, however, seems improbable, for geographical and other reasons. Such a tempting harbour as the mouth of the Humber would not surely have been neglected by the Angle adventurers, in favour of the exposed and dangerous coast of Northumberland. But we are not without some positive evidence. Nennius, or whoever was the author of the *Historia Britonum*, says that Seomil, the sixth in descent from Woden, "first separated" (there is a various reading which has "conquered") "Deur from Berneich," that is, Deira from Bernicia.¹

¹ Upon the authorship of the *Historia Britonum* the reader may consult Mr. Stevenson's edition of Nennius, and the remarks by Mr. Duffus Hardy in the Introduction to the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*. The question is one of the most difficult within the range of historical and bibliographical criticism. Mr. Duffus Hardy comes to the conclusion that we must be content to consider the *Historia Britonum* as an anonymous production. As to the two prologues, he seems to regard the second, or shorter one, as an abbreviated and later version of the first. The following view, which cannot here, however, be supported by all the proofs and illustrations which are capable of being adduced, seems, on the whole, to embrace the leading probabilities of the case.

1. The second prologue is not an abbreviation of the first; on the contrary, the first is a rhetorical amplification of the second. Let any one carefully compare the two together, and judge for himself. Besides the internal evidence, upon which we cannot stop to enlarge, the evidence derived from the Mss. is important. The first prologue is only contained in a single Ms. of the twelfth century, that in the Public Library at Cambridge, the comparatively late date and unauthentic character of which Mr. Duffus Hardy admits; while the second is contained in this and at least three other Mss., though, it is true, in a different, if not later, handwriting. The twelfth century was a period in which historians emulously affected the graces of style; among the English appeared William of Malmesbury, and among the Britons, or Welsh, Geoffrey of Monmouth and Caradoc of Llancarvan; and it may be conjectured that the copyist of the Cambridge Ms., finding a prologue written in a bald awkward style, determined to reproduce it under a more ornate and flowing garb, and that to this determination we owe the first prologue. The mistake in the date which the *soi-disant* author assigns to the composition of this prologue (Mervin being named as reigning in Wales in 858 instead of Rodvi), inexplicable if we suppose the prologue to be genuine, becomes easily intelligible if we consider it to be a production of the twelfth century.

2. The *Historia Britonum* is certainly not the work of Gildas, to whom

Ida, who founded the northern kingdom in 547, Nennius makes to have been the *ninth* in descent from Woden. It is clear, therefore, that in his conception, or rather in that of the Saxon annalist whom he is following, three generations intervened between Seomil and Ida, or, say, about ninety years. Florence of

Malmesbury and Huntingdon ascribe it. Gildas wrote in the middle of the sixth century, when the devastations of the Saxons had not yet in the west of Britain entirely destroyed the Roman culture, nor utterly disorganised the system of education which had prevailed under the empire. Gildas writes like a man whose mind was teeming with thoughts, and who had sufficient intellectual resources to find for them copious and not ungraceful forms of expression. Nothing can less resemble the energetic flow of his style than the awkward, hesitating, struggling progress made by the author of the *Historia Britonum*.

3. There seems no good reason to doubt that Nennius, the writer of the second or original prologue, also wrote the *Historia Britonum*, excluding § 66 (we refer to the edition in the *Monumenta Historica*), but including the genealogies of the Saxon kings. The style of the second prologue perfectly agrees with that of the history. The genealogies (which contain many historical particulars), though introduced without preface, and not interwoven in any way with the thread of the preceding narrative, do yet in fact fulfil the promise given in the prologue of making use of the *Annals of the Saxons*, in order to augment his stock of information. Section 66 occurs only in the Cambridge Ms., and in others copied from that. It appears to have been inserted by the twelfth-century copyist as an abbreviated substitute for the genealogies, which he omits. He says: "Sed cum inutiles, magistro meo, id est, Beulano presbytero, visse sunt genealogiæ Saxonum et aliarum gentium, nolui eas scribere." The great antiquity of these genealogies is proved by their occurrence in the valuable Harleian Ms. of the tenth century (3859), which, though it inserts neither prologues nor headings nor author's name, gives the *Historia* down to the end of § 65 nearly as the Cambridge Ms., and immediately, without any break, appends the genealogies.

4. Assuming the second prologue to be genuine, Nennius, the author of this history, was a disciple of St. Elbotus. Now we know from the *Annales Cambrie* that St. Elbotus died in 809. Probably, therefore, the *Historia* was composed somewhere within the first forty years of the ninth century. We are disposed to assign its composition to the first decade of the century rather than to any later decade for this reason: the latest date traceable in the genealogies is found in the pedigree of the kings of Mercia, where "Egbert son of Offa" is mentioned. This Egbert died in 794, and was succeeded by Kenwulf, who died in 819. Surely, then, the name of Kenwulf would have been added in the genealogy if it had been written subsequently to his death.

5. What is the historical value of the genealogies? We are disposed to rate it very highly. They are contained, as has been stated, in a Ms. of the tenth century. Assuming them in their present form to have come from Nennius, they were written down early in the ninth century, that is, before the earliest known "redaction" of the Saxon Chronicle was prepared, under the superintendence of Archbishop Plegmund. But whether ascribable to Nennius or not, the internal evidence is in favour of their authenticity. For when we come to the mention of such a fact as this, that Edwin, king of Northumbria (617-633) "seized on Elmete," a district in the West Riding, "and expelled Certic its king,"—a fact mentioned neither by Bede, nor by the Saxon Chronicle, nor any other annalist, but curiously confirmed, as will be shown in the text presently, by an incidental statement of Bede,—what conclusion is it possible to come to but that the British writer is here quoting the very words used by the Saxon, probably Northumbrian, annalist, whom he is consulting? For what would a Briton be likely to know about the obscure district of Elmete, the very name of which is not once mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle, and only once by Bede, and then in a wholly different connection?

Worcester also makes Seomil anterior to Ida,—by five generations according to the pedigree of Ida given in his appendix, by one according to that given in the chronicle. Selecting the account given in Nennius as more historically trustworthy than any other,² we assume that Seomil, an Angle chieftain who lived about the year 460, did really “separate Deira from Bernicia;” by which we understand that, establishing an Angle kingdom to the north of the Humber, and thus destroying the British power in Deira, he effectually separated that province from the still British kingdom of Bernicia.

It is difficult to say what a strange statement is worth, made by the second continuator of Florence of Worcester, a writer of the thirteenth century, to the effect that seven lineal ancestors of Ida reigned in Northumbria before him, of whom Hyring was the first.³ Allowing twenty years for each reign, this would throw back the commencement of the Angle colonisation to the early part of the fifth century. But as these predecessors of Ida were unknown to the earlier authorities, it is impossible to attach much weight to the statement.

Nor can we agree with Lappenberg in adopting the statement of Nennius,⁴ which is further amplified and developed in the lying pages of Geoffrey of Monmouth, that Hengist obtained from Vortigern, for his sons Octa and Ebusa, the countries in the north near the wall of Severus. The account of the proceedings of Hengist and his followers given in the Saxon Chronicle conveys an impression quite at variance with a belief in such a rapid spread of Saxon dominion, at least from a Kentish centre. Seven or eight years after the landing of the invaders in the Isle of Thanet the Britons still held London;⁵ and there is not a trace of evidence in the early writers that the Saxons of Kent penetrated far to the north of the Thames. Nennius in this passage is clearly relying on the British, not on the Saxon annals. And we cannot be too much on our guard against the mendacious Celtic imagination, the inventions of which are usually neither *vera* nor *veri-similia*. Wounded national vanity and intense hatred of the Saxon (for which, it must be confessed, there was cause enough) induced the British historians, from Gildas down to Geoffrey, to ascribe the loss of Britain to two causes—the anger of Heaven against the Britons on account of their sins, and the inexhaustible multitude of barbarians whom teeming Germany poured, in successive waves of invasion, upon their devoted coasts. It was not that the Saxons were more formidable in war; on the contrary, whenever there

² For the reasons given in the foregoing note.

³ Florence, p. 385 (Bohn's ed.).

⁴ *Hist. Britonum*, § 38.

⁵ Sax. Chron. an. 457.

was any thing like an equality of force, the Britons scattered their "doggish"⁶ foes like chaff. It was that British princes were traitors; that the supernal powers were wrath; that as fast as one swarm of invaders was destroyed, another landed. All these being first principles with Celtic historians, history of course must be shaped into accordance with them.⁷ Hence arose those wild fictions of which the *Historia Britonum* is the earliest extant embodiment, but which, being carried across the Channel to Brittany, were improved by the sea-passage, and having been worked up into a still more racy *History of the Kings of Britain*, recrossed the sea in the twelfth century, and were presented to the world as serious history in the Latin translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth.⁸ How unlike the sturdy veracity of the Saxon chronicler, who, though with pain unutterable, fails not to record, each in its proper place, the many bloody overthrows which his countrymen suffered from the Danes!

But the argument derived from geographical considerations and the names of places has, upon the whole, the greatest force in proof of the very early colonisation of the East Riding. The strip of coast extending from Spurn Point to Flamborough Head, bounded by the sea on the east, and the Holderness fen occupying the valley of the river Hull on the west, is crowded with villages, the names of the great majority of which are pure Anglo-Saxon. Not one in fifteen is Danish. This fact may be taken as indicating that this part of the East Riding was so fully peopled when the Danes began to make settlements on our eastern coasts, that they were unable to alter the existing names, and found no room to make fresh settlements of their own. That they did alter existing names when they could, is shown in the instances of Derby and Whitby, of which the old Saxon names were Norð-weorðig and Streoneshalch. In Lincolnshire, on the other hand, which, as forming part of Mercia, had been colonised from Northumbria, and at a later period, the Saxon settlements must have been comparatively sparse and few even in the ninth century; for we find that place-names of Danish origin form about two-fifths of the whole number in North Lincolnshire. Now relative density of population is, under ordinary circumstances, a proof of relatively earlier colonisation. The same people that colonised Massachusetts colonised the state of Ohio; but Massachusetts, though its soil is of far in-

⁶ Gildas, § 23.

⁷ Gildas, however, deserves to be almost wholly exempted from this censure.

⁸ This seems a reasonable account of the matter, the resemblance between the narrative of Nennius and that of Geoffrey being far too close in many places to be the result of accident, and the amplification and embellishment of the work of Nennius with picturesque falsehood to any amount being certain to be a congenial task and labour of love to the Armorican historians.

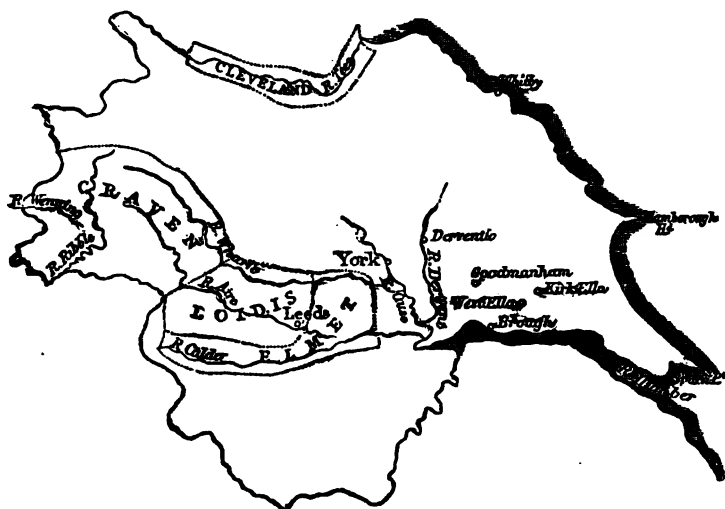
ferior fertility, is much more densely peopled. What is the reason? Simply that the colonisation of Massachusetts commenced more than a century and a half before the colonisation of Ohio. The distribution of the Maori population in New Zealand, at the time when it became a British possession, is also a case in point. The unvarying native tradition declares that the ancestors of the present Maories came from the eastward, and made their first settlement at the northern extremity of the northern island. The tradition is confirmed by the fact that, at the date mentioned, the native population of New Zealand, densest in the extreme north, diminished almost regularly in density as you went southward; so that the southern island, though its numerous bays swarmed with fish, and its rocky shores with mussels, and its hill-sides waved with the edible fern, contained no more than a seventieth part of the whole native population. Similarly, the relatively greater density of the Angle population of the Holderness district in the ninth century, proved by the close juxtaposition of the villages, and by the persistence of their old Angle names, is itself a proof that colonisation had commenced in that district at a relatively remote period.

We have, then, two distinct centres of Angle settlement in Britain north of the Humber; that of Bernicia, radiating from Bebbanburg, or Bamborough, the strong fortress and city on a rock, built by Ida about the middle of the sixth century, and that of Deira, radiating from some unknown point in the East Riding, the position of which can never be ascertained with certainty. In the time of Seomil it may possibly have been at the Roman station of Petuaria, afterwards Brough, on the Humber, whence a Roman road led to York. In the time of Ælle or Ella (who reigned from 560 to 588), there seems some slight ground for fixing the capital of Deira a little farther inland, where the villages of Kirk Ella and West Ella, which are situated high up on the chalk downs, still perpetuate the name of that king. The examples of Edinburgh (Edwinesburg) and Oswinhorpe, both royal fortresses, the latter a royal residence, show that the kings of Deira were in the habit of calling their strongholds or residences by their own names. As the Angle settlers spread themselves northwards from the Humber, the residence of their kings would also naturally be moved forward from time to time in the same direction. That it was on the Derwent,⁹ a few miles to the east of York, in the reign of Edwin (617-633), we know for certain from the narrative of Bede.¹⁰ That it had previously been at Godmundingham, or Goodmanham, just at the western edge of the Wolds, may be inferred

⁹ Without doubt at the Roman city of Derventio, near Stamford Bridge.

¹⁰ *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 9.

with some plausibility from the fact recorded by Bede,¹¹ that the principal temple of the old worship, previous to the conversion of King Edwin by Paulinus, stood at that place. The diagram subjoined will make more clear the presumed gradual extension northwards of the Deiran dominion.



From the first landing of the Angles to the final union of Deira and Bernicia under King Oswald, in 642, we shall, so far as possible, treat of the two kingdoms separately. The boundary between them is a disputed point; some of the chroniclers place it at the Tees, and others at the Tyne. A river, the reader must observe, is not a natural, but a conventional boundary between two tribes or peoples. We hear of no wars of any consequence between Deira and Bernicia, and therefore have no right to assume that the boundaries which nature established between them were disused, in favour of those conventional frontiers which a spirit of compromise suggests. Deira, which undoubtedly extended to the Tees, would as undoubtedly, in the early times which we are now exploring, include the fertile lands and *coteaux* on the north bank of that river; it would embrace the whole of the beautiful Vale of Cleveland. Similarly Bernicia, which certainly extended to the Tyne, would as certainly include the whole Tyne valley, and also the rich level district near the sea, between the mouths of the Tyne and Wear, which are but seven miles apart. The reader will remember that the twin monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow, names which, from their

¹¹ *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 13.

connection with the life of the Venerable Bede, will never be forgotten while literature endures, stood, one upon the Tyne, the other at the mouth of the Wear. Bernician settlers would also, one can hardly doubt, occupy the lower valley of the Wear. The rest of the county of Durham would be mark-land between the two kingdoms. To the west the county is mountainous; in the eastern portion, where the coal-measures rise to the surface, the land is by no means inviting for agricultural settlement, and would consequently long remain in the state of a thinly peopled march, mostly covered by the original forest. In this way is to be explained the exaggerated statement of John of Tynemouth, that in the British times the whole of Durham was one vast forest.¹²

In Nennius, Florence, and the Saxon Chronicle, lists¹³ of kings are given who reigned in Deira before Ælle, but we are told nothing more about them. Ælle died in 588, leaving a son, Edwin, then two years old; a regency in some form or other was probably established, which was put down by Ethelfrid about the year 605. Ethelfrid (the Ædelfred Flesaur of Nennius), whom we know from Bede¹⁴ to have been of a Bernician family, and descended from Ida, after having reigned in Bernicia twelve years, is said by Nennius¹⁵ to have reigned twelve years in Deira. This must mean that he overran the Angle settlements in Deira in 605, and had his royal residence for the rest of his reign at Derventio, which we find to have been the capital twenty years later. In 607, according to the Saxon Chronicle, he "led his army to Chester, and there slew numberless Welshmen." Bede also says¹⁶ that he "conquered more territories from the Britons, either making them tributary, or driving the inhabitants

¹² Until the reign of Henry VIII., Brecknockshire and Radnorshire were not considered as counties, but as forming part of the marches of Wales. In that reign they were formed into counties; and it is noticeable that they, like Durham, are stream-bounded to an extent much beyond what is usual in English counties, and for the same reason, viz. that their boundaries were not determined by the gradual course of natural colonisation, but fixed by statesmen in the way most expeditious and convenient.

¹³ These genealogies require more examination than they have received. It is singular that in the list given in the Saxon Chronicle, the names of Seomil, the original conqueror of Deira, and Swæta, are omitted, while they are found in both of Florence's lists (under the year 557 and in the Appendix), who usually closely follows the Saxon Chronicle for this early period. Yet Florence is not here following Nennius, whose list, though it contains Seomil, omits Swæta, and has other points of divergence. May not Swæta be merely another name for Seomil, an agnomen, or name of distinction, given to him on account of his feats of arms; just as a hero of our own times, who had not then performed any feats of arms, was dubbed, or dubbed himself, *Meagher of the Sword*. What seems to confirm this conjecture is, that Nennius names Sguerthing as the son and successor of Seomil. Now Sguerthing evidently stands for Swærtung (the *g* in Welsh constantly replacing the English *w*), and simply means "son of Swæta."

¹⁴ *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 1.

¹⁵ § 62.

¹⁶ i. 35.

clean out, and planting Angles in their places, than any other king or tribune." Taking these statements in connection with each other, and with the further statement of Bede that the next king, Edwin, fitted out fleets which subdued Anglesey and Man, one may safely infer that the Northumbrian kingdom at this time stretched across South Lancashire, and included a part of Cheshire. The port where Edwin fitted out his fleet could have been no other than Chester; for the site of Liverpool was then a dismal swamp, and Chester had been much used as a naval station by the Romans, and was still so used in the tenth century by Edgar. But this westward extension was a rash and undue one, which could only be maintained against the hostile British population west of the Dee by very energetic rulers, being much in advance of the progress of Angle colonisation. We find, therefore, without surprise, that after the death of Edwin, Chester again fell into the hands of the Britons, and so continued until, in the eighth century, the Mercian kings became strong enough to wrest it from them.

Edwin, son of Ælle, returned from exile in 617 at the head of an army supplied to him by Redwald, king of East Anglia, and in the battle which ensued Ethelfrid was defeated and slain. Edwin and his people were converted to Christianity in 627 by the preaching of Paulinus; the touching and picturesque particulars, so strangely distorted by most of our modern historians, may be read in Bede. One incident we cannot refrain from quoting, on account of the light which it casts on the habits of life of the Angle race; it occurred at the great council of priests and thanes which Edwin held, in order to debate the question whether the new religion should be embraced. "Another of the king's chief men, approving of his words and exhortations, presently added, 'The present life of man, O king, seems to me, in comparison of that time which is unknown to us, like to the swift flight of a sparrow through the room wherein you sit at supper in winter, with your commanders and ministers, and a good fire in the midst, whilst the storms of rain and snow prevail abroad; the sparrow, I say, flying in at one door, and immediately out at another, whilst he is within is safe from the wintry storm; but after a short space of fair weather he immediately vanishes out of your sight, into the dark winter from which he had emerged. So this life of man appears for a short space; but of what went before, or what is to follow, we are utterly ignorant. If, therefore, this doctrine contains something more certain, it seems justly to deserve to be followed.'"¹⁷

Paulinus fixed his see at York, probably in deference to the wish expressed by Pope Gregory¹⁸ that London and York, which

¹⁷ *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 13.

¹⁸ *Ib.* i. 29.

had been the chief sees in Roman Britain, should continue, under the new arrangements, to enjoy metropolitan dignity. But York probably lay in ruins at this time, and was in the condition of many other cities once flourishing and adorned with noble buildings, the prostrate state of which in the sixth century Gildas so pathetically describes;¹⁹ else why should it have been necessary for Edwin to build the wooden church at York in which he was baptised? for, under the Romans, Eboracum, as the seat of government, and the chief city in Britain, must have contained many churches of stone. When, however, it had thus been made the religious centre of the Northumbrian kingdom, York soon became also the political centre, and we hear of Derwentio no more.

Edwin, though he reigned but sixteen years, left his mark upon our land and its history by seizing and fortifying the rock looking over and commanding the Frith of Forth, which after him was named Edwinesburg, or Edinburgh; and also by conquering the island of Mona, which thenceforth bore the name—at least for Englishmen—of Angles-ey, island of the Angles. It was probably early in this reign that he “seized Elmete, and expelled Certic its king.”²⁰ Elmete is supposed by Whitaker to have embraced the lower portions of Airedale and Wharfedale, together with the entire vale of Calder.²¹ Certic, or Ceretic, is a British name, and if it be taken as the true name, Elmete must have been one of the British petty kingdoms which Ethelfrid forced to pay him tribute. But “Elmete” has a Saxon rather than a British sound; and if Certic be supposed to have been written in error for Cerdic (the reading of some of the later Mss.), then we have an instance of an Angle petty kingdom absorbed by the paramount Angle dynasty. Either supposition will suit the words of Bede, that Edwin “reduced under his dominion all the borders of Britain that were provinces either of the aforesaid nation” (i. e. of the Northumbrian Angles) “or of the Britons.”²² What a glimpse does this chance mention of the conquest of Elmete give one of an old state of society well nigh lost to history, when Yorkshire was cut up into four or five little kingdoms, struggling for the mastery with each other and with rude nature, the final predominance of one of which caused the fortunes, and almost the names, of the others to be forgotten! Besides Elmete, one may feel certain that Loidis, Cleveland,²³ and Craven, had at one time a more or less independent political existence.²⁴

¹⁹ § 24.

²⁰ Nennius, § 63.

²¹ Whitaker's (T. D.) *Loidis and Elmete* (folio); see also the diagram given above.

²² ii. 9.

²³ May not Cleveland be meant by the district of Coetlevum, mentioned by Eddi Stephanus in his *Life of St. Wilfrid*, ch. xvii.?

²⁴ See the diagram.

In 633 Edwin was defeated by the allied forces of Penda, the Mercian king, and Cadwalla, king of the Britons, and lost his life in the battle. In the confusion which followed, Deira and Bernicia were again divided; the former falling to Edwin's nephew Osric, the latter to Eanfrid, the son of his predecessor Ethelfrid. But before two years had been ended, both these kings had been slain by Cadwalla; and Oswald, Eanfrid's brother, returning from Scotland, where, during Edwin's reign, he had been forced to live in exile, made his authority recognised in both kingdoms, Cadwalla having been defeated and slain at the battle of Denisesburn. "Through this king's management," says Bede, "the provinces of the Deiri and the Bernicians—which till then had been at variance—were peacefully united, and moulded into one people."²⁵ Nor, although in the reign of Oswy (642-670), Oswin the son of Osric, and after him Ethelwald the son of Oswald, had a sort of subordinate regal dignity in Deira, were the two countries ever again thoroughly dissevered before the suppression of the Northumbrian kingdom.

What we know of Bernicia between the years 547 and 642 may be summed up in very few words. Ida was succeeded by several of his sons, and then by his grandson Ethelfrid in 593, of whom we have already spoken. Paulinus preached to and converted great numbers of the Bernicians at a place called Gefrin (Yevering), near the river Till, in the northern part of Northumberland;²⁶ but being driven out of Northumbria after the death of Edwin, he was unable to take the necessary steps to confirm these converts in the faith; and the effect was so evanescent that, upon the accession of Oswald, Bede expressly states that "no sign of the Christian faith—no church, no altar—was erected throughout all the nation of the Bernicians."²⁷ How the brave and holy king brought Aidan, one of the monks of Hii (Iona) from Scotland, and by his means effectually planted Christianity in the country north of the Tees, may be read in Bede. Aidan fixed his see at Lindisfarne, or Holy Isle; an island lying off the coast of Northumberland, not far from Berwick. This was a central position as regarded Bernicia, which then extended to the Frith of Forth; and neither Aidan nor Oswald could have anticipated that the see of York, left vacant by the retirement of Paulinus, would not be filled up for more than thirty years. But so it was; and in consequence the Bishops of Lindisfarne were called upon to act during that interval for the whole of Northumbria; whence Colman, the third of those Bishops, is named by Eddi Stephanus "*episcopus Eboracæ civitatis.*"

From the point at which we have now arrived, it will be more

²⁵ iii. 6.

²⁶ Bede, ii. 14.

²⁷ Ib. iii. 2.

convenient to make such observations as may be necessary upon the subsequent history of Northumbria in connection with the following special heads of enquiry; viz. 1. the limits and vicissitudes of Angle dominion in what is now Scotland; 2. the struggle between the Britons and Angles in Cumberland and Westmoreland, and the Norwegian colonisation of those counties; 3. the mode in which Lancashire was settled; 4. the rise, growth, and limits of the jurisdiction known as the Franchise of St. Cuthbert. That it will be impossible to treat these matters exhaustively is obvious; nevertheless, so little has this particular field been traversed by our historians and archaeologists, that it will be easy to say several things that are both new and true under each of these heads, except perhaps the last.

1. The ordinary impression of most persons, even of those who suppose themselves tolerably well acquainted with our national history, is that in the match of Teuton against Celt the victory lay wholly with the former,—that the Saxon was always on the encroaching and aggressive side, and was never compelled to relinquish what he had once grasped, much less to submit to the rule of Celts. Yet, if the early history of Scotland could be exhibited with any thing like fulness and distinctness of detail, we should all be struck by the marked manner in which this impression, so far as regards North Britain, is contradicted by the facts. In the first place, the very name of the country points to the predominance in it of the Celtic race. If the name “England” (Angle-land) betokens the discomfiture of the Celtic inhabitants of Southern Britain before Teutonic invaders coming from the east and north, the name of Scot-land no less clearly intimates the ultimate political ascendancy in Northern Britain of Celtic invaders coming from the south and west—an ascendancy obtained in spite of the most strenuous efforts of the Angles to extend and consolidate their conquests beyond the Tweed. What these efforts were, and how they were frustrated, we shall now endeavour to show.

At what time Angle settlers first began to colonise the eastern shores of Scotland it is now impossible to ascertain. But that as early as the time of Ida (547) a considerable mass of Angle population must have been settled north of the Tweed, may be reasonably inferred from his choosing a place so far north as Bamborough for the seat of his government. The eastern counties of the Lowlands were at this time occupied by Picts, whom the new-comers either dispossessed or made tributaries. Dumfriesshire, or at any rate the basin of the Nith,²⁸ was also Pictish. Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire, and Dumbartonshire as far as Alclud (afterwards Dumbarton),—in other words,

²⁸ Bede, *Vita S. Cuth.* ch. xi.

almost the entire basin of the Clyde,—formed the kingdom of the Strath-clyde Britons. These Britons probably established themselves here at the time when the Roman dominion was unquestioned as far as the wall of Antoninus; and protected by their natural boundaries of rugged mountain-ranges, and by the obstacle which their fortress of Alclud, placed behind a deep river flowing out of Loch Lomond, presented to an invader from the north-west, they were able to hold their ground when that dominion was forced backward, and the stream of Scoto-Pictish invasion, leaving the little kingdom safe in its midst, overflowed the more assailable regions of Southern Britain. The south-western district—Ayrshire and Galloway—is said to have been inhabited by a mixed population of Scots and Picts.²⁹ The Scots, whose seat was Argyleshire and the coasts and islands farther north, came unquestionably from Ireland. They are said by the Scottish annalists to have sailed from Dalreutha in Ulster, and landed on the western shore of Scotland in 503, under the leadership of Fergus.³⁰ The residence of their kings for many generations was Dunstaffnage Castle, near Oban.

We hear of no efforts on the part of the Scots to rescue the Picts from the extermination with which they were threatened by the Angle race. But when the Britons, who then perhaps occupied not only Cumberland and Westmoreland, but also the western part of Northumberland, were hard pressed by Ethelfrid, and great numbers of them dislodged or made tributaries, Ædan, who then reigned over the Scots inhabiting Britain, made a vigorous but unsuccessful diversion in their favour. Whether he brought his army by sea, or through Ayrshire, or was allowed by the Strath-clyde Britons to pass through their territory, we are not told. But thus much may be held as certain, that he entered Cumberland in 603, met the Angle army at Dalston,³¹ near Carlisle, and, after a bloody contest, was completely defeated. From this time down to his own day, no Scottish king, says Bede, had ventured to lead an army against the Angles.

Gradually the Picts were driven westward and northward by the stronger race. There seems no reason to doubt the correctness of the tradition which assigns the foundation of Edinburgh to Edwin, between the years 617 and 633. Before 650 the Angles

²⁹ Scott's *Hist. of Scotland*, ch. i.

³⁰ *Ib.*

³¹ *Degsa-stan*, Bede, i. 34, and Florence sub anno; *Dægsan-stane*, Sax. Chron. It has been conjectured that *Dawston*, near Jedburgh, is intended. Had Ædan been bringing aid to the Picts, this might have been so; but an ally of the Britons could do them no good by entering Pictish territory, which the vale of Teviot then was. Yet it is hard to see how *Degsa-stan* could be corrupted into *Dalston*.

had pushed up the valley of the Tweed as far as Melrose; and thenceforward a line of English abbots governed the famous monastery which had been founded there by Scottish monks from Iona.³² After Oswy's victory over Penda king of Mercia in 655, Bede informs us that he brought under his dominion the greater part of the Pictish nation. Whether or not he pushed his conquests beyond the Frith of Forth, we cannot certainly tell; but it seems probable that he did.

It was under Egfrid (670-685) that the Angle kingdom penetrated farthest into Scotland, at least on the eastern side. So firmly did it seem to be established to the south of the Frith of Forth, that in 681 Trumwine was appointed by Archbishop Theodore to be Bishop "in the province of the Picts," and fixed his see at the monastery of Abercorn, a few miles to the west of Edinburgh.³³ Egfrid led an army into Forfarshire in 685 against Burdei, king of the Picts, with the intention apparently of establishing Angle supremacy along the whole eastern coast; but fortune failed him, and with a sudden collapse the Angle kingdom shrank back within limits which it was never afterwards to exceed. The Picts slew Egfrid, and nearly destroyed his army among the hills of Forfarshire. The victors pressed on in pursuit into the Lothians, and all the Angle colonists who could not take refuge in fortresses had to flee for their lives. Bishop Trumwine and his monks were included in the herd of fugitives; and the former, sickened, it would seem, of missions among the Picts, retired to Abbess Hilda's monastery at Streonshalch. It may be conjectured that the castled rock of Edinburgh, and perhaps one or two other strong places, remained to the Angles as isolated points in the midst of a country generally lost to them. Nor were they dislodged from the valley of the Tweed; for the succession of Angle abbots at Melrose continues unbroken, and King Aldfrid, Egfrid's successor, used, as Bede incidentally mentions,³⁴ to pay occasional visits to those parts, which are manifestly spoken of as still forming part of his dominions. Yet the same unimpeachable witness expressly declares that Aldfrid, though he retrieved matters a good deal, had his kingdom

³² Eata, an Angle, was, according to Florence, abbot of Melrose in 651. He was a boy (Bede, iii. 26) when Aidan first became Bishop of Lindisfarne in 635. His appointment to Melrose, therefore, could not have occurred much, if at all, before 650, in which year he would not have been more than thirty, even if we suppose him to have been fifteen years of age in 635. Now Eata must have been the first Angle abbot of Melrose, because before 635 the whole Bernician nation was Pagan. Before him, the abbots were Scottish, and would certainly so have continued, had not Melrose fallen, somewhere about the date supposed, into the hands of the Angles, when the change of temporal rulers brought with it, as almost invariably happened in those days, a change in the spiritual rulers.

³³ *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 12.

³⁴ *Ib.* v. 12.

"within narrower bounds" than his predecessor. Probably the Picts were stopped at the pass of Cockburnspath, in Berwickshire—a position which might easily be held by a few resolute men against a greatly superior force.

But Bede, with his calm steady procedure, his English veracity, his saintly simplicity, his openness of mind and fulness of knowledge, fails us, alas, too soon, and an impenetrable darkness falls over the state of society in the eastern Lowlands for about a century and a half. With regard to Ayrshire and the north coast of the Solway, we retain some glimmerings of light down to a later time. Between the battle of Degsa-stan and the defeat of Egfrid (603-685) Lugubalia, or Carlisle, must have become a completely Angle city; and we cannot doubt that it served as the chief port and depôt for the Northumbrian kings in their operations in the Solway or against Ireland. Hence, or perhaps from the mouth of the Derwent, must have sailed the fleet which Egfrid sent on an unjust raid against Ireland in 684. Hence also must have radiated those colonising operations which planted Angle settlements thickly on the whole Scottish coast, from the head of the Solway round to the Frith of Clyde. The mere fact that these settlements (as the present nomenclature of places proves³⁵) did not extend in general very far from the coast, shows that the settlers came either by sea or round the head of the Frith. The rugged mountains which form the watershed between the basin of the Tweed and Teviot and the country sloping to the Solway, must have presented great difficulties in the way of the westward progress of Angle colonisation overland; but by the occupation of Carlisle, and its employment as a port, these difficulties were overcome, or rather turned. Rapidly must this new field have been taken up. Already, in 696, Cuningham, the northern district of Ayrshire, was reckoned a province of Northumbria.³⁶ In 750 the plain of Kyle, the central district of Ayrshire, was added by Eadbert, the then king of Northumbria, to his dominions.³⁷ The increasing numbers of the colonists had led, about the year 727, to the erection of a bishopric in Galloway, at Whitherne or Candida Casa, where St. Ninias had formerly preached to the Picts, of which Pechthelm was the first Bishop.³⁸ In 756 Eadbert, probably on ac-

³⁵ *e. g.* Rothwell and Dalton, in Dumfriesshire; Southwick, Berwick, and Twineham, in Kirkcudbrightshire; Whitherne, Wigton, and Glasserton, in Wigtonshire; and Prestwick, Monkton, Fenwick, &c., in Ayrshire. From these Angle names it is easy to distinguish the later Scandinavian names of places, ending in *by*, *garth*, &c., which resulted from Danish or Norwegian occupation; and also the Celtic names, with their characteristic prefixes, *Dal*, *Auchin*, *Knock*, *Bal*, *Glen*, *Ben*, *Caer*, &c.

³⁶ Bede, v. 12.

³⁷ Auctarium, Bede.

³⁸ Bede, v. 23.

count of annoyances which the settlers in Cuningham or Renfrewshire had received from the Strath-clyde Britons, led an army, in which Unust, king of the Picts, was present as his ally, against Alclud. The Britons, we are told, came to terms with him.³⁹

We have now reached the climax of Northumbrian power. Disaster soon after fell on the western, no less than on the eastern settlements. Ethelwald Moll, then king of Northumbria, did indeed gain a great victory near Melrose in 761;⁴⁰ but the failure of the line of Angle Bishops at Whitherne, towards the beginning of the ninth century,⁴¹ is a certain proof that the Scots about that time made themselves masters of Galloway. The recovery of Carlisle by the Britons was probably connected in some way with that disaster.

In 839 the famous Scottish king, Kenneth II., drove the Angles out of Melrose, and destroyed the monastery which had educated St. Cuthbert. In 842 the same monarch defeated and slew in Perthshire Wrad, the last king of the Picts, who thenceforward are identified in history with the Scots. The power of the Northumbrians, whose proneness to treason, perjury, murder, and rebellion during the last fifty years of their national existence called forth the anger and contempt of Charlemagne,⁴² constantly decreased, and the Scottish monarchy became more consolidated. Our annalists are careful indeed to record that the great English kings of the tenth century, Athelstan, Edred, and Edgar, exercised a paramount and admitted sovereignty over the kings of Scotland; but, if the fact be true, it is of little consequence. The surrender of Cumberland by Edmund in 945, after he had conquered it, to Malcolm, the Scottish king, is a much more significant circumstance; for it shows Scotland encroaching upon Northumbria, instead of Northumbrians making conquests in Scotland. At what time the Lothians and Berwickshire were lost, we can nowhere find recorded. Scottish history informs us that "Eadulf Cudel, earl of Northumberland, in 1020 ceded to the Scottish king [Malcolm II.] the rich district of Lothene or Lothian,"⁴³ with other territories; but no contemporary writer states this; and the Earl of Northumbria in 1020 was not Eadulf Cudel, but Eric. However, it appears from the Saxon Chronicle, that in 1091 the Lothians, though still considered as in "Engla-land" (for the Frith of Forth was considered even in the thirteenth cen-

³⁹ Sim. Dun. de Gestis Reg. Angl.

⁴⁰ Ib.

⁴¹ See the list given in the Appendix to Florence. Beadulph, the last Bishop but one, was living in 796. Of the last of all, Heathored, we can discover absolutely nothing.

⁴² Will. Malmsh. i. 3.

⁴³ Scott's *Hist. of Scotland*, ch. ii.

ture as the boundary between the Scots and the Angles),⁴⁴ yet formed part of the Scottish king's dominions; and it seems probable that the whole eastern Lowlands, except perhaps a few isolated strongholds, had been lost to Northumbria in the ninth century, although the Angle inhabitants had not been dispossessed.

2. Little can be securely ascertained respecting the early state of Cumberland. The name, which points to the Cymry, the same root which is found in the word Cambria, together with geographical considerations, would be sufficient to prove, without any other testimony, that the British inhabitants of the north of England, driven across the high dividing range which parts the valleys trending east and west by the Angle invaders, long held their ground in the valleys of the Eden and Derwent, and among the mountains of the Lake district. But the Angles followed them up; and, after fully settling the valley of the south Tyne, would naturally be induced, following where the Roman wall, scaling the dividing range, seemed to invite them onwards, to cross over and try their fortune upon the streams that flowed to the Eden. If Degsastan be identified with Dalston, near Carlisle, there can be no doubt that, even in the time of Ethelfrid (593-617), the Angle kings compelled the Britons in Cumberland to pay them tribute, even if they had not dispossessed them of their lands. Whether this displacement occurred under Ethelfrid, or Edwin, or Oswald, or Oswy, we do not know. That it was accomplished some time before 685 is certain, for at that time Lugubalia, or Luel, as the Angle colonists called it, was a thoroughly Angle city; in a convent within its walls dwelt a sister of Egfrid's queen; it was included within the circuit of St. Cuthbert's episcopal visitations; monasteries were springing up in the neighbourhood, and priests required to be ordained for the wants of the district.⁴⁵ And from the fact that the hermit Herebert, whose name attests his Angle nationality, was at this time living peaceably on the island in Derwent Water, which to this day bears his name, it may be inferred, with considerable probability, that the vale of Keswick, if not the whole valley watered by the Derwent, was in the possession of the Angles. That St. Bega founded about this time her monastery in Cope-land, south of Whitehaven (whence the neighbouring promontory bears the name of St. Bees Head), is a tradition preserved in Leland's *Collectanea*, but not vouched for by any ancient

⁴⁴ Florence (Bohn's ed.), p. 386.

⁴⁵ Bede, *Vita S. Cuthb.* ch. xxvii. xxviii. There is not the slightest doubt that these were Angle monasteries and priests. Those were not the times when Britons and Angles could live peaceably together on equal terms, even within convent walls.

author. Yet there is little reason to doubt it; for the later priory of St. Bees, founded early in the twelfth century by William de Meschiens, was avowedly a re-foundation of an old institution which had been destroyed by the Danes; so that the original foundation must at any rate be thrown back beyond the year 800, at about which time the descents of the Danish pirates began. How long Carlisle and the country round it remained in the possession of the Angles, we cannot tell. After the great defeat of Egfrid in 685, "some of the Britons regained their liberty,"⁴⁶ which they still enjoyed at the time of Bede's death. This probably refers to the mountainous district of South Cumberland, where the Angle power must have been weakest and the Britons most numerous. From 685, then, we may safely assume that a small British state existed in Cumberland, which gradually increased its limits as the decline of the Northumbrian kingdom became more marked. But it is impossible to believe that the Angles lost Carlisle and North Cumberland till a much later date. While Angle kings were leading victorious expeditions in Ayrshire and on the Clyde, they must have had a secure base of operations somewhere; and that base, as we have already shown, must have been North Cumberland. But when the Northumbrian state was convulsed by every kind of political and social disorder, until in 827, not through his strength but its own weakness, it submitted to the rule of Egbert of Wessex; when the settlements on the north shore of the Solway were overrun by the Scots and Picts;—then we may reasonably conjecture that Carlisle was taken by the Britons, and held by them until their final expulsion from Cumberland in the tenth century. If it had remained Angle, Whitherne could easily have been recovered from the Scots by a people having the command of the Solway, in which case the bishopric would have been reëstablished; but it never was reëstablished: therefore we infer that Carlisle was lost to the Angles near the time when Galloway was lost, or about the beginning of the ninth century.

In the ninth century we can predicate just two facts of Cumberland, which, perhaps, are but one. Ethelwerd, a writer of the tenth century, says that the Danish leader Hålfdene, after occupying the lands about the Tyne in 875, made frequent wars on the Picts *and the men of Cumberland*.⁴⁷ Florence of Worcester, under the year 1092, speaking of the rebuilding of Carlisle in that year by order of William Rufus, says that it had been destroyed about 200 years before by the Danes, and had

⁴⁶ *Eccl. Hist.* iv. 26.

⁴⁷ This seems more probable than the statement in the Saxon Chronicle, that the Strath-clyde Britons were the object of attack.

lain in ruins ever since. It seems probable that this destruction was effected in one of Halfdene's raids.

The tenth century, as we dimly see through the loopholes of occasional notices in intermittent annals, must for Cumberland and Westmoreland have been a period full of change, marked by the migration and substitution of races. The British state maintained its *de facto* independence till the middle of the century; though, if Malmesbury is to be believed, the great Athelstan received at Dacor (Dacre, near Penrith), in 926, the submission of the British king of Cumberland, Eugenius or Ewen. In 945 Edmund, the brother of Athelstan, led an army northwards by Windermere and the vale of the Rotha, and encountered the British forces, under their king Dunmail, at the pass upon the Cumberland border leading over from Grasmere to Keswick. The Britons were defeated, and Dunmail was killed; his bones are said still to rest under the gray heap of stones to the left of the road. Wordsworth, in his poem of "The Waggoner," has these lines:

"They now have reached that pile of stones
Heaped over brave King Dunmail's bones;
He who had once supreme command,
Last king of rocky Cumberland;—
His bones, and those of all his power,
Slain here in a disastrous hour."

As the existing population of Cumberland and Westmoreland shows no trace whatever of Celtic descent, it has been conjectured that the remnant of Britons still occupying the country were transported after this victory, some to Wales, and others to the Isle of Man. But Edmund was in no condition to take the government of Cumberland into his own hands. Northumbria, owing to the large Danish element which its population now contained, was in a state absolutely chaotic; and the best thing that could be done was to place Cumberland under the protection of the rising kingdom of the Scots. Yet we are forced to believe that this protection amounted to very little, for not a single fact in illustration of it is related by the old writers; nor is it likely that Carlisle would have remained in ruins had the Scots really had a firm hold of the country. William of Malmesbury⁴⁸ mentions Duncan (the King Duncan of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*) by the title of king of Cumbria; by which is probably meant that in the lifetime of his grandfather, the powerful Malcolm II., Duncan reigned as viceroy in Cumberland.

What became of this part of England after the fall of the British state? The question has lately, at least in part, been satisfactorily answered in an excellent little work, *The Northmen*

⁴⁸ Book ii. ch. 13.

in *Cumberland and Westmoreland*, by Mr. Robert Ferguson. Mr. Ferguson's theory, which he supports almost entirely by arguments drawn from the existing names of places in the Lake district, is that after the Britons were driven out, and when the Scots showed no intention of recolonising the country, Norwegian settlers coming from the Isle of Man, and perhaps from other coasts and islands farther north, and landing in the entrances of the estuaries of the rivers running into Morecambe Bay or on the Cumberland coast, gradually settled themselves in most of the mountain valleys, and partially occupied the plains to the north and east. We refer the reader to the work itself for the proofs of this theory. The process was going on, Mr. Ferguson thinks, during the last forty or fifty years of the tenth century. Hence it is that so many names, and endings of names, in the Lake district have a distinctively Norwegian and *non*-Danish signification. Even the particular district in Norway from which these settlers came can be pointed out; it was the Telle-marken, that grand and desolate region where rise the mountains of the Hardanger-feld. For in this district, alone or chiefly, are several words and parts of words found which are of common occurrence in the Lake district. Such are, -thwaite (as in Sea-thwaite, Bir-thwaite, Ros-thwaite), of which the Norwegian form is *thveit*, a clearing in the forest; Scale (as in Scale-hill, Scale-force, &c.), which in old Norse is *skáli*, a log-hut; -garth (as in Apple-garth, Cal-garth, Ho-garth), corresponding to the old Norse *gardr*, an enclosure.

In the year 1000, we learn from the Saxon Chronicle that Ethelred ravaged nearly all Cumberland. Ethelred's great enemies were the Danes. This notice, therefore, seems to agree with the conclusion to which independent considerations would lead us, that the population of Cumberland was at this time mainly Danish or Norwegian.

There is not a gleam of light from this point on to the Norman Conquest. William I. granted Cumberland (with the exception of a few manors in the extreme south-west of the country) to Ranulph de Meschiens, considering, it would seem, that Malcolm III., king of Scotland, by making war upon him and aiding the disaffected English, had forfeited his right to the country.* The grant included also that part of Westmoreland which is geographically connected with Cumberland, namely, the basin of the upper Eden, of which Appleby is the natural capital. Ranulph reserved for himself Englewood Forest and the parts adjoining, "a goodly great forest, full of woods, red deer and fallow, wild swine, and all manner of wild-beasts," and granted to his brother William the barony of Copeland, bounded by the Duddon, the Derwent, and the sea. Not that the Scottish kings gave up their

* Nicolson and Burn's *Hist. of Cumberland and Westmoreland*.

rights in Cumberland without a struggle. Taking advantage of the confusion caused by a disputed succession, David I., in the second year of Stephen, 1136, seized upon Carlisle and other places, and meeting Stephen at Durham, obtained from him for his son Henry the concession of the earldom of Cumberland, Henry doing homage for the same. Cumberland, with the north-eastern half of Westmoreland, remained during the rest of Stephen's reign in the hands of the Scottish kings; but Henry II. soon after his accession compelled Malcolm IV., the grandson and successor of David, to surrender it.⁵⁰ The custody of the county and its castles seems to have remained from this time in the royal hands; that is, no earl was appointed; but some powerful baron in the county (the barons of Gilsland seem to have been particularly favoured in this way) was appointed sheriff of Cumberland and governor of the royal castle of Carlisle, which was for many centuries an important border fortress. The portion of Westmoreland which had hitherto gone with Cumberland was granted by King John to Robert de Veteripont, as a distinct barony and sheriffwick, in the year 1204. Thus was Westmoreland severed from Cumberland, and the latter finally reduced within those boundaries which it has at the present day.

Of Westmoreland the early history is extremely obscure. Geographically it falls into two separate territories; the north-eastern district, or "bottom of Westmoreland," which is the basin of the upper Eden, and the south-western district, which consists of the basin of the Ken and that of the upper Lune. The obvious meaning of the name is "the land of the western moors," which, considering the physical aspect of the surface, is intelligible enough. Still, as the word is said to be spelt in nearly all ancient documents *Westmer-land*,⁵¹ it is possible that the central syllable is the word *mere*, a border, and that the true meaning is "the land of the western marches." The geographical attributes that have been mentioned go far to explain the early political history of the county. The north-eastern district, drained by the Eden, went with Cumberland; the south-western, with Yorkshire. This last assertion will perhaps puzzle the reader; yet it can be easily explained. Yorkshire comprised the whole valley of the Lune till long after the Conquest; and between the lower Lune and the basin of the Ken there is a perfectly easy and short communication. There is but one mention of Westmoreland in the Saxon Chronicle, and that is sufficiently enigmatical. "This year [966] Thored, Gunner's son,

⁵⁰ John and Rich. of Hexham, quoted by Lingard.

⁵¹ *Hist. of Cumb. and Westm.*, by Nicolson and Burn, i. 1. In the Saxon Chronicle, however, an. 966, the name is *Westmoringa-land*.

ravaged Westmoreland." It would be idle to found conjectures upon so narrow a substratum as this. All that can be said is, that it refers to the north-eastern district alone, since the country round Kendal was not then deemed part of Westmoreland, and that it seems to indicate an inroad either of Danes or Norwegians. The first Teutonic population of the county was Angle, as many names of places indicate,⁵² and entered it, as the distribution of those names seems to show, partly from Cumberland, up the valleys of the Eden and Eamont, partly from Yorkshire, either by the Roman road leading over Stainmoor down upon Brough, or upwards from the valley of the Lune. But a second and stronger wave of Teutonic population was Scandinavian, partly Danish and partly Norwegian, as the numerous -bys and -thwaites, -kirk and castor, instead of church and cester—and many other names—indicate. To the mountain district of Westmoreland, and all that part of the county included between Windermere and the Ken, the remarks already made respecting the Norwegian immigration into Cumberland in the tenth century are equally applicable.

The country round Kendal and Kirkby Lonsdale, as well as North Lancashire, was included at the time of the Domesday survey in Evrvicshire, or Yorkshire.⁵³ It was a distinct barony, however, having been granted by the Conqueror to Ivo de Taillebois, one of his Norman knights. The north-eastern district, as already explained, was granted, along with Cumberland, to Ranulf de Meschiens. For many generations the barons of Kendal exercised independent jurisdiction. Enthroned in their strong castle (the ruins of which still crown their grassy hill), overlooking the church-town of the vale of Ken (Kirkby Kendal), their little dominion reaching on one side to the sea, and on the other engirdled by the coronal of mountains and lofty moors which hold the fountains of the Ken and its tributary streams, they must have known little, and cared less, about the fortunes of Appleby and Brough. The origin of the county of Westmoreland, as the term is now understood, dates from a legal decision given in 1227, in a suit between William de Lancaster, eighth baron of Kendal, and Robert de Veteripont, the newly-appointed sheriff of Westmoreland. The sheriff claimed that his writs should run in the barony, and that the baron and his tenants should make suit to his county-court at Appleby. These claims were resisted by William of Lancaster; but the cause was

⁵² e.g. Askham, Bampton, Dufton, Winton, Wharton, Heversham, Preston, Middleton, Hutton, &c.

⁵³ Corry, in his *History of Lancashire* (vol. ii. p. 1), translates Evrvicshire by *Everwickshire*, a county of which he may claim to be the first and sole discoverer.

given against him, with the proviso that the king's itinerant justices were to try pleas touching his tenants at Kendal, if so required. Thenceforward, the county-court for the Kendal and Appleby districts being one, the county of Westmoreland was understood to include the barony within its limits. These limits have ever since remained substantially the same, though part of what is now Lancashire was included in the county down to the reign of Henry VII., and the exact border on the side of Yorkshire was disputed in many places so lately as forty years ago.⁵⁴

3. An almost incredible amount of nonsense has been written about Lancashire. Whitaker, the well-known historian of Manchester, whose investigations into the Roman antiquities of the county were really useful and fruitful, seemed to lose all his sagacity when he came to the Saxon times; and succeeding antiquaries have emulated or surpassed him in extravagance. He quietly assumed that, since the south of England, or at any rate Wessex, was divided into shires towards the end of the seventh century, *therefore* there was a shire of Lancaster at the same period. "About 680" was the date he fixed on for the formation of his imaginary shire. But a Lancaster-shire implies a capital named Lancaster; *ergo*, Lancaster *was* the capital of the shire in the seventh century. Such, without exaggeration, is the substance of Whitaker's reasoning on this matter.⁵⁵ Corry,⁵⁶ Britton and Brayley, and even Mr. Edward Baines,⁵⁷ follow in the same track. Corry assumes that a "Lancaster-scyre,"—he is evidently punctilious about the orthography,—was at any rate formed by Alfred, if not earlier; and the same notion, together with the word, is taken up by Mr. Baines.

But this hypothesis, when pressed, is found to be absolutely baseless. No such political unit as Lancashire was in existence, by that or any other name, for at least two generations after the Conquest. In the Saxon times this territory always formed part of Northumbria; it must have been regarded as a sort of outlying province of Deira, lying beyond the western moor-hills, full of swamps, mosses, forests, and high hills, and only in places here and there repaying the trouble of tillage. To this day little more than one-fourth of the surface of the county is said to be under the plough.⁵⁸ When Domesday Book was compiled, the southern portion was considered to be in some way attached to Cheshire, while all the northern parts were comprehended in Yorkshire. This will be more fully explained presently.

That the Teutonic colonisation of this part of England was

⁵⁴ See Hodgson's large map of Westmoreland.

⁵⁵ *Hist. of Manchester*, ii. 122.

⁵⁶ *Hist. of Lancashire*, 1825.

⁵⁷ *Hist. of County and Duchy of Lancaster*, 1836.

⁵⁸ *Lewis's Topogr. Dict.*

carried on from the eastward, there can be no reasonable doubt. No mention or trace of any landing of Saxons, Angles, or Northmen on the Lancashire coast is to be found any where. Nor is it likely that any part of the county, except a mere fringe along its southern border, was peopled from Cheshire. Cheshire was not firmly held by the Mercian kings till after the middle of the eighth century; nor would the Northumbrian kings, until the Danish descents had weakened their power, have allowed Mercian settlers to encroach upon their territories. For that Lancashire was from the earliest times deemed part of Northumbria, seems placed beyond a doubt by the express statements in the Saxon Chronicle (an. 798, 923) that Whalley and Manchester were both in that kingdom.

Assuming, then, that the first Teutonic immigrants came from the eastward,—from Yorkshire,—on what lines did their colonising operations proceed? Considerations partly historical, partly geographical, enable us to answer the question with some confidence. To the Angles of Deira the natural approaches to Lancashire must have been three: 1. the Aire valley as high as Cold Coniston, thence across the low watershed to the Ribble, near Long Preston, and so down that river; 2. the same route as far as Long Preston, thence across the easy pass in the hills, now traversed by the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway, to the valley of the Wenning, and down that river to the Lune; 3. the Roman road (Iter VI. in Richard of Cirencester's *Itinerary*) leading from York by Tadcaster and Slack (Cambodunum), over the dividing range near Saddleworth, down upon Manchester, and on to Chester. The two first routes, besides that they evaded the difficulty of crossing the bleak and barren wastes of moorland which form the greater part of the boundary between Lancashire and Yorkshire, and presented the advantage of successive eligible locations along the whole route, led also to the most fertile portions of Lancashire, Ribblesdale and Lonsdale. That by these routes the county received the bulk of its Angle population, we see little reason to doubt. The third route was probably most used for military purposes. From the mention by Bede of the victory of Ethelfrid over the Britons near Chester in 607, it may be inferred that he must have led his army across South Lancashire; and it seems highly probable that he took advantage of the Roman road by Slack, which would lead him nearly in a direct line to the point he aimed at, and the firm construction of which must have made it even then, in spite of winter storms and the neglect of two centuries, passable by help of slight repairs to an Angle army and its slender baggage-train.

Before the Conquest only two historical events are recorded as occurring in Lancashire; the notices of these are found in the

Saxon Chronicle and in Simeon of Durham. In 798 a battle was fought near Whalley, a place on the Calder, a tributary of the Ribble, between Eardulf king of Northumbria, and a rebel force headed by Wada, the chief among the conspirators who had murdered King Ethelred two years before. The conspirators had apparently taken refuge in this remote part of the kingdom, and Eardulf was advancing upon them out of Yorkshire. Wada was completely defeated. It is also recorded that in the year 923 King Edward, the son of Alfred, sent a force of Mercians to "Manige-ceaster" (Manchester) in Northumbria, to repair and garrison the place. This was part of the wise policy which Edward steadily pursued, to curb the turbulence of the Danish population in the north of England by establishing fortresses at different places, garrisoned by those on whose fidelity he could rely. Manchester had probably been laid in ruins in the course of one of the Danish Halfdene's devastating raids, soon after the accession of Alfred.

There is no reason to doubt that the existing boundary-line between Cheshire and Lancashire coincides as nearly as possible with the southern boundary of the Northumbrian kingdom. This, then, would appear to be an instance of the abandonment of the principle of natural boundaries, since the Mersey, which divides the counties, is, above Warrington, a fordable river. But there was another principle which seems to have had no little power in the breast of an Anglo-Saxon, and to have modified in this and other cases his adherence to the first principle;—we mean his unfeigned respect for the imperial race whose traces he found every where preëxisting in Britain. Thus we read that the townspeople of Lugubalia (Carlisle) took a pride in showing to St. Cuthbert the beautiful Roman remains in their city.⁵⁹ The Saxons loved to preserve Roman names of places, though generally in a corrupt form; and wherever they found traces of a Roman encampment, they took care to consign the fact to perpetual remembrance by embodying the Latin word *castra* in the name of the town or village which grew up on the spot. There is every reason to believe that this was their practice while yet pagans; Lege-ceaster (Chester), which was threatened by the pagan Ethelfrid in 607, must have been so named by the Angles before Christianity had penetrated so far north; and Wintan-cestir (Winchester) and Rhofes-cestir (Rochester) are spoken of by Bede⁶⁰ in such a manner as to make one conclude that they were already so named when first chosen as bishops' sees. When, with Christianity, the Latin language and some acquaintance with ancient history and literature were introduced, these reverential feelings for what was Roman must naturally have been

⁵⁹ Bede, *Vita S. Cuthb.* ch. xxvii.

⁶⁰ *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 7 and ii. 3.

deepened. Again, in view of the strong instinct of all colonising races, but especially of the Teutonic race, to extend their settlements and their administrative systems until stopped by the natural barriers of seas and mountains, it is not easy to explain the adoption of the Thames as the boundary between Wessex and Mercia, except by supposing that the Saxons designed thereby to sanction and perpetuate a Roman arrangement, in virtue of which that river had formed the dividing line between Britannia Prima and Flavia Cæsariensis. Similarly, the knowledge that under the Romans the Mersey had formed the boundary on the west between Flavia and Maxima Cæsariensis probably induced the Angles of Northumbria and Mercia to acquiesce in that conventional frontier.

For the Britons, on the other hand, both Angles and Saxons seem to have felt such unmeasured aversion and contempt, that they tried to sweep all trace of them from the face of the land. Even the holy and venerable man in whom the Angle race reached its culminating point in history, suffers his pen to wander into expressions of unusual harshness when his subject is the "impious" and "perfidious" race of the Britons. All British names of places seem to have been designedly repudiated by the new-comers, and, so far as they could effect it, consigned to oblivion. Except in Cornwall and the counties bordering on Wales, there are but very few cases of a town or village bearing a distinctively British name to be pointed out on the map of England; and one of the obvious exceptions, Carlisle (*Caer-leol*), goes far to prove the theory supported in our remarks on Cumberland, viz. that the Britons recovered Carlisle from the Angles, and held it for a long period. For the Angle name was *Luel*; and the Celtic *Caer* would never have been prefixed to it, had the place remained uninterruptedly in Angle hands.

A glance at the Domesday record shows that, before it was compiled, Lancashire had had a long and eventful history, though it is irretrievably lost for us. All the principal kinds of human activity, mechanical, political, and spiritual, had there been exercised, and had transmuted the wilderness into a land of tilth, meadow, and hill-pasture, studded with communities of men who had "called the lands after their own names." How suggestive, how eloquent to the imagination, are the mere names of the villages as they stand in the old record! How do the few meagre statistics about them, set down in the curtest and most matter-of-fact way, set one thinking, and reconstructing in one's mind the form of English society as it was by Irwell-side or under Pendle Hill eight hundred years ago! Salford was then a bigger place than Manchester. Lancaster was merely one "vill" amongst many, and apparently not the most considerable,

appertaining to the manor of Halton, a village higher up the Lune. Preston was a place of great importance,—a manor that had been held by Tosti earl of Northumbria, brother of Harold, the last of the Saxon kings, to which sixty-two “vills” in the district of Amounderness (i. e. speaking roughly, the country between the Ribble and the Lune) are enumerated as belonging. Out of these, however,—so great had been the confusion and insecurity in Northumbria during the last two centuries,—only sixteen were inhabited at the time of the survey, and that by few persons only; the rest lay waste—“*reliqua sunt vasta.*”

All the southern part of Lancashire included between the Mersey and the Ribble (terra inter Ripe et Mersham) was in some way attached to Cheshire at the date of the survey. For in the chapter relating to Cheshire, when, according to the usual practice of the compilers of Domesday, after the statistics of the county town, with which the chapter opens, the names of the great landholders in the county are specified, the following passage occurs:

“In CESTRE-SCIRE tenet episcopus ejusdem civitatis de rege quod ad suum pertinet episcopatum.

Totam reliquam terram comitatus tenet Hugo comes de rege cum suis hominibus.

TERRAM INTER RIPE ET MERSHAM tenuit Rogerius Picta-
vensis. Modo tenet rex.”

It seems clear from this passage that the country between the Ribble and the Mersey was connected with Cheshire at the time of the Conquest, though granted separately by the Conqueror to Roger of Poitou, Cheshire falling to Hugh Lupus. It is, indeed, quite conceivable that after Northumbria had been irrevocably reduced to an earldom,—a change which, according to Simeon of Durham, took place in 952,—some king of England should, for purposes of administrative convenience, have attached this district to the earldom of Mercia, with which, geographically, it is much more closely connected than with Yorkshire.

Amounderness also had been originally granted to Roger of Poitou, but had lapsed to the king before the date of the survey. Of this district, as also of the two divisions of Lancashire farther north—namely, Lonsdale South and Lonsdale North—of Sands (Furness), the statistics appear in Domesday under the head of Yorkshire.

How these *disjecta membra* came to be united and consolidated into the great and historic county of Lancaster, it is not easy to explain with clearness and precision. The centralising process probably began with the building of the great Norman keep which still crowns the castle-hill at Lancaster; the owner of that keep was a man to be feared and courted, and the “Ho-

nour of Lancaster" was likely enough to be created in his favour. The county historians all tell us that Roger of Poitou built the castle, and was the first lord of the "honour;"⁶¹ but they seem unable to adduce any documentary proof to that effect, though it is probable in itself. If, however, he built the castle, it must have been after his restoration to his estates and dignities by William Rufus; otherwise Lancaster would surely have been more honourably mentioned in Domesday book than as a mere vill forming part of a large manor. Roger was so unlucky as to incur forfeiture a second time. The honour, supposing it to have been then in existence, thus lapsed to the crown. By Henry I. it was conferred, together with the large crown estates in Lancashire, on his favourite nephew Stephen, who granted Furness away to a society of Cistercian monks. It was in right of these estates that Stephen, at the council of English barons in 1127, took an oath to maintain the succession of the Empress Matilda to the crown.⁶² During Stephen's reign the Honour seems to have remained vested in the crown. At the final pacification in 1153, it was agreed that William Count of Mortain, Stephen's only surviving son, should, upon doing homage to Prince Henry, have granted to him "all the lands and honours possessed by Stephen before his accession to the throne."⁶³ The honour of Lancaster thus passed to William, who dying without issue, the estates must have reverted to the crown; and Henry II. seems to have granted them, together with the titles of Count of Mortain and Lord of Lancaster, to his youngest son John, from whom, in 1093, during Richard I.'s absence on the crusade, the burgesses of Lancaster obtained their first charter of incorporation. Again, during the reign of John, the honour was merged in the crown. It so continued during the greater part of the succeeding reign, as John's second son Richard was already, as Earl of Cornwall, sufficiently provided for both in respect of wealth and rank. In process of time Henry III. had a second son to provide for,—Edmund, surnamed Crouchback. He could not give him the earldom of Cornwall; for his brother Richard had a son, also named Edmund, who succeeded to that by right of inheritance. It is probable that these Lancashire estates formed the largest mass of property still belonging to the crown; and they

⁶¹ "The term Honour implied superiority over several dependent manors, whose proprietors were obliged to do suit and service to the superior baron or chief, who kept his Honour-court annually with great pomp." Corry, *Hist. of Lancashire*.

⁶² Our historians appear to think it unnecessary to explain how it was that Stephen, with his foreign titles and possessions, took the oath as an English baron. If county-history were more, and more critically, studied, much of the vagueness, inconsequence, and unreality which attach to our early annals would be removed.

⁶³ Lingard.

were granted by Henry III. to Edmund, who was at the same time created *Earl* (comes) of Lancaster. Here then, and not before, we have the origin of the shire or county of Lancaster, "quia comitatus a comite dicitur."⁶⁴ Still, however, as the abbots of Furness exercised, in virtue of their original grant, an independent jurisdiction in that part of Lancashire which lies north of the sands, the county was not yet complete. As in the case of Westmoreland, a legal decision seems to have been the foundation of that settlement of the county boundaries which prevails at the present day. The sheriff of the newly-made earl insisted that his writs should run in Furness. William de Middleton, the abbot, resisted; and, being summoned by the king's justices itinerant to appear at Lancaster, produced his charters, and in the main substantiated his claim, subject, however, to this proviso, that he should pay the yearly sum of six shillings and eight pence to the Earl of Lancaster. The reservation of this rent did in fact amount to an admission that Furness was part of the county; and as such it was henceforward regarded; it is so described in a charter of Henry IV. dated in 1412. We have thus, to the best of our power, got our *disiecta membra* pieced together.

4. We must hasten over the chief points in the long history of the two closely connected counties of Durham and Northumberland. The distinction between Deira and Bernicia being nearly lost sight of after the time of Oswald (642), the two counties remained undistinguished portions of the Northumbrian kingdom, so long as it was in being. When, in the reign of Edred, earls were finally substituted for kings, Osulph was made the first earl, and the opportunity was seized, if Ingulphus may be believed,⁶⁵ of dividing Northumbria into shires, ridings, and wapentakes. But the statement is incredible, or rather has no meaning, except so far as the minor divisions are concerned; for Cumberland and Westmoreland, as has been shown, were at this time in the hands of the Scottish king. Lancashire did not become a county till long after the Conquest; and Northumberland and Durham were certainly not shires till a still later period. Yet it is not unlikely that the great shire of York may have been constituted at this period, stopping short at the Tees, between which and the Tweed St. Cuthbert owned most of the land, and had large powers of jurisdiction, but including large portions of what are now Westmoreland and Lancashire. The name of Eoferwic-scir probably crept in gradually, being used within the county long before the old and expressive name of Norð-hymbra-land passed out of the mouths of the people of the rest of England. The change must have been firmly estab-

⁶⁴ Sim. Dun. Chron. Eccl. Dunelm. an. 953.

⁶⁵ Quoted by Lingard.

lished—if the language of the Saxon Chronicle may be relied upon—between the years 1016 and 1065. Under the former year the chronicler describes the march of Canute into Northumbria in the direction of York, “to Norð-hymbran to Eoforwic-weard.” Under 1065, a gathering is mentioned of all the thanes in Yorkshire and in Northumberland, “on Eoforwic-scire and on Norð-hymbra-lande.” In the annals of the Norman kings down to Edward I., whenever the name Northumberland occurs, it must be understood neither of the ancient Northumbria nor of the modern county alone, but of this last together with Durham.

But how came it that the jurisdiction of St. Cuthbert grew so potent and reached so far as to create an *imperium in imperio* within the Northumbrian kingdom? To answer this question satisfactorily would involve a complete and careful analysis of the famous Legend of Durham; an enterprise in which, at the fag end of a long article, we could hardly expect to carry our readers with us. The outlines of the story are these: St. Cuthbert, after holding for two years the see which had been founded by Aidan at Lindisfarne, died in 687, and was buried in the minster on Holy Isle. His sanctity, and the marvellous heavenly interpositions which it was believed to draw down, furnished matter for a biography to his countryman the venerable Bede; and the *Life of St. Cuthbert* was copied again and again, sank deeply into many minds, and was doubtless to be found in every monastery in the north.⁶⁶ By the monks who boasted to be his spiritual descendants it was declared, after some centuries had passed, that lands and towns had been freely given to and accepted by the saint; that king Egfrid had given him the city of Carlisle, with all the land round it within a radius of fifteen miles, and also the lands of Cartmel, on Morecambe Bay, “with all the Britons upon them.” What we read in the biography and in the Ecclesiastical History leaves a quite different impression. In reality, Cuthbert was like one of the old Fathers of the Desert: he loved to spend his time in solitude, meditating on eternal truths, and to earn his daily bread by the labour of his hands. Moreover, he was educated in the school of Bishop Aidan, who gave every thing away as fast as he received it, and “had nothing of his own besides his church and a few fields about it.”⁶⁷ But however this may be, the see was plentifully endowed and enriched under the successors of St. Cuthbert. After Halfdene (in 875-6) had encamped near the Tyne, and portioned out a great part of Northumbria among his Danish soldiers, the then bishop of Lindisfarne,—Eardulf,—in fear perhaps of ac-

⁶⁶ In a charter of Athelstan, a “*Vita S. Cudberti*” is given to his church along with other valuable presents. *Codex Dipl. Ang. Sar.* no. 112.

⁶⁷ *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 17.

tual starvation through the appropriation of the church-lands by the Danes, took the body of St. Cuthbert from its resting place, and, accompanied by many of the tenants, wandered away in search of a safer abode. Craik, a small village in the plain of York, belonging to the see, lying midway between the Ouse and Derwent, and at that time probably hidden among woods, was their first place of refuge. The confusion in Northumbria is said to have abated after Guthrid was chosen king; and at the end of seven years the fugitives turned their faces homewards. They went, however, no farther than Chester-le-Street on the Wear, being probably deterred from returning to Lindisfarne by its exposed position, so dangerously near to the marauding Scots, whose kingdom was growing stronger every year, and open to attack by sea from the Danish pirates. Here the see continued for about a hundred years; the succession of bishops is to be found in Florence. During the miserable reign of Ethelred II. the Danes again overran the north; and Bishop Aldhun, taking the relics with him, found shelter for a time in the monastery of Ripon. Returning thence in 995, he was led to encamp on the hill called Dun-holme, the rough steep sides of which were nearly engirdled by the river Wear, while the top was good land and tolerably level. A rude tabernacle was built to shelter the sacred body, then a chapel—a church—finally a cathedral, round which has grown up the city of Durham.

The above outline of facts, though not vouched for in any writings earlier than the twelfth century, is probably in the main not far different from what actually occurred. Partly by gift, partly by purchase, the see continued to increase its possessions, until very nearly the whole of the present county of Durham, together with the district of Norham and Holy Isle, bordering on the Tweed, were the property of the bishopric. Large judicial and magisterial powers were exercised by the Bishop all over the see lands, although in this respect he had no advantage over the lay holder of a lordship. But the right of asylum, and the exemption from all secular burdens, were privileges peculiar to St. Cuthbert and his church.

After the Conquest there seems always to have been a complete administrative separation between Yorkshire and Northumberland. Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, who was left regent of the kingdom, jointly with the Bishop of Coutances, while William was in Normandy, seems to have employed sheriffs in both during the first few years of confusion. It does not distinctly appear whether Waltheof, the son of Earl Siward, was at any time acting as Earl of Northumberland. At any rate, he was imprisoned in 1074, and beheaded in 1075; and soon afterwards we find Walchere Bishop of Durham carrying on the

temporal government of Northumberland. "The Bishop," says William of Malmesbury, "independently of his see, was warden of the whole county," that is, of Northumberland and Durham. The Bishop was murdered in a tumultuary rising of the country people in 1080. About the same time Robert Curthose, the Conqueror's eldest son, built on the site of the old Angle town of Monkchester, on the left bank of the Tyne, a strong castle, which might be of use in curbing any future inroads of the Scots. This "*Novum Castrum super Tinam*" was the nucleus of Newcastle. Walchere is regarded as the first Bishop who exercised those "palatine" powers which belonged to the see for more than four centuries, and which included the right of coining money, of administering justice, of raising troops, and of hunting in the royal forests. Still, however, the possessions of the bishopric were long spoken of as included in the county of Northumberland. Under William Rufus the earldom was given to Robert de Mowbray, who lost it through engaging in treasonable plots in 1095. For the next forty-three years the county was probably in charge of a vicecomes or high sheriff. In 1138 Prince Henry, son of David I. of Scotland, was recognised by Stephen as earl of all Northumberland except the castles of Newcastle and Bamborough. Henry died in 1152; his eldest son Malcolm became king of Scotland two years later; and his second son, William, took the earldom, but had to surrender it in 1157, under the treaty by which Malcolm gave up all his rights over the three northern counties. From this period down to the reign of Richard II. the government of Northumberland seems to have been carried on by high sheriffs stationed at Newcastle. The earldom was granted to the Percy family in 1377. At what precise period the bishopric came to be regarded as a separate county it is not easy to say. Even in the fifteenth century it was doubted whether Hartlepool, which, though surrounded by the possessions of the see, did not belong to it, was in Durham or Northumberland. The palatine rights of the bishopric were materially abridged by Henry VIII., and in modern times have been altogether abrogated: the last to exercise them was Bishop Van Mildert. The outlying portion of Durham along the Scottish border was only incorporated with Northumberland in the year 1844.

THE RISE OF THE ENGLISH POOR-LAW.

WITH all its anomalies, the English poor-law is perhaps the most characteristic result of that common social and political activity which is expressed by the words "constitution in Church and State." The form of words belongs to a time when the Church was not only an aggregate of bishoprics and parishes, but a great living corporation, the representative and patroness of all other corporate bodies, the teacher and mistress of all the civilisation and progress which depend on social coöperation, and are independent of the control of the State,—when she was the almoner of the poor, the educator of the ignorant, the repository of science and art, the maker of roads, the builder of bridges, the cultivator of lands, and the promoter of medical science by her hospitals, and of commerce and manufacture by her guilds. If we understand by "Church" merely the Establishment in relation to our present society, with its chapter-houses and cathedrals, its privileges and its means of proselytism, the phrase "constitution in Church and State" represents a nuisance which loudly asks for reform. But if we understand "Church" in its representative and symbolic sense, as denoting all natural and voluntary associations and corporations which aim at objects outside the sphere of political regulation, the phrase is still the venerable formula of English liberty. It proclaims that there is in our society something previous to the State—a corporate life of the people in families, associations, and religious bodies, over which the State has no sovereign control; and it asserts, moreover, that the two elements, Church and State, though independent of each other, yet together form one inseparable whole, and coalesce in one "constitution." If we wish to know what particular parts of our constitution we owe chiefly to the Church, and what to the State, we shall have to examine separately each element of our laws, and to trace its development from the beginning of our history.

For instance, political economists who go so far as to own that the State may be bound to guarantee employment at ample wages to all who are born, which was the principle of the Elizabethan poor-law, add the condition that, if it does this, it is bound in self-protection, and for the sake of every purpose for which government exists, to provide that no person shall be born without its consent. "Society can feed the necessitous if it takes their multiplication under its control, . . . but it cannot with impunity take the feeding on itself, and leave the multiply-

ing free.”¹ In a similar way, the evils resulting from mendicancy and vagrancy have often occasioned the enactment of severe laws against private almsgiving, and the prohibition of all doles except those distributed through certain channels. Yet what can be more monstrous than that the State should claim a sovereign control over marriage, and over the acts of Christian charity?

For the Church, with her crowds of religious persons vowed to celibacy and labour, had a corresponding right to encourage population and to feed the miserable. Her clergy and nuns, by their self-imposed abstinence, made room for the multiplication of those who had not received the gift of continence; her laborious monks, who could not consume the fruit of their own toil, had a right to confer it upon the miserable. In doing this they did no injury to the commonwealth; and the State recognised their claim when it acquiesced in the law that “the miserable” belonged to the sphere of the ecclesiastical tribunals. The Church had purchased for them a place in society, and had given them a right of existence which was not recognised in the Pagan state. The State at first was grateful for this, and willingly co-operated with the Church in her measures of poor-relief; but in time, partly through abuses in the Church, partly through the inconveniences necessarily arising from the arrangement, and partly through oblivion of the evil from which the Church had once delivered society, the State separated itself from the Church, then opposed her, and at last deprived her of all means of fulfilling this mission, and so found itself obliged to undertake what had hitherto been the function of the Church.

The provision made for the poor by the medieval Church may be divided into two parts. The first was an imperative tax laid on the owners of property. A law, attributed to St. Simplicius, ordered that one quarter of the tithes should be appropriated to the maintenance of the poor of the parish. The second was the fruit of voluntary acts of self-sacrifice made by the clergy and religious, who devoted themselves, and the pious laity, who devoted their property, to the maintenance of the poor. Of these two modes of provision, the first was that which had the earlier political significance. For, as the first necessity of civilisation, after the break-up of the Roman system in Europe, was to settle the roving barbarians in fixed habitations, where their families and their property might give some security for their good behaviour, Church and State both strove to attach the population to the soil. The council of Tours in the sixth century ordered that each place should maintain its own poor, and prevent the vagabondage of mendicants; and

¹ Mill, *Political Economy*, fourth ed., 1867, i. 436.

though the laws of Dagobert, Pepin, and Charlemagne protected the religious pilgrim, yet pilgrimages were discouraged by the gravest divines; and the growing custom, which made all the inhabitants of a district answerable for the delinquencies of each, tended to put social difficulties in the way of unlimited vagabondage. But after the tendency to local settlement had developed into the system of serfage, the needs of civilisation became different. The mobilisation of the population became the great problem of the age. The share which the Church took in this great work has never been sufficiently appreciated. The agency which she employed was not the parochial relief given by the secular clergy, but the exceptional action of the religious orders. The Benedictines had already performed a similar service to the world. They had shown the way to fuse together the Goth and the Roman patrician on the common ground of manual labour, and to make it possible for their descendants to dig their gardens or farm their estates without losing caste, as they might in a land of slaves. But in the middle ages the Benedictines did not directly promote the manumission of individual serfs, except as the founders of burghs, where the slave might become free after habitation for a year and a day, yet prepared for their wholesale emancipation by helping to bring about those conditions of property without which the emancipated serf could not obtain a living. In the early years of the feudal system land was not saleable, because there was no moveable property to give for it. It could only change owners by being given to the Church, which leased it out to farmers. Thus the exclusiveness of feudal property was first broken down. The system of leaseholds became common in Church property long before it was introduced into secular domains, and many of the serfs were raised to the condition of free tenants. Thus the Church, still remaining an aristocratic proprietor, began the mobilisation of real property, and paved the way for that division of land and improved culture without which the existence of the third estate is impossible.

In the mobilisation of the serf himself the Church had a great share. The popular tendency towards breaking connection with the soil found its religious expression in the Crusades and in pilgrimages, and a sanction as well as an expression in the extraordinary and sudden development of the military and mendicant orders. At this period the history of the Church shows that pity for the weak and oppressed was elevated into the dominant passion of Christendom. The military orders consecrated weakness. The forlorn condition of the widow and orphan lost its reproach, and was raised into a kind of sacred state, able to impart a blessing to its champions. The Franciscans did for pauperism and leprosy, for the vagrant and mendicant, what the

Benedictines had done for labour, and the military orders for the orphan and widow.

Not that these movements grew from any formed political idea. They were religious in intention only; and whatever political results arose from them were a spontaneous and unlooked-for growth. The pilgrimage was the pretext on which the serf wandered from his lord's domain.² The crusade, by arming masses of serfs, must have had an influence on their eventual emancipation, analogous to that of the standing army of Russia, which has led to a like result, or to the probable effect of the arming of slaves by the American Confederacy. The religious orders crowned the edifice, not only by the provision which their hospitals and charitable institutions made for the houseless wanderer, but by the religious sanction the example of the mendicant friars gave to the vagabondage which all historians own to have been a necessary, however lamentable, concomitant of the transition from slavery to freedom. The condition of the vagrant beggar could not have become more tolerable than that of the immobilised serf, unless his condition had been made honourable and respectable, by being shared with the most respected of ecclesiastics. It is thus not only true that vagrancy, with its train of ills, was the shadow of a good already accomplished—because, “if the people had not ceased to be slaves, they could not have possessed a freedom of action, or resorted to vagrancy as a means of living”—but it is further true that it was the necessary atmosphere, the condition *sine quâ non*, of the process of accomplishing this good. It was so understood by contemporaries most interested in the question. The feudal lords, in their efforts to check the movement, made no direct laws against emancipation, but only against vagrancy and mendicancy, as knowing that if they could check these the cause of them would be stifled. As long as the Church had been content to practise local almsgiving, without encouraging the poor to emigrate from their homes, the lords accepted her coöperation, and allowed her to support their worn-out labourers. But as soon as she became an aid to the serf in his attempts to gain his freedom, an opposition sprang up which increased in violence till its climax in the sixteenth century. There is no doubt that Wat Tyler insurrections, Jack Cade riots, and Pilgrimages of Grace, naturally incidental as they are to the fermentation which changes the rough juice of barbaric society into the wine of civilisation, are terrible evils in themselves, and doubly terrible to the classes which they menace. The legislature tried to kill the weed in the roots by cutting off vagrancy. This was the first germ of

² The Act 12 Richard II., 1388, contained a clause against servants or labourers moving from their residences “by colour to go in pilgrimage.”

our civil poor-law. While the Church fed the wanderer and blessed the mendicant, the State enacted penal laws against the vagrant, the sturdy beggar, and the person who relieved them; it tied each peasant to the soil, took from him all right of locomotion, except at stated intervals and under strict conditions, settled the amount of his wages, and prescribed the time he was to work for his master. The Church, in the council of Toulouse, defended the wanderer, and reënacted the laws of Dagobert, Pepin, and Charlemagne, in his favour. The State enacted that no servant or labourer, man or woman, should at the end of his term leave his master or his home, to serve or dwell elsewhere, or to go on pilgrimage, without license under the king's seal, under pain of the stocks, and further punishment at the discretion of the justices. He was to be compelled to work at the fixed price; and both man and master were punished if higher wages were given. Any one who had been an agricultural labourer up to the age of twelve years was to remain so for life, and not to get apprenticed in a town, where he might gain his liberty by residence for a year and a day. Beggars were to be treated as vagrant labourers; impotent beggars were allowed to remain in the town where they found themselves, unless it was incapable of supporting them, when they were to remove to the place of their birth. The Franciscans were the missionaries and hospitallers of the wretched suburbs of the towns where the vagrants would naturally congregate. There the serf flying from his lord would find in them protectors, who would do their best to hide him from the strict search which the magistrates were directed to make for him by such poor-laws as then existed. These first germs of our civil poor-law are simply repressive; they make no provision for any one; they look like "an attempt to restore the expiring system of slavery," and to repress the abuses which naturally grow like a fungus from a soil rich in ecclesiastical foundations of charity, which often encourage the idle and profligate as much as the deserving poor. "The hospitality of the abbey," says Fuller, "was charity mistaken; they only maintained the poor they made. Vagrants came to consider the abbey their inheritance, till beggary was entailed on their posterity." "The blind eleemosynary spirit," says Hallam, "was notoriously the cause, not the cure, of beggary and wretchedness. It promoted the vagabond mendicancy which the severe statutes in vain endeavoured to repress." The same criticism was passed in France. Henry II., in 1547, obliged all religious foundations to discontinue their alms to mendicants, because it only served "*d'attirer les valides, et les détournait d'œuvrer et travailler.*"

Thus we have three original elements of the poor-law—two

ecclesiastical and one civil. The first was the local, parochial, and compulsory relief of the poor, reduced to system, and founded on principles which, though next to impracticable in the State, are fundamental in the moral code of the Church. "Extreme necessity," says the canon law, "makes all things common;" "it excuses theft, and palliates robbery with violence;" "in a general dearth food becomes common property;" and even in ordinary times "both clergy and laity are bound to provide alms, even by their own manual labour, in order to assist those in extreme need." And the ecclesiastical tribunals were empowered to enforce these principles. "Although the poor man could not bring a direct action against the rich to compel him to assist him, yet he might implore the ecclesiastical judge to compel him," by the use of the means entrusted to his discretion; for, in the Church, acts of charity are as real *duties* as those of justice; and she has a right to employ whatever compulsory measures the state of society allows her to use in forcing her children to do their duty. But the odiousness of this power of compelling the laity to perform the duties of charity was mitigated by the exemplary self-denial of ecclesiastics, who by their self-restraint checked the tendency to overpopulation, and by their labours secured a surplus of food to distribute to whomsoever they pleased. The abbeys and hospitals were the centres of this voluntary and arbitrary charity, which formed the second ecclesiastical element in the system of poor-relief. These two elements formed the substantial and positive basis of poor-relief; the third requisite was a negative check upon the abuses to which they would naturally give birth. The tendency of the principles of the Church was to break down the absolutism of property in favour of the needy. On the other side was the State, with its notions of property so rigid, absolute, and one-sided, that it made property of men, in order to secure to the owner the usufruct of his domains. This antagonism found expression first in the savage legislation against rogues and vagabonds, and then in the pillage of the Reformation. Such was the way in which the State discharged its function of seeing that the exuberant charity of the Church did not exceed the bounds of just economy, and promote the growth of a dissolute and idle proletariat, to the detriment of the aristocracy and the labourers.

Each of these three elements of the poor-law had its period of predominance. In the height of the feudal system, when the serfs were attached to the soil, parochial relief was the only thing wanted; the interests of the lord led him to institute sufficient checks upon idleness. In the period of emancipation and mobilisation of the serfs, the voluntary relief of the

religious orders was chiefly in request; so much so that the old regulation, appropriating a fourth part of the tithe to the parochial poor, fell into disuse, and it became a common thing to make over the tithes of a parish to an abbey or hospital. The necessary result of this was to divert the tithes from the relief of the parish poor. Hence arose a new quarrel between the secular and the regular clergy, and between the regular clergy and the State. The celebrated Walter Map, before 1200, and the more celebrated Robert Grosseteste, in the first half of the next century, satirised and opposed the endeavours of the monasteries to appropriate the possessions and tithes which were meant for local uses and resident priests. Archbishop Stratford, in the provincial synod held in London, Oct. 10, 1342, declared that it was the office of churchmen to see that the poor were not defrauded of their share of the tithes and other ecclesiastical property, and that the local poor had a better right than strangers to the tithes of any given parish. But, he continued, when the regular clergy obtained the impropriation of benefices, they applied the proceeds to their own uses, or to relieve their own poor; hence, he said, proceeded the general indevotion of tithe-payers and the audacity of church-robbers. He therefore decreed that, in every case of appropriation of a benefice to a religious house, a certain proportion of the revenue, to be determined by the bishop, should be given in alms to the poor of the parish, under pain of sequestration. Fifty years afterwards, in 1392, the legislature enacted a similar law. In every license of appropriation of tithes to a religious house, the bishop was to ordain a convenient sum of money to be distributed yearly out of it to the poor parishioners. The concentration of charitable foundations in these religious establishments, and the great doles distributed at their doors, caused an endless movement of the poor population, which soon produced social evils and political troubles like the risings of Tyler and Cade. And now the objection which, when originally made by William de Sancto Amore against the Mendicants, was inapplicable and unjust, became more and more true politically. "If," he said, "religious men who are able-bodied and strong may live on alms without labouring with their hands, others may do the like. But if all were to choose to live in that way, society would perish."³ By their example, says an invective against the English Friars,

"debaechantur servi

Et in servos Domini nimis sunt protervi."⁴

When the movement became such as they could no longer sanction, they lost their popularity with the people by opposing

³ *Inter Op. S. Thom. Aquin.*, vol. xix. p. 341.

⁴ *Monumenta Franciscana*, Append. p. 592.

them, but did not regain the favour of the rich, who looked upon them as the cause of a state of things in which, as a contemporary poet sings,

“*Servit nobilitas, et rusticitas dominatur,
Ad res illicitas omnis plebs præcipitatur.*”

This state of things introduced the period of the predominance of the third element of our poor-law, when, in opposition to the Church, which with indiscriminate benevolence had relieved all applicants, thus encouraging vagrancy, and collecting masses of dissipated vagabonds round her great houses, the State set itself to put down vagrancy by the most cruel laws, to force every landless man to have an ostensible employment, to distribute the eleemosynary relief equally through all districts, instead of allowing it to accumulate in centres, which therefore became thronged with pauper pilgrims, and to confine the labouring classes to the places where they were born.

It is strange that this merely negative system should have recommended itself to statesmen as, in itself, a sufficient solution of the problem of poor-relief. But theory was aided by passion; and, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, the inconveniences of mendicity had increased to such a pitch that the one thing needful seemed to be the destruction of the evil in its roots. Hence an Act of 1530, after providing that the impotent poor might beg within the limits assigned them by the magistrates, and that sturdy beggars should be whipped at the cart's tail, and passed to their parishes, went on to ordain that scholars without letters from their universities, shipwrecked mariners, proctors, pardoners, quacks, physiognomists, and palmisters, when caught begging, were to be whipped, whipped and pilloried, or whipped, pilloried, and curtailed of their ears, and that their harbourers and relievers were to be fined at the discretion of the justices.

Those who are acquainted with Chaucer's pictures of English manners will have no difficulty in seeing that this law was directed against the same religious abuses which he had satirised two centuries before, and will acquiesce in the commentary of Sir George Nicholls, who observes that “the priests and inferior clergy were all, more or less, beggars or solicitors of alms, and those of the mendicant orders were professedly such; so that, partly from custom, and partly from teaching and example, not only was begging tolerated, but the profession of a beggar was regarded as not being disgraceful. Against habits and impressions thus countenanced and upheld the legislature had to struggle in its endeavours to suppress mendicancy.”

But the legislature was not satisfied with merely repressing the abuse of the system of relief doled out at the great centres of ecclesiastical wealth; it went on to attempt to restore the older system of parochial relief. The contribution, however, was not made compulsory upon the rich parishioners; nor was any fixed provision made for the poor by a return to the allotment of a quarter of the tithes to the poor. The Act of 1535 (27 Henry VIII. c. 25), after ordering valiant beggars to be set to work, and the impotent poor to be supported, enacts that the mayors of towns, and the churchwardens, and two others of every parish, should systematically collect voluntary alms of the parishioners every Sunday and holiday, in such wise as that the poor, impotent, sick, and diseased people might be provided and relieved, and the lusty poor might be daily kept in continual labour, so that every one should get his own living with his own hands. The parochial clergy were to exhort their flocks to contribute; an account-book was to be kept of the sums collected and spent; and the Act especially provides that this book was not to remain in the custody of the parson of the parish. No alms was to be given by any person otherwise than to the common boxes and gatherings, upon pain of forfeiting ten times the value of every such illegal gift. And all persons and bodies politic and corporate bound to distribute alms were thenceforth to give the same into the common boxes. This clause, which deprived the religious houses of all their eleemosynary functions, and reduced to a minimum that element of poor-relief of which they were the representatives, was logically followed, the next year (1536), by the suppression of the small abbeys and religious establishments, and in 1539 by the dissolution of all the rest except a few hospitals and schools. There seems to have been a utopian idea current that, as the religious houses were the direct causes of the vagrancy which infested the realm, when these were destroyed, and their revenues distributed among the courtiers and gentry, the new beneficiaries would voluntarily perform all the duties of parochial relief within their own districts, vagrancy would die out, the local poor would be duly cared for, the lands would be delivered out of mortmain, and the country would be prosperous. There was a profound feeling against the whole ecclesiastical system. As in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the scandal given by the wealthy clergy, secular and regular, had given birth to movements for which the mendicant orders had supplied a homœopathic cure, so, in the sixteenth, there had again arisen an indignation against the new abuses that were protected by the separate jurisdiction of the spiritual courts, and a conviction that the mendicant friars had, with some exceptions, become infected with the diseases

which they had undertaken to cure. Towns were unsafe through the throngs of profligate idlers congregated round the abbeys and hospitals; measures of severity had been tried in vain; and the civil governments began to take into their own hands the administration of the "miserable" classes, to which the ecclesiastical government had notoriously become unequal. In France as well as in England there was a tendency to restore the old parochial system of relief, with contributions either voluntary or compulsory, to abolish the system of hospices as an encouragement to vagrancy, and to transfer the administration and control from the clergy to the officials of the State. In Grenoble the government in 1530 imposed a tax on householders to make up the deficiency of the voluntary collections for the poor. In 1538 the parliament of Toulouse imposed a poor-rate upon all ecclesiastics, officers of justice, nobles, and burgesses. In 1543 and 1544 the municipality of Paris was ordered to levy an annual eleemosynary tax for the poor upon all princes, nobles, ecclesiastics, religious communities, burgesses, and proprietors, and jurisdiction was given to compel the payment of the sums assessed. This system seems to have been enforced for some time; thirty years afterwards, in 1578, we find that collectors who refused to levy the tax were compelled to advance a loan of 500 crowns. But these compulsory poor-rates were only local and temporary; they took no root in France. The edict of Henry II., in 1547, makes no mention of them. This edict is in most respects similar to the law of Henry VIII. Workhouses were to be established for sturdy beggars, and home-relief provided for the infirm poor. In each parish the clergy and *marguilliers*, or churchwardens, were to make a list of the poor, who were to receive, either at home, or in some other convenient place, reasonable alms out of money to be collected at the church-doors, or from house to house. Then followed the suppressive clause. All abbeys, priories, chapters, and colleges which by ancient foundation were obliged to give public alms to mendicants, were to abstain from doing so, because it only attracted the sturdy and made them refuse to work. The money was thenceforth to be put into the parochial box. The richer abbeys were allowed some liberty of choice; but they were ordered to assist in preference those parishes where the poor were most numerous and the alms most scanty. This measure might have been logically followed in France, as in England, by the destruction of the houses thus deprived of their eleemosynary functions. But they were saved; partly, perhaps, by the commendam. If the great lords in England had been holders of the richest benefices and abbeys, the dissolution would have been only partial. As it was,

every thing conspired to their ruin. The opinion of the mystic omnipotence of the State, which characterised the politicians of the Renaissance, favoured a government which confidently undertook the arduous functions of poor-relief at the very moment when it was about to squander the means for performing them. The palpable failure of the religious eleemosynary system to keep down pauperism had alienated the aristocracy. The nascent commercial spirit felt itself stifled and fettered by the accumulations of real property in mortmain, unbalanced by any sufficient quantity of moveables and personalty. The privileges of the clergy not only seemed hurtful, but they contradicted the "elegance" and unity which was the aim of the lawyer, and were offensive to the dignity of the layman. And the exasperation against mendicants and vagrants had become so great, that the public were willing to be rid of them even by the barbarous processes of the latter years of Henry VIII., when 38,000 persons suffered death as vagrants, besides the 72,000 who, during the course of his reign, were hanged for theft. Even still, after the lapse of three centuries, public opinion refuses to honour those whose religious celibacy and self-denying labour enable them, as well as give them an economical right, to maintain an unproductive proletariat.

In theory, the union of the spiritual and temporal jurisdictions in the king's hand did not destroy their distinction. They were two powers coinciding in one person, like the Austrian and Hungarian crowns. Their functions were kept distinct; and, in spite of the great reaction against the Church, poor-relief, though regulated by the civil authorities, remained in substance the duty of the ecclesiastical corporations. After a brief attempt to aggravate the atrocity and vindictiveness of the law against vagrants, by making slaves of them and their children, the legislation under Edward VI. fell into the course begun under Henry VIII. in England, and by Henry II. in France. In 1551 a Bill was passed to make a more ample provision for the impotent poor, by rendering the assessment compulsory, not recoverable however by civil proceedings, but only in the bishops' court. Any one frowardly refusing to give towards the help of the poor, or discouraging others from doing so, was first subjected to the exhortations of the parson and churchwardens, and then to those of the bishop, who, on failure of gentle means, was empowered "to take order according to his discretion." This provision was continued under the reign of Mary; but the bishop's discretion was limited under Elizabeth (1562) by a provision enabling him to bind the froward defaulter, under a penalty of 10*l.*, to appear at the next sessions (thus transferring his cause to the civil tribunals), where the justices, after finding persuasion useless,

were empowered to "tax, sesse, and limit upon every such obstinate person so refusing, according to their good discretion, what sum he should pay." In default, he was to be committed to prison till he paid the rate and all arrears.

The secularisation of the poor-relief was further promoted by making the hundred, and not the parish, the area of rating, as the justices were substituted for the bishops and parsons. This tendency was still further developed in 1572 by an Act which gave the magistrates the entire control of the poor within their divisions, and enabled them to settle paupers in convenient places, and to appoint overseers to govern them. It also legalised an appeal against excessive assessment, which it ordered to be made after a proper estimate of the probable expenses; the justices were also empowered to call upon neighbouring hundreds to assist those which were overburdened with their own poor. From this time the legislature went on for a quarter of a century in the same direction, taking the control of relief more and more from the spiritual functionaries, and occupying itself with the details of its administration. It settled the bastardy laws in 1575, provided that the sturdy poor should be set to work under collectors and governors, and gave the most minute directions about the kind of labour, and the materials on which it was to be employed. It also ordered houses of correction to be established under "censors" and "warders." But in 1597 there was a manifest reaction, and a return towards the old ideas. The legislation of this year was contained in three distinct Acts, 39 Eliz. cc. 3, 4, and 5. The first reestablished the old parochial system of relief. The overseers appointed by the justices under the Act of 1572 were continued; but the churchwardens were overseers *ex-officio*. Besides the rate, voluntary collections in money and kind were to be made weekly, and a board to be held every Sunday in church after the afternoon service. The Act also borrowed from the ecclesiastical law the important principle which made parents and children, and grandparents and grandchildren, mutually liable for each other's support. The second Act embodied the traditional legislation of the State against vagrancy and mendicancy. Sturdy beggars were to be stripped naked and whipped, and sent to the place of their birth or last residence, there to be put to labour. And the third Act revived the system of voluntary hospices, which had received so rude a shock from the dissolution of monasteries. Charitable persons were enabled to found hospitals, *maisons de Dieu*, abiding places, or houses of correction, as well for the sustentation and relief of the maimed poor, needy, or impotent people, as to set the poor to work. These hospitals were to be incorporated, and have perpetual succession for ever, and were to be ordered and visited as the founder chose to appoint.

The division of these three branches of one subject into three separate Acts is a sign that the legislature intended to preserve and restore the three distinct functions of poor-relief which were originally divided between the Church and the State. First was the compulsory parochial relief, in which the poor-rate took the place of the fourth part of the tithe; next came the repressive function of the State to obviate the economical dangers of a legal provision for the poor; and, thirdly, the system of voluntary hospices was legalised, and their management was left to independent corporations. The Elizabethan poor-law of 1601, which is still the foundation of our system, only united and amalgamated these three functions; it introduced no new principle, and destroyed no old one. Our poor-law still rests on the parochial system of compulsory alms, on the voluntary system of incorporated hospitals and almshouses, and on the repressive action of the State, neutralising the temptations to idleness and improvidence held out by these institutions.

It is very doubtful whether the unity and centralisation of the law of 1601 is productive of unmixed good. It introduced a system under which in later times the workhouse became a hospice for the impotent, a place of work for the sturdy pauper, and a house of correction for the vagabond. It is almost impossible that the same establishment, under the management of one superintendent, should serve all these purposes. Accordingly, before the reform of 1834, the workhouse had become the hospice of all the parish poor, even those who deserved correction rather than hospitality; while the tendency when the new law was first passed was to make it a house of correction and discomfort even for those who had a right to it as a hospice. The workhouse as a refuge for the old was administered by the same regulations that governed it as a mere test of the able-bodied pauper's need; and old couples were, for the sake of uniformity, subjected to the rules necessary for preventing younger paupers breeding hereditary paupers in the workhouse itself. The principle was generalised that, in order to free the guarantee of support from its injurious effects upon the minds and habits of the people, it was necessary to accompany the relief with irksome conditions, with restraints upon freedom, and with the privation of some indulgences. And the tendency of the law is to make the aged and impotent poor afraid of asking for what they ought to have, because they cannot think of the workhouse as a hospice, but only as a penitentiary. This would be avoided if the administration of the relief of the infirm and aged poor were left to the parochial system aided by charitable foundations, while the government kept a still stricter control over the relief of the able-bodied pauper in the union workhouse.

The State to regulate, the union to apply the labour-test to the able-bodied applicant for relief, the parish, aided by the hospice, not by the workhouse, to provide a refuge for misfortune, sickness, and age, seems to be the right combination. It is the one most consonant with the principles of our poor-law, the imperfections of which are attributable to its having been produced in an age when wrong notions of the union of Church and State were prevalent, and reformed in an age of economists and calculators, who took too little heed of the distinct and antagonistic forces upon which our poor-law is built.

DR. SMITH'S DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE.¹

THE success of Dr. Smith's Dictionaries of Greek and Roman Antiquities, Biography, and Geography, has been such as might well encourage even a less enterprising editor to undertake a similar publication intended to elucidate the literature, antiquities, biography, geography, and natural history, of the Bible. A work of this nature was certain to enlist the interest of a far more extensive circle of readers than that for which the other dictionaries were intended; and the difficulty of securing able contributors from the many accomplished scholars of whom the Established Church may justly boast could not be great. The plan of a Dictionary of the Bible was no novelty; it had been frequently executed; but the progress of biblical researches and the discoveries of recent travellers had outstripped the learning of even the latest and best of existing dictionaries. Dr. Smith might not unreasonably declare to himself that he was providing for one of the wants of the day.

The first Bible Dictionary worth mentioning was given to the world by Dom Calmet. The deficiencies of the older dictionaries had been made so glaring by the publication of his Commentary on the Old and New Testament, and the Dissertations appended to it, that the friends of the learned Benedictine induced him to publish a work giving the substance, in a concise form and in alphabetical order, of all the matters discussed by him in the Commentary. Dom Calmet's Dictionary was an extremely valuable work at the time in which it appeared; it was immediately republished at Geneva, and became an authority among Protestants as well as among Catholics; and it has served as the basis of many more recent works of the same kind. Its defects are, at the present day, visible enough. Biblical science, properly speaking, and particularly that department of it known under the name of 'Introduction,' must be considered the creation of one of Dom Calmet's literary adversaries, the celebrated Father Richard Simon, of the Oratory, who startled and shocked all his contemporaries, Catholic and Protestant, not merely by the paradoxes and untenable propositions which are scattered through his works, but perhaps still more by the statement of facts and principles which no scholar would, at the present day, think of calling in question. The science thus created by a French Catholic priest has

¹ *A Dictionary of the Bible, comprising its Antiquities, Biography, Geography, and Natural History.* Edited by William Smith, LL.D. 3 vols. (London: John Murray.)

chiefly been cultivated in Protestant Germany. It could only originate in a quarter free from the dogmatic prejudices peculiar to orthodox Protestantism concerning the divine character of the sacred writings; and such a quarter might be thoroughly Christian.² But, on the other hand, some of the most important questions which are involved in the progress of the science could only arise historically through the negation of the most elementary principles of Christianity. Life must be extinct before an organism can be subjected to a complete dissection and analysis; and many of the questions raised by the German critics would never have occurred to any one, had the Bible and its component parts been regarded as the channels in any true sense of a divine revelation. Sincere believers in Christianity may derive profit from the scientific truths elicited by these enquiries; but the enquiries themselves presuppose a period of thought hostile, or at least indifferent, to Christianity. And we know from history that such was actually the case. The English and French Deists of the last century, the learned and philosophical Jews, who at this day speak with admiration of the person of our Lord and of the moral and social benefits which Christianity has conferred upon the world, may be considered Christian believers, if we give that name to all those eminent scholars who have contributed to make biblical science what it is. Biblical science, whatever may have been its origin, owes its growth chiefly, not to Christian faith, but to scepticism; and this is one of the principal reasons why it has been cultivated in Germany rather than in France or Italy. Scepticism has flourished, and still flourishes, in Catholic as well as in Protestant countries; but its direction in the latter is naturally determined by the position which the Bible is there supposed to occupy as the sole rule of faith.

In assigning to influences hostile to Christianity so large a share in the growth of biblical science, we are, of course, very far from implying that the science itself is unfavourable to Christianity. This is altogether another question. The philosophy of St. Thomas and other great thinkers of the Middle

² "Zwar unmittelbar hatte die Reformation keinen günstigen Einfluss auf die Entwicklung dieser Wissenschaft, allein die mannfaltige Anregung geistiger Thätigkeit auf dem exegetischen und historischen Gebiete der Theologie, welche durch sie vermittelt wurde, konnte nicht ohne Rückwirkung auf die Vorstellungen von der Bibelgeschichte bleiben. Doch waren es die Katholiken welche, vielleicht durch das Dogma ihrer Kirche weniger gehindert, nicht nur zuerst den bereits angehäuften Stoff zu sammeln und zu verarbeiten suchten, sondern auch früher als die Protestanten zu Methoden und Resultaten gelangten, welche noch jetzt mit Nutzen befolgt und mit Anerkennung genannt werden können. Später erst, und wohl von grössern dogmatischen Hindernissen beengt kamen die Protestanten an die Reihe." Reuss, *Geschichte der heiligen Schriften Neuen Testaments*, p. 8.

Ages originated in speculations of the most decidedly anti-Christian character. The destructive criticism of some biblical scholars has provoked solutions of a conservative character; and these have in their turn been subjected to the ordeal of a most searching verification. Is Christianity destined now, as in the Middle Ages, to rise triumphantly above the perils of scientific speculation; or, in other words, is scientific speculation itself likely to favour the Christian side of the controversy? The answer to this must entirely depend on what is meant by Christianity. Biblical science stands in very different relations to the different forms or systems of Christianity now existing. One of these forms may, from its very nature, be entirely independent of the results of biblical science; a second may be modified in accidental, not in essential, details; while a third may be utterly shattered by them. A good Bible Dictionary, such as that contemplated in the plan of Dr. Smith, would have been of great value in helping to determine the relations between biblical science and the forms of Christianity flourishing in this country. But we shall be disappointed if we have recourse for this purpose to the Dictionary as actually executed. Its professed aim is to meet the wants of those "who are anxious to study the Bible with the aid of the latest investigations of the best scholars." The aim is not accomplished. The "investigations of the best scholars" are indeed mentioned, often with the greatest disrespect; but they are rarely presented to the readers in the form most appropriate to them.

The defects of the work which particularly strike us, if not numerous, are at least very great; and they run through its most important articles. The essential characteristic of a good dictionary is objectivity; and to this quality all others should be made subordinate. "*Il ne faut marquer que ce qui se sait,*" says Calmet in his preface, "*et ce qui se peut donner pour certain.*" It is for facts, or for arguments equivalent to facts, that we refer to a dictionary, not for eloquent writing, or expressions of private opinion (particularly if this opinion be merely sectarian), or ingenious speculations, upon which it is impossible to rely. The writer of an article in it should say all that is necessary for the elucidation of his subject; he should say it in as few words as are compatible with clearness; and he should say nothing else. But the contributors to Dr. Smith's Dictionary are often very far from telling us all that they ought to say. Instead of a complete and accurate analysis of their subject, they pick and choose the parts of it which suit them best; and they often tell us much more than is necessary, either by saying what is not true, or what is doubtful, or by indulging in diffuse writing and declamation, or by calling names and insinuating

improper motives. From these defects, of course, many articles are free. The writers do not in general run wantonly into temptation; but whenever they are exposed to it, they are sure to yield. The articles are of very unequal value; the most important subjects, as a rule, receiving the worst treatment.

Before proceeding to examine the more important articles, it will be well to give some examples of the blemishes which belong to the Dictionary as a whole.

Almost all the contributors to it are, we believe, members of the Established Church. No one has a right to complain of Anglican divines for expressing Anglican sentiments, when the occasion seems to require it. But the strongest theological sentiments can always be expressed in civil language; and if abuse be excusable in the pulpit or in a pamphlet, it is at least insufferable in a scientific work of reference. A Dictionary should deal with facts and arguments; and facts and arguments are not to be disposed of by calling men "rationalists" and unbelievers. Nothing is to be gained by talking of "Schwegler the most reckless, and De Wette the most vacillating of modern critics," or quoting Dean Alford on "the insanity of hypercriticism of Baur and Schwegler." Baur's criticism is elsewhere described as "the caricature of captiousness;" and Dr. Thompson says "the authority of the books has been denied from a wish to set aside their contents." Lord Arthur Hervey would have conferred a real benefit on his readers if he had produced successful arguments in behalf of the books of Chronicles, instead of merely saying that Dahler, Keil, Movers, and others have done so, and that "it had been clearly shown that the attack [of De Wette and other German critics] was grounded not upon any real mark of spuriousness in the books themselves, but *solely upon the desire of the critics in question* to remove a witness whose evidence was fatal to their favourite theory of the post-Babylonian origin of the books of Moses." This is the way in which a certain number of the contributors speak of men to whom they are indebted for almost all the learning displayed in their articles, and with whose works it is impossible to be acquainted without seeing that their scepticism was perfectly honest, and grounded on scientific difficulties not less serious in their kind than those which would prevent a chemist or a naturalist from accepting a popular hypothesis on a scientific matter. If German Protestants are treated in this way in spite of the gratitude due to them, we need not expect that Catholics or Catholicism should be spoken of with ordinary civility. The nick-names "Romanism," "Romanist," "Romish," which well-bred gentlemen would not think of using in society where Catholics were present, are here used in what

professes to be a scientific Dictionary. And the "Church of Rome" and "Romanism" are made to bear the whole responsibility of things which are common to all Christians except Protestants. The Invention of the Cross is asserted by the Greek no less than by the Latin Fathers, and held by Abyssinian Monophysites and Nestorian Asiatics, no less than by Roman or Neapolitan Catholics; yet Mr. F. W. Farrar writes, "It clearly was to the interest of the Church of Rome to maintain the belief, and invent the story of its multiplication, because the sale of the relics was extremely profitable." The most narrow-minded displays of anti-Catholic feeling are, however, to be found in the articles of Mr. F. Meyrick, of which we shall speak later on.

'Il ne faut marquer que ce qui est certain,' is a golden rule but little observed in Dr. Smith's Dictionary. Certainty is not to be obtained on all points; and where it is not, we must be content with the greatest amount of probability that can be found. But if we were asked to point out the model of such an article as ought on no account to be received into a Dictionary, we should select Professor Plumptre's on "Urim and Thummim." The subject is one of those about which, in consequence of their profound obscurity, there are "*quot capita tot sententiæ*." No real light whatever is thrown upon it by Professor Plumptre. He proposes, in place of the many guesses hitherto made on the nature of the Urim and Thummim, to substitute some guesses of his own. We pass over his remarks on the Thummim, "the easier problem of the two," in which he has been anticipated by "the most orthodox of German theologians," Hengstenberg. Having identified the Thummim with a symbolic figure of Truth, like "the Egyptian Thmei," "we may legitimately ask whether there was any symbol of Light standing to the Urim in the same relation as that in which the symbolic figure of Truth stood to the Thummim. And the answer to that question is as follows: On the breast of well-nigh every member of the priestly caste of Egypt there hung a pectoral plate, corresponding in position and in size to the *choshen* of the high-priest of Israel. And in many of these we find, in the centre of the *pectorale*, right over the heart of the priestly mummy, as the Urim was to be 'on the heart' of Aaron, what was a well-known symbol of Light. . . . The symbol in this case was the mystic Scarabæus." We are aware that sufficient justice cannot be done to Professor Plumptre's ingenious hypothesis, without giving the entire chain of plausible reasonings by which it is supported. But it is not the less true that if we break the strongest of its links the whole chain disappears altogether. And the strongest link is broken if the plain truth is told, that the mystic Scarabæus was placed as a talisman on the heart,

not of living priests, but of mummies, male and female. It was not by any means confined to "members of the priestly caste of Egypt," but was prescribed apparently for all who cared to try its efficacy, not as an oracle in life, as the Urim of the high-priest, but as a protection in the world beyond the grave. The mode of consulting the Urim is conjecturally illustrated by reference to the processes of hypnotism, as in "electro-biology," or the abstraction of the *ὀμφαλοψυχικοί* of the fourteenth century; it being open to us to believe that these processes "may, in the less perfect stages of the spiritual history of mankind, have helped instead of hindering." This article is longer than any of those on the Gospels; it has twice as many pages as that on the gospel of St. John. The proper place for speculations of this kind—and we are sorry to say that they are not confined to the article of which we have been speaking—is not a Dictionary, but the Transactions of a learned society.

Diffuseness in every form should have been banished from the Dictionary; the contributors should have studied brevity and eschewed rhetoric. Wherever rhetoric is allowed in a work of the kind, it is made to do duty instead of argument. Some of the articles are of extravagant length. The information contained in "Wilderness of the Wandering" is extremely interesting; but if all the subjects had been treated in as copious a style, not three but thirty volumes would have been necessary. "Star of the Wise Men" is a comparatively short article, but it is lengthened out by such unnecessary embellishments as the following:

"We shall now proceed to examine to what extent, or, as it will be seen, to how slight an extent, the December conjunction fulfils the conditions of the narrative of St. Matthew. We can hardly avoid a feeling of regret at the dissipation of so fascinating an illusion; but we are in quest of the truth rather than of a picture, however beautiful. (a) The writer must confess himself profoundly ignorant of any system of astrology; but supposing that some system did exist," &c.

No objection could be taken to this style in a dissertation, but it is quite out of place in a work where economy of words is of real scientific importance. The following is a specimen of the style of the article Lazarus:

"It is well not to break in upon the silence which hangs over the interval of that 'four days' sleep' (comp. Trench, *Miracles*, l. c.). . . . But this much at least must be borne in mind, in order that we may understand what has yet to come, that the man who was thus recalled as on eagle's wings from the kingdom of the grave (comp. the language of the complaint of Hades in the apocryphal gospel of Nicodemus, Tischendorf, *Evang. Apoc.* p. 305) must have learnt 'what it is to die'

(comp. a passage of great beauty in Tennyson's *In Memoriam*, xxxi. xxxii.). The soul that had looked with open gaze upon the things behind the veil had passed through a discipline sufficient to burn out all selfish love of the accidents of his outward life. There may have been an inward resurrection parallel with the outward (comp. Olshausen *ad loc.*). What man had given over as impossible, had been shown in a twofold sense to be possible with God."

The mischief of admitting this sort of composition will, we hope, be keenly felt when it is discovered that the argumentative part of the article on the Pentateuch is very weak, and concludes with a passage beginning as follows :

"But, in truth, the book [of Deuteronomy] speaks for itself. No imitator could have written in such a strain. We scarcely need the express testimony of the work to its own authorship ; but, having it, we find all the internal evidence conspiring to show that it came from Moses. Those magnificent discourses, the grand roll of which can be heard and felt even in a translation, came from the heart and fresh from the lips of Israel's lawgiver. They are the outpourings of a solicitude which is nothing less than parental. It is the father uttering his dying advice to his children, no less than the prophet counselling and admonishing his people. What book can vie with it, either in majesty or in tenderness ? What words ever bore more surely the stamp of genuineness ? . . . In spite, therefore, of the dogmatism of modern critics, we declare unhesitatingly for the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy."

It is certainly much easier to declaim in this fashion than to reply to De Wette in De Wette's own style.

From these specimens of defects, which are too common throughout the Dictionary, we proceed to a closer inspection of some of the most important articles, and particularly those belonging to the department of "Introduction."

The article "Bible," by Professor Plumpton, of King's College, London, is not very important, as the history of the growth of the collections known as the Old and New Testament respectively is given under "Canon." The following passage, however, betrays an extraordinary want either of knowledge or of historical sense :

"The LXX. presents . . . some striking variations in point of arrangement, as well as in relation to the names of books. Both in this and in the insertion of the *ἀντιλεγόμενα*, which we now know as the Apocrypha, among the other books, we trace the absence of that strong reverence for the canon and its traditional order which distinguished the Jews of Palestine."

The writer does not see that he is here taking for granted a very important fact, which has never yet been proved, namely, the existence of an authoritative canon or tradition anterior to the arrangement of the Septuagint.

If we turn to Mr. Westcott's article on "the Canon of Scripture," in the hope of finding evidence on the subject, we shall be disappointed. The account there given of the Jewish canon is extremely unsatisfactory. The writer allows that before the exile only faint traces occur of the solemn preservation and use of sacred books, and that even after the Captivity "the history of the canon, like all Jewish history up to the date of the Maccabees, is wrapt in great obscurity. Faint traditions alone remain to interpret results which are found realised when the darkness is first cleared away." But Mr. Westcott is inclined to attach importance to the "popular belief" which assigned to Ezra and the "great synagogue" the task of collecting and promulgating the Scriptures. But this popular belief cannot be shown to have been in existence till many centuries after the death of Ezra, and the tradition about the "great synagogue" is demonstrably unhistorical. It is fabulous in its details, and involves incredible anachronisms. Ezra, the contemporary of Artaxerxes Longimanus, is made to preside over an assembly of which Haggai and Zechariah, contemporaries of Darius Hystaspes, and Simon the Just, the contemporary of Alexander the Great, were members. An attempt to extract history out of such a tradition is not less hopeless than if we had to deal with the story of Romulus. The following are Mr. Westcott's not very critical remarks upon it:

"Doubts have been thrown upon the belief (*Rau de Synag. magná*, 1726; comp. Ewald, *Gesch. d. V. Isr.* iv. 191), and it is difficult to answer them, from the scantiness of the evidence of the books themselves; but the belief is in every way consistent with the history of Judaism and with the internal evidence of the books themselves. The later embellishments of the tradition, which represent Ezra as the second author of all the books [2 Esdras], or defines more exactly the nature of his work, can only be accepted as signs of the universal belief in his labours, and ought not to cast discredit upon the simple fact that the foundation of the present canon is due to him. Nor can it be supposed that the work was completed at once, so that the account (2 Macc. ii. 13) which assigns a collection of books to Nehemiah is not described as initiatory or final. The tradition omits all mention of the law, which may be supposed to have assumed its final shape under Ezra, but says that Nehemiah 'gathered together the [writings] concerning the kings and prophets, and the [writings] of David and letters of kings concerning offerings,' while 'founding a library.'"

We have no right to talk of the "later embellishments" of a story when we meet them in the earliest form in which it has been handed down to us. Again, if the story is to be admitted at all, in any form, Mr. Westcott's notion that the foundation of the canon is to be attributed to Ezra, but that the work was

not completed at once, must be given up. The notion is not in itself an improbable one; but it is quite irreconcilable with the Jewish tradition of "Ezra and the great synagogue" which was invented for the purpose of accounting, among other things, for the existence of the Jewish canon as a complete and final arrangement. The passage quoted from the second book of Maccabees, far from implying the formation or growth of a canon of Scripture, would rather seem to prove that in the time of Nehemiah the works which he mentioned were not yet considered parts of a sacred canon.

When was the Jewish canon closed, and what books did it then contain? Is there any proof that it was closed before the Christian period? In 1843 Movers published a short dissertation, entitled *Loci quidam historię canonis Veteris Testamenti illustrati*, in which it is maintained, with great learning and ability, that the latter question must be answered in the negative. Some, indeed, of the views defended by Movers are very paradoxical; but the principal result of his enquiry has not been overthrown. The latest researches tend to prove that the present Hebrew canon is not of earlier date than the destruction of Jerusalem, and that it is an anachronism to ascribe to the Apostles and earliest Christians an idea of the Scripture which only became authoritative among the Jews after the final rupture between the Synagogue and the Church. Mr. Westcott does not seem to be aware that so vital a question has been seriously raised, and that the very position which he assumes when collecting his evidence on the canon has thereby been turned.

He considers the statement of the Talmud as in many respects so remarkable that it must be transcribed entire. It is as follows: "But who wrote the books of the Bible? Moses wrote his own book (?), the Pentateuch, the section about Balaam, and Job. Joshua wrote his own book, and the eight last verses of the Pentateuch. Samuel wrote his own book, the Book of Judges, and Ruth. David wrote the Book of Psalms, of which, however, some were composed by the ten venerable elders, Adam the first man, Melchizedek, Abraham, Moses, Haman, Jeduthun, Asaph, and the three sons of Korah. Jeremiah wrote his own book, the books of Kings and Lamentations. Hezekiah and his friends [reduced to writing] the books contained in the memorial word IaMSCHaK, i. e. Isaiah, Proverbs, Canticles, Ecclesiastes. The men of the great synagogue [reduced to writing] the books contained in the memorial letters KaNDaG, i. e. Ezekiel, the twelve lesser prophets, Daniel, and Esther. Ezra wrote his own book, and brought down the genealogies of the books of the Chronicles to his own times. . . .

Who brought the remainder of the books [of Chronicles] to a close? Nehemiah the son of Hachalijah." It ought surely to be manifest to every scholar that this passage cannot be of the smallest historical value. Some of the statements in it are palpably absurd. Samuel could not have written "his book," that is, the book which bears his name. It records his death, and the whole history of the reign of David. But Mr. Westcott quietly says, "The details must be tested by other evidence; but the general description of the growth of the Jewish canon bears every mark of probability." He cannot understand that the passage is not evidence at all; that when the details suggested by the names of the books, and the details which "other evidence" overthrows, are taken into consideration, the whole has no more value as evidence than a similar statement made by a Jew or Christian in the fifteenth or in the nineteenth century.

It is not true, at least there is no evidence at all, "that at the beginning of the Christian era the Jews had only one canon of the sacred writings, defined distinctly in Palestine, and admitted, though with a less definite apprehension of its peculiar characteristics, by the hellenising Jews of the dispersion, and that this canon was recognised, as far as can be determined, by our Lord and His Apostles." This error leads Mr. Westcott altogether astray, when he comes to speak of the Christian canon.

"The history of the Old Testament canon among Christian writers exhibits the natural issue of the currency of the LXX., enlarged as it has been by apocryphal additions. In proportion as the Fathers were more or less absolutely dependent on that version for their knowledge of the Old Testament Scriptures, they gradually lost in common practice the sense of the difference between the books of the Hebrew canon and the Apocrypha. The custom of individuals grew into the custom of the Church; and the public use of the Apocryphal books obliterated in popular regard the characteristic marks of their origin and value, which could only be discovered by the scholar. But the custom of the Church was not fixed in an absolute judgment. It might seem as if the great leaders of the Christian body shrank by a wise forethought from a work for which they were unfitted; for by acquirements and constitutions they were little capable of solving a problem which must at last depend on historical data. And this remark must be applied to the details of patristic evidence on the contents of the canon. Their habit must be distinguished from their judgment. The want of critical tact which allowed them to use the most obviously pseudonymous works (2 Esdras, Enoch) as genuine productions of their supposed authors, or as 'divine Scripture,' greatly diminishes the value of casual and isolated testimonies to single books."

It is Mr. Westcott's reverence, no doubt, for the Apostles

and other writers of the New Testament which leads him to place implicit reliance on their critical judgment, and to throw the responsibility for erroneous views of the canon upon "the Fathers," who "gradually" lost the sense of a difference between the books of the Hebrew canon and the Apocrypha. The gradual change of which he speaks is a fiction of which there is no trace in history. The earliest Fathers do not exhibit a greater consciousness of the difference between the Hebrew and Greek texts of the Scripture than their successors. And if the "critical tact" of some of the Fathers was so weak as to permit their quoting the books of Enoch and 2 Esdras as genuine and inspired works, what shall we say of St. Jude's quotations from the former of these books as from a genuine "prophecy"? The writers of the New Testament quote the Septuagint habitually; and it is really no unfair question to ask for proof that they recognised the differences between it and the Hebrew text. It is an unwarrantable assumption to take for granted that the inhabitants of Palestine were in general familiar with the Hebrew Scriptures. To the great mass of the Jews of Palestine in the time of our Lord the Hebrew Scriptures were practically inaccessible. But a knowledge of the Greek language was as common as that of Hebrew was rare; and the Septuagint version was current wherever the Greek language was spoken, that is in all the great towns of Palestine. It may have been held as an abomination by those zealots who execrated Greek learning, arts, and philosophy, and even the use of the Greek tongue; but the time of their ascendancy in the Jewish Church was not yet arrived. The New Testament writers do not merely quote the Septuagint as a convenient version: their arguments are built upon it even when it varies essentially from the Hebrew. If their quotations occasionally approach nearer in sense to the Hebrew than our present text of the Septuagint, it is unsafe to infer, as is constantly done, that they themselves correct the Septuagint by the Hebrew original. There were undoubtedly various readings of the Septuagint in the days of the Apostles, as there were in the days of Origen. And it is not improbable that copies current in Palestine were frequently corrected from the Hebrew, just as copies of the old Latin version of the Scriptures are found to have been corrected from the Greek original.

The case of Josephus is very remarkable. What Mr. Westcott says about him would lead one to conclude that he adhered rigidly to the Hebrew Scriptures. Nothing can be further from the truth. It has been proved by M. Reuss that Josephus was to all appearance unacquainted with the text of more than one of the Old Testament writings. But we have only to turn to Lord

Arthur Hervey's article, "Book of Nehemiah," for the assurance that "Josephus does not follow the authority of the book of Nehemiah." "As regards the appending the history in Neh. viii. to the times of Ezra, we know that he was guided by the authority of the apocryphal 1 Esdras, as he had been in the whole story of Zerubbabel and Darius." "There are," says the same writer in a later article, "two histories of Zerubbabel; the one that is contained in the canonical Scriptures, the other that in the apocryphal books and Josephus." Is it not equally true, that the only book of Ezra known to him is the apocryphal Esdras? Let it be remembered that Josephus was no obscure Jew of the dispersion, but a Jew born in Jerusalem, of the blood of the Asmonæan princes, belonging to the first of the twenty-four courses of the priestly office; and that he was a Pharisee, and one of the most highly educated men of his nation: and we shall see that it is an evident mistake to attribute to his contemporaries and fellow-countrymen in general such a knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures as is often supposed, or that strict adherence to them which in his day was probably confined to the extreme zealots of the synagogue.

The ideas of these zealots became dominant in the synagogue after the fall of Jerusalem. Greek ideas, Greek learning, and the use of the Greek language for liturgical purposes, came to be considered almost as tokens of apostasy; and the existence of the Septuagint, to which the Christians constantly appealed in controversy, was looked upon as a calamity. Those portions of the Talmud which represent the ideas of which we are speaking, say that "darkness came upon the world for three days when the Law was written in Greek." "It was a mournful day for Israel, like that on which the calf was made." It was, no doubt, at a time when ideas like these were dominant within the synagogue that the Hebrew canon was finally closed; and it was not likely that men who could not tolerate the Pentateuch in the Septuagint should recognise as Holy Scripture books whose Hebrew original was lost, or which had never existed in Hebrew; some of them, like the book of Wisdom, even bearing distinct marks of the hated "Ionic science." This violent anti-Hellenistic reaction was not confined in its effects to the Jews of Palestine, but spread throughout the Jewish community. The authority of the Septuagint was now repudiated; and it is significant of the times that in the second century three Greek versions at least of the Old Testament were executed in opposition and contradiction to the Septuagint, and in close conformity with the Hebrew text. Besides the renowned versions of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, no less than three others were discovered by Origen, all of them, it can hardly be

doubted, works of Jewish translators. If it be true that Theodotion and Symmachus were Ebionites, it is clear that the reaction was shared by those Christians who adhered to Judaism as far as it was possible to do so without denying the Messianic dignity of our Lord. But the feeling which seems to have prevailed throughout the Jewish world in the second century was utterly foreign to the writers of the New Testament and to the early Christian Church. The Church had no reason whatever for allowing herself to be guided by the decision of narrow-minded Jews, more bigoted than those who had crucified our Lord. She had long since been emancipated from the synagogue; and in determining the canon of the Old Testament she had no other principle to follow than that by which she was guided in determining a canon of the New, that is, her own perception of the Word of God, which she recognised by virtue of the Spirit of God abiding within her. What Calvin teaches about the "interior witness" revealed to the individual believer is what the Church has ever held as true with reference to the body of believers. It is quite true, as Mr. Westcott says, that the Christian canon of Scripture grew by use, not by enquiry. "The canon of Scripture was fixed in ordinary practice, and doubts were resolved by custom and not by criticism." No amount of enquiry or criticism could have solved the question. If the problem had been made to depend on historical data, a canon of the New Testament would have been impossible. The historical data of which he speaks never existed. The learned Fathers of the Church who made enquiries about the Hebrew canon seem never to have thought it requisite to pursue their research beyond the question as to what books the Jews in their own day held as canonical.

Mr. Westcott's selection of patristic evidence with reference to the Christian canon of the Old Testament is not intentionally unfair; it is his method which leads him to attach undue importance to a certain class of passages in the Fathers, in comparison with others. The "canon of Origen," for instance, as it is called, has no right whatever to be placed in a list of "Christian catalogues of the books of the Old Testament." It is not given by Origen as a Christian catalogue, but expressly as one *καθ' ἑβραίων*. All the deliberate judgments of Origen are opposed to it. Mr. Westcott's note, though not sufficiently explicit, may be considered as in some degree stating the evidence on the second side of the question. But he gives only one side of St. Jerome's evidence, and does not allow his readers to suspect that there is another of no less importance. For a perfectly impartial statement of the whole evidence, we refer them to M. Reuss's recent work on the Canon. What renders Mr. West-

cott's unfairness the more striking is, that he takes great pains to contrast with St. Augustine's acceptance of the Deutero-canonical books all the isolated passages which seem to tell against them.

Professor Plumptre's article, "Apocrypha," becomes of very little value as soon as the historical account of the use of the word "apocryphal" is finished. The supposed characteristics of the Apocrypha are given as if the writer were utterly unconscious that the very same qualities or defects had long since been predicated of books belonging to the Hebrew canon. The absence of the prophetic spirit can hardly be said to be peculiar to Deutero-canonical books. And when the writer proceeds to speak of want of originality, "repetition of the language of older prophets," and the arbitrary combinations of dreams and symbols, it is impossible not to confront him with his own words on another occasion. In the article "Jeremiah" he says:

"Criticisms on the 'style' of a prophet are indeed, for the most part, whether they take the form of praise or blame, wanting both in reverence and discernment. We do not gain much by knowing that to one writer he appears at once 'sermone quidem . . . quibusdam aliis prophetis rusticior' (Hieron. *Præf. in Jerem.*), and yet 'majestate sensuum profundissimus' (Præm. in c. L.); . . . that bolder critics find in him a great want of originality (Knobel, *Prophetismus*); 'symbolical images of an inferior order, and symbolical actions unskilfully contrived' (Davidson, *Introd. to O. T. c. xix.*)"

Another supposed characteristic of the Apocrypha is the tendency to pass off supposititious books under the cover of illustrious names. "The books of Esdras, the additions to Daniel, the letters of Baruch and Jeremiah, and the Wisdom of Solomon, are obviously of this character." That some of the Deutero-canonical books are pseudonymous is certain enough; but are there no pseudonymous books among the Hebrew Scriptures? The Canticles and Ecclesiastes, which bear the name of Solomon, probably belong to the latest productions of Hebrew literature. Professor Plumptre, in speaking of the Salomonic authorship of Ecclesiastes, allows that inspired writers need not be supposed to have been debarred from forms of composition which were open to others.

"In the literature of every other nation the form of personated authorship, where there is no *animus decipiendi*, has been recognised as a legitimate channel for the expression of opinions, or the quasi-dramatic representations of character. Why should we venture on the assertion that if adopted by the writers of the Old Testament it would have made them guilty of a falsehood, and been inconsistent with their inspiration?"

The history of the sacred text itself is given in "Old Testa-

ment" and "New Testament," which are, on the whole, respectable articles; the former by Dr. Thompson of New York, the latter by Mr. Westcott. The section, however, by Dr. Thompson on "Quotations from the Old Testament in the New Testament," might have been suppressed without any loss to the reader. It is almost ludicrously superficial; and much of it is certainly erroneous. The old view that the New Testament writers corrected the Septuagint version from the Hebrew when necessary is given as if unquestionable; and we are told that "when the errors involved in the Septuagint version do not interfere with the purpose which the New Testament writer had in view, they are frequently allowed to remain in his quotation." Yet it is granted that "the current of apostolic thought too is frequently dictated by words of the Septuagint which differ much from the Hebrew . . . or even *an absolute interpolation of the Septuagint is quoted*, Heb. i. 6 (Deut. xxxii. 43)," *expressly as the word of God*, it might have been added. Hengstenberg's very insufficient explanation of the circumstance that in Matt. xxvii. 9 Jeremiah is named as the author of a prophecy of Zechariah, is given with applause. In the first and most important section of the article we do not see that, in speaking of the Talmud, the writer gives an accurate idea of the value to be attached to the quotations found in it from the Old Testament; and he is silent as to the difference in this regard between its printed copies and the manuscripts of it.

"Samaritan Pentateuch" is one of the uniformly excellent articles of Mr. Emmanuel Deutsch, who has also written that on the Samaritan version, and given some account of the Samaritan literature. His articles on the Targums, in spite of the belief expressed in the tradition of Ezra's connection with "that most important religious and political body called the Great Synagogue, or Men of the Great Assembly," are among the most valuable in the Dictionary.

When speaking, a few pages back, about the change of feeling among the Jews towards the Septuagint, we should have been glad to notice Dr. Selwyn's account of the matter; but there is none whatever in his article "Septuagint," one of the most superficial in the whole work. The dominant feeling in the writer's mind appears to be the principle, which he prints in italics, "*never to build any argument on words or phrases of the Septuagint without comparing them with the Hebrew.*" The danger here deprecated is one to which Englishmen of the nineteenth century are but little exposed. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, on the contrary, never fails to violate the principle of Dr. Selwyn; a further index to whose mind when writing this article may be found in the suggestion to

provide a *new* Greek version, "accurate and faithful to the Hebrew original,"—that is, we suppose, the Masoretic recension—"for the use of the Greek Church, and of students reading the Scriptures in that language for the purposes of devotion and mental improvement."

"Vulgate," by Mr. Westcott, is an article of a very different order of merit, and, from the writer's point of view, could hardly have been surpassed. It is full of information, and is in general perfectly fair. He calls attention to the fact insisted upon by Bellarmine and other great theologians, but strangely overlooked in later controversies, that the decree of the Council of Trent does not make any reference to the original text of the Bible, but merely gives the preference to the Vulgate over other Latin versions. In his account, however, of the Sixtine and Clementine editions of the Vulgate, Bellarmine's conduct is spoken of with the most unjustifiable harshness. That great writer states, in his preface to the Clementine edition, that Sixtus V., having perceived the number of clerical errors which had crept into the Bible prepared by him, decreed that the whole impression should be recalled. "Of this," says Mr. Westcott, "there is not the faintest shadow of proof." But surely the *onus probandi* here lies not upon Bellarmine, but upon those who deny his assertion. That the numerous clerical errors of the Sixtine text were recognised by the Pontiff himself is evident from the copies which got into circulation; they abound with corrections made by the pen, or printed on slips of paper pasted over the *errata*. But the words of Bellarmine's preface are interpreted by other expressions of his found in his autobiography. Mr. Westcott writes:

"On the accession of Gregory XIV. some went so far as to propose that the edition of Sixtus should be absolutely prohibited; but Bellarmine suggested a middle course. He proposed that the erroneous alterations of the text which had been made in it (*quæ male mutata erant*) should be corrected with all possible speed, and the Bible reprinted under the name of Sixtus, with a prefatory note, to the effect that errors (*aliqua errata*) had crept into the former edition by the carelessness of the printers. This pious fraud, or rather daring falsehood—for it can be called by no other name—found favour with those in power."

When people talk so boldly about "daring falsehoods" they should be very careful about the accuracy of their own statements. Now the statement in Mr. Westcott's text is, as it stands, calumnious. It implies that the word *errata* is confined to printers' errors, whereas it was used by Bellarmine and his contemporaries³ in a sense including "*quæ male mu-*

³ Sixtus Senensis, for instance, in the last page of his *Bibliotheca Sancta*,

tata erant;" and Mr. Westcott translates "typographorum VEL ALIORUM incuriâ" "by the carelessness of the printers," thus leaving out words implying that others besides printers were to blame. There can be no doubt that Bellarmine wished to save the Pope's honour; that he proposed to do this by throwing the whole blame on the printers is untrue; and his preface to the Clementine edition, though speaking of the errors of the press in the Sixtine, does not say that the new edition was a mere corrected reproduction of its predecessor. The revision of the text is simply avowed, and expressly said to have been finished in the beginning of the pontificate of Clement VIII.

Other "Ancient Versions" are described by Dr. Tregelles. His articles are, in general, summaries of what he has elsewhere written on the same subjects. His observations, however, on the proposal by the late Canon Rogers for a new edition of the Peschito, and those on a personal controversy between himself and Mr. Scrivener, strike us as being singularly out of place in Dr. Smith's Dictionary.

The insufficiency of the information given in Mr. Perowne's articles on "Genesis," "Exodus," "Deuteronomy," and "Pentateuch" is particularly remarkable at a moment when the curiosity of the public has been awakened by the controversy occasioned by the publication of Dr. Colenso's work. Mr. Perowne's conclusions are in favour of what is called the authenticity of the Pentateuch; but they are not supported by sufficiently strong arguments. And indeed it may be doubted whether his admissions on the other side of the question are not such as to outweigh the evidence on which he chiefly relies. He produces certain references of time and place "which prove clearly that the work, *in its present form*, is later than the time of Moses." The genealogical table of Esau's family (Gen. xxxvi.), for instance, contains the remark, "And these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel." On this Mr. Perowne says: "No unprejudiced person can read the words . . . without feeling that when they were written kings had already begun to reign over Israel. It is a simple historical fact, that for centuries after the death of Moses no attempt was made to establish a monarchy amongst the Jews." He admits, moreover, that the genealogical table in which the words occur could not have been an interpolation; "it is a most essential part of the

includes under the *errata* of the Vulgate "solœcismos, barbarismos, hyperbata, et multa parum accommodata versa, et minus Latine expressa, obscure et ambigue interpretata, itemque nonnulla superaddita, aliaque omissa, quædam transposita, immutata, ac vitio scriptorum depravata."

structure" of the book of Genesis. But "this particular verse" may be the interpolation of a later editor. There is in fact, he thinks, *abundant evidence* to show that, though the main bulk of the Pentateuch is Mosaic, certain detached portions of it are of later growth. "It may have undergone many later revisions and corrections, the last of these being certainly as late as the time of Ezra." "The whole work did not finally assume its present shape till its revision was undertaken by Ezra, after the return from the Babylonish captivity." We must once more repeat, that there is no historical evidence that Ezra ever revised the Pentateuch. All the supposed interpolations, corrections, or glosses, that may be discovered in it, are the work of men with reference to whom we know nothing. How large a portion of the entire Pentateuch did they write? What proof is there that the "main bulk" of it is really Mosaic? That it was already in existence eight hundred years before Christ is what no one doubts. Is there earlier evidence in its favour? The evidence "lying outside of the Pentateuch itself" is divided by Mr. Perowne into three kinds: "first, direct mention of the work as already existing in the later books of the Bible; secondly, the existence of a book substantially the same as the present Pentateuch amongst the Samaritans; and lastly, allusion less direct, such as historical references, quotations, and the like, which presuppose its existence." The second kind of evidence, derived from the Samaritan Pentateuch, is given up by Mr. Perowne. The Samaritan Pentateuch contains "those passages which are manifestly interpolations and corrections as late as the time of Ezra." "And we incline to the view of Prideaux, . . . that the Samaritan Pentateuch was in fact a transcript of Ezra's revised copy." The third kind of evidence, drawn from allusions, historical references, quotations, and the like, begins with the prophets Joel, Amos, and Hosea; that is, not earlier than B.C. 800. The whole ancient external evidence of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is therefore reduced to the first kind mentioned by Mr. Perowne. In collecting this, he first refers to several passages of the book of Joshua in which Moses is mentioned as the author of the book of the law; but he admits "that they cannot be cited as proving that the Pentateuch in its present form and all its parts is Mosaic." He might have added, that they rather add a difficulty to all the rest. In one of the passages to which he refers it is said that Joshua made a covenant with the people on the day in which he took leave of the Israelites, "and set them a statute and an ordinance in Shechem. And Joshua wrote these words in the book of the law of God." Now, it is quite certain that the book of the law of God here referred to does not mean our

present Pentateuch. "The book of Judges does not speak of the book of the law." "It is a little remarkable, however, that no direct mention of it occurs in the books of Samuel. Considering the express provision made for a monarchy in Deuteronomy, we should have expected that on the first appointment of a king some reference would have been made to the requirements of the law. A prophet like Samuel, we might have thought, could not fail to direct the attention of the newly made king to the book in accordance with which he was to govern. But if he did this, the history does not tell us so; though there are, it is true, allusions which can only be interpreted on the supposition that the law was known." Why are these not specified? "The first mention of the law of Moses after the establishment of the monarchy is in David's charge to his son Solomon on his deathbed (1 Kings ii. 3)." "The words, 'as it is written in this law of Moses,' show that *some* portion, at any rate, of our present Pentateuch is referred to, and that the law was received as the law of Moses." It is impossible to prove that any portion of the Pentateuch is referred to in the passage quoted; but even were the reverse of this true, we have come down to writings which were not composed till the Babylonian exile.

The chief argument, however, on which Mr. Perowne relies is the express testimony of the book of Deuteronomy,⁴ which claims to be from the hand of Moses himself. He is mistaken, we think, in saying that "all allow that the book of the covenant in Exodus, perhaps a great part of Leviticus, and some part of Numbers, were written by Israel's greatest leader and prophet." It is a strange misapprehension of the controversy to imagine that the genuineness of Deuteronomy is questioned because it is in style and purpose so utterly unlike *the genuine writings of Moses*. The evidence to which Mr. Perowne appeals in behalf of the antiquity of the book consists, first, in the allusions to Egypt; secondly, in the phraseology of the book and the archaisms found in it, which "stamp it as of the same age with the rest of the Pentateuch" (but he has not proved the antiquity of the rest of the Pentateuch); thirdly, in the fondness for the use of figures, some of which are peculiar to it, to the "book of the Covenant," and to Psalm xc., which is said to

⁴ Mr. Perowne grants that in the reign of Josiah the existence of Deuteronomy as a canonical book "seems to have been almost forgotten." We could hardly have thought it possible to find the following note to his explanation on the discovery of the book of the law: "That even in monasteries the Bible was a neglected and almost unknown book, is clear from the story of Luther's conversion." If Mr. Perowne is not aware that he is here referring to a falsehood long since exploded, let him read Maitland's *Dark Ages*, (p. 468 et seq.), and blush at his own ignorance.

be Mosaic; and fourthly, in the acquaintance of the prophets with it. If all this evidence be put together and allowed to pass unquestioned, which is more than any of Mr. Perowne's opponents can be expected to consent to, it will not prove a higher antiquity than the time of Samuel. He is therefore obliged to have recourse to rhetoric, and concludes with the passage which we have already quoted: "But in truth the book speaks for itself. No imitator could have written"—and so forth.

The coexistence of the Elohist and Jehovistic portions in the Pentateuch is not in itself an argument against the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch; for Moses, as the Jehovistic compiler and editor, might have incorporated Elohist documents with his work. The argument, however, becomes a powerful one when it is found that the Elohist and Jehovistic documents continue to run through the book of Joshua; but the importance of this fact is ignored both by Mr. Perowne and by Mr. Bullock, the writer of the short and meagre article "Book of Joshua."

Many of the critical remarks of Mr. Twistleton on the "Books of Samuel" are just and important; but they rather represent part of the scaffolding of an edifice, than the edifice itself which ought to have been constructed.

Lord Arthur Hervey considers the Jewish tradition which ascribes the first and second books of Kings to Jeremiah as "borne out by the strongest internal evidence, in addition to that of the language." These are, at all events, he believes, the work of "a trustworthy historian, who cites contemporary documents as his authority (let alone the peculiar character of the Bible histories as 'given by inspiration of God')." "It must, however, be admitted that the chronological details expressly given in the books of Kings form a remarkable contrast with their striking historical accuracy." The very first date of a decidedly chronological character which is given is manifestly erroneous. Numerous other dates are also certainly wrong. These chronological difficulties are of two kinds. One is the mere want of the data necessary for chronological exactness; "but the other kind of difficulty is of a totally different character, and embraces dates which are *very exact* in their mode of expression, but are erroneous and contradictory." Such difficulties Lord Arthur Hervey believes to be owing to the interpolations of a professed chronologist, whose object was to reduce Scripture history to an exact system of chronology. The omission of some chronological passages in the Septuagint would be a strong argument in favour of this hypothesis, were it not that the Hebrew and Greek texts disagree in many im-

portant passages, which our author enumerates and comments upon in a spirit very unfavourable to the Septuagint. "These variations," he says, "illustrate a characteristic tendency of the Jewish mind to make interesting portions of the Scriptures the groundwork of separate religious tales, which they altered or added to according to their fancy, without any regard to history or chronology."

The articles on the books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, are by the same writer, whose contributions to the history of the Old Testament literature appear to improve progressively in alphabetical order.

When biblical critics assert the integrity of a book of Scripture, they mean that it is complete, and that all its parts are written by one and the same writer, or at least put together by him. Of all the prophetic books, that of Zechariah is, we believe, the first that was questioned in this respect. But the earliest doubts as to its integrity were not suggested by the desire to impugn its divine authority, or to attack the inspiration of Scripture. They were suggested by a motive of an exactly opposite kind, namely, the wish to defend the accuracy of a text in the New Testament. A remarkable passage from the eleventh chapter of Zechariah is described in St. Matthew's gospel "as spoken by the prophet Jeremias." There must, to all appearance, be a mistake somewhere; either the author of the gospel is mistaken in ascribing the passage to Jeremiah, or the passage and the whole context to which it belongs are wrongly placed among the prophecies of Zechariah. St. Jerome, St. Augustine, and most commentators after them, adopted the first alternative. Mede first proposed the hypothesis, "that the evangelist would inform us that those latter chapters, ascribed to Zachary (namely, 9th, 10th, 11th, &c.), are indeed the prophecies of Jeremy; and that the Jews had not rightly attributed them." "There is no Scripture saith they are Zachary's; but there is Scripture saith they are Jeremy's,—as this of the evangelist. As for these being joined to the prophecies of Zachary, that proves no more that they are his than the like joining of Agar's proverbs to Solomon's proves that they are therefore Solomon's, or that all the psalms are David's because joined in one volume with David's psalms." He endeavoured to show that the historical standpoint of the author of these chapters was utterly different from, and inappropriate to, that of Zechariah.⁵ He was followed by Hammond, Bishop Kidder, and Newcome, Protestant archbishop of Armagh. The last-named writer was chiefly led by the internal evidence of a difference of style and historical standpoint to maintain that

⁵ Mede's *Works*, Epist. xxxi. p. 786.

the six last chapters could not have been written by Zechariah, the son of Iddo. "They seem," he says, "to suit Hosea's age and manner. But, whoever wrote them, their divine authority is established by the two quotations from them in the New Testament."⁶

The integrity of the book of Zechariah is one of those questions which would naturally call forth all the learning and ingenuity of the great German critics. The majority of them are decidedly unfavourable to it. But the difficulties of the subject are very great; and De Wette, who denied the integrity in the three first editions of his *Introduction*, finished by admitting the insufficiency of the arguments on that side of the question.⁷ The arguments on both sides are very fairly given by Mr. Perowne; and we really cannot blame him for hesitating to decide between them. "Indeed, it is not easy to say," he concludes, "which way the weight of evidence preponderates."

A far more important question is that concerning the integrity of the book of Isaiah. The article "Isaiah" is one of considerable extent, and, from its subject, ought to have been one of the most important in the Dictionary. It has, however, been written by a thoroughly incompetent person, who, instead of mastering the difficulties of his subject, has produced a feeble apology of the old view of the literary question. It is well known that the overwhelming majority of eminent scholars are of opinion that the second part of the prophecies (the last twenty-seven chapters), attributed to Isaiah, are the work, not of Isaiah, but of a later prophet. The list of these scholars is admitted by Mr. Huxtable to be, in point of numbers, of critical ability, and of profound Hebrew scholarship, sufficiently imposing. "Nevertheless," he says, "when we come to enquire into their grounds of objection, we soon cease to attach much value to this formidable array of authorities." When we, on the other hand, come to enquire into his mode of looking at the matter, we see that, instead of asking himself what truth may be beneath the mass of evidence which so many learned men have collected, independently of the method according to which each of them may have chosen to state it, he has simply taken up a controversial position, and stated their evidence in a form which, although unobjectionable from a

⁶ Newcome, *Minor Prophets*, p. 195.

⁷ Mr. Perowne is hardly justified in saying that "when De Wette, after having adopted the theory of different authors, felt himself obliged to abandon it . . . and to vindicate the integrity of the book, the ground for a post-exile date must be very strong." The ground for a post-exile date is very strong; but De Wette did not exactly vindicate the integrity of the book. He merely allowed its possibility.

"Rationalist" point of view, and therefore adopted by some of the critics in question, cannot but appear extremely weak to English, and particularly to orthodox Protestant, minds. This is not unfair in one controversialist arguing against another; but a critic is bound to rise above the *argumentum ad hominem*. His position is that, not of an advocate, but of a judge. Mr. Huxtable altogether misapprehends the literary question at issue. One of his arguments is drawn from the predictions contained in the second book as to the character, sufferings, death, and glorification of Jesus Christ. "A believer in Christ," he says, "cannot fail to regard those predictions as *affixing to this second part the broad seal of divine inspiration, whereby the chief ground of objection against its having been written by Isaiah is at once annihilated.*" The question is utterly independent of that of inspiration. The high Anglican authorities who doubted or denied the integrity of the book of Zechariah never dreamed of questioning the inspiration of the second prophet, whose writings they believed to have been added to those of Zechariah. No one denies that the author of the second part of the book attributed to Isaiah is as true and inspired a prophet as any whose names we know. And it would be well if, in examining a question like that of the integrity of the book of Isaiah, orthodox critics could forget for the time that the evidence on the subject was first put together by men less orthodox than themselves. It can hardly be doubted that, if philological and critical science had been cultivated in Catholic Italy and Spain with as much activity and success as in Protestant Germany, Italian and Spanish critics would, without sacrificing a particle of their orthodoxy, have arrived at the same conclusions on the literary character of the book of Isaiah as Eichhorn, De Wette, Gesenius, and Ewald.

Mr. Huxtable has stated the evidence as seen from one point of view; we will venture to look at it from another.

As long as the book of Isaiah was studied in a translation, it matters not whether Greek, Latin, German, or English, it was impossible that the reader should notice the very remarkable fact, that after the thirty-ninth chapter the language and style are completely changed. There may be nothing very extraordinary in the sudden transition from Hebrew to Chaldee in the books of Ezra and Daniel. The change of language in the book of Isaiah is of a totally different character. It is hardly perceptible to the superficial reader; and yet it tells a tale not less historically certain than that which enables us to account for the appearance of two different Semitic dialects in the same book. Although written in classical Hebrew, the second part of the book of Isaiah is full of linguistic peculiarities not found in

the first part, and of others betraying an age of the language later than that of Isaiah.

"To [these] peculiarities," says Knobel, "belong *צָמַח*, to sprout, i.e. to arise; *קָרָא*, to preach; *פָּצַח רִפָּח*, to break out into exultation; *שֵׁים, חֹשֵׁב, עָלָה, דָּבַר עַל לֵב, מִשְׁפָּח*, the religion of Jehovah; *צָדָק*, prosperity, salvation; *צָדָקָה*, the same; *הָעַם*, the inhabitants of the earth; *כֵּאֲפֹס, כֵּאֲפֹן*, as nothing; *כָּל בָּשָׂר*, all flesh; *שָׂד נִשְׁכָּר*, wasting and destruction; the use of the adjective and participle as a substantive neuter, mostly in the plural feminine, ex. gr. *הַדְּמִיּוֹת*, ancient things; *הַדְּמִיּוֹת*, former things; *רַבּוֹת*, great things; *נִצְרוֹת*, secret things; *חֲדָשׁוֹת*, new things; *אֲתִיּוֹת*, things to come; *בָּאִית, הַשָּׁמַיִם*, the same. These expressions appear, for the most part, in our author, and characterise him as a very peculiar writer. Most important are the linguistic elements, betraying a later time. The writer uses a number of expressions which are found either in his composition only, or in the later books; and which must be explained chiefly by the Aramæan, ex. gr. *נָאֵל*, to be unclean; *נָשַׁשׁ*, to grope; *מִפָּח*, to span; *בִּנָּח*, to name; *מָחָא*, to strike; *מָתַח*, to spread out; *קָבַד*, to pray to; *קָשַׁק*, to kindle; *נָשַׁם*, to breathe; *פָּעַח*, to cry; *צָנוּח*, the same; *צָעַח*, to bow, stretch; *רָחֵן*, repentance; *צִיר*, idol; *צָפַח*, veil; *רָפַשׁ*, dirt; *שׁוֹבָב*, apostate; *הִסְתִּיר*, without; *פָּנִים*, to be averse; the formulas, *מָה תַעֲשֶׂה*, what dost thou; *עַמִּים וּלְשׁוֹנוֹת*, peoples and tongues; *קִנְיִים*, princes, is a Persian word. In like manner, our author employs a number of words in significations and relations borrowed in part from Aramæan, appearing only in later authors, so far as they are not peculiar to him, and all betraying a great advance in the language, thus showing a later period; as, *הִמְאִיר*, to kindle" [and many others]. "The same holds good of word-forms, ex. gr. the Aramæisms, *הִמְאִיר* and *הִחְלִי*. None but the author has a Pihel of *פָּאֵר*, a Hiphil denominative of *פָּח*, a Hithpael of *יָמַר*, *פָּתַח*, and *שָׁעַח*, as well as the nominal forms *הַפְּלִיּוֹת* in the plural, *עוֹלָה* for *עוֹלָה*, *מַעֲצָבָה*, *מַעֲרָבָה*, *נִגְחָה*, and *תִּלְבָּשֶׁת*. Other words he has in common with the later writers, ex. gr. the Pahal of *קָרָא* and the Pilel of *שָׂד*, as also *אֲתִי* for *אֲתִי*, *נִכָּח* for *מִסְכָּח*, and the plurals *עוֹלָמִים*, *מּוֹתִים*, *תְּבִינּוֹת*. Many words are to be explained by the Arabic, which may have had an influence on the Hebrew of the exiles in the intercourse of the Arabians with the Babylonians; for example, *בְּלִמְדָּה*, unfruitful [and ten others]."

To these peculiarities of language we must add very remarkable peculiarities of style, for which we refer to the work from which the foregoing extract is taken, or to any good work of the same kind.

If we now compare the prophecies contained in the second

part with those contained in the first, the difference of historical standpoint will be found to be very great. The writer of the first part in one place predicts the exile; but his prophecies are clearly written in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, Hezekiah, and Manasseh. The writer of the second part does not predict the exile; he every where speaks as if he were living in it. Those to whom he speaks, to whom he declares himself to be sent, are in exile and oppressed. The destruction of the temple and of Jerusalem itself are spoken of not as future, but as past, events. It is predicted not that the cities of Judah shall be destroyed, but that they shall be rebuilt. There is not a single phrase in these twenty-seven chapters indicating that the writer lived before the time of Cyrus, whose name is repeatedly mentioned in them. And it has been truly remarked that were this portion of the book of Isaiah separate from the other, and without a name, no one would think of ascribing to it another date than that suggested by the name of Cyrus and the rebuilding of the temple,⁸ more than a hundred and fifty years after the time of Isaiah.

The philological evidence, therefore, for the later date of the second part is in perfect harmony with the evidence derived from the contents of this part. The language betrays a writer of an age subsequent to that of Isaiah, and influences which are accounted for by the very historical data furnished by the matter of the prophecies.

There is no ancient external evidence whatever for the unity of the book of Isaiah. There are only dogmatic reasons of a very insufficient kind. The "inspired testimony of the New Testament," to which Mr. Huxtable appeals, does not deliberately pronounce upon the question. In St. Luke's gospel⁹ we are told that there was delivered to our Lord the "book of the prophet Esaias." And it was from this book that our Lord read the words, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me," &c. But no one questions the fact, that in our Lord's days the "book of the prophet Esaias" contained the passage quoted in St. Luke's gospel. Other passages of the New Testament, in which "Esaias" is quoted as the source of predictions found in the second part of the book ascribed to him, are to be explained in the same way as the passage in St. Matthew ascribing to Jeremiah a prophecy which is most probably not by him, or as the passage of St. Jude which quotes the book of Enoch as a genuine prophecy.

⁸ It is to be observed that Zechariah (viii. 7) apparently quotes Isaiah xlii. 5, as spoken by the mouth of one of the prophets who were "in the day that the foundation of the house of the Lord of Hosts was laid, that the temple might be built."

⁹ iv. 17.

It is almost incredible that Mr. Huxtable should appeal to "the unity of design and construction which," as he endeavours to show, "connects these last twenty-seven chapters with the preceding parts of the book," and to "the oneness of diction which pervades the book." This latter kind of internal evidence is surely only visible in a translation. "The peculiar elevation and grandeur of style" is certainly not less remarkable in the second than in the first part; but it is in itself no evidence at all. "The absence of any other name than Isaiah's claiming the authorship" is a very poor reason for assigning it to Isaiah. What would Mr. Huxtable say of such a reason given for the genuineness of the Clementines, or of the writings attributed to St. Dionysius the Areopagite?

Another argument is drawn from "the claims which the writer makes to the *foreknowledge* of the deliverance by *Cyrus*; which claims, on the opposing view, must be regarded as a fraudulent personation of an earlier writer." A certain number of references are given in another part of Mr. Huxtable's article as bearing on these supposed claims; and a note assures us that "it is difficult to acquit the passages above cited of impudent, and indeed suicidal, mendacity, if they were not written before *Cyrus* appeared on the political scene." We have read with great attention all the passages referred to; and if the book were not a very short one, we might be afraid that we had been misled by clerical errors; but neither in these passages, nor in any others in the second part of Isaiah, can we discern a trace of the claims supposed to be made by the prophet to a *foreknowledge* of the deliverance by *Cyrus*, except such *foreknowledge* as belongs to a contemporary. In most of the passages referred to by Mr. Huxtable the *foreknowledge* of *God* is spoken of; in no case that of Isaiah, or of a prophet living a century and a half before the appearance of *Cyrus*, or even twenty years before that time.

It is hardly necessary to say that on other difficulties and interesting questions connected with the book of Isaiah—such, for instance, as that of the "Servant of the Lord"—not a single ray of light is shed by Mr. Huxtable's article.

On the prophet Jeremiah, Professor Plumptre's article contains a great deal that every student can find for himself in his own Bible; but the important subject of the text of the book is dismissed with half a page. The discrepancies between the Hebrew text and that of the Septuagint are extremely remarkable and instructive. Professor Plumptre merely gives a short table indicating the extent of the divergency; and "for fuller details, tending to a conclusion unfavourable to the trustworthiness of the Greek translation," he refers to Keil's *Einleitung*,

"and the authors there referred to." We are next presented with a table of references to "supposed interpolations," concluding with a list of the chief impugnors and defenders of the authenticity of the passages in question. This is certainly a very summary way of disposing of difficulties.

The difficulties of the book of Daniel begin with the very first verse of the first chapter, which states that in the third year of Jehoiakim king of Judah, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came and besieged Jerusalem; whereas Jeremiah identifies the first year of Nebuchadnezzar with the fourth of Jehoiakim, in which year he himself predicted the coming of the Babylonish king and the captivity of Judah. The true explanation of this difficulty, according to Mr. Westcott, is suggested by the text of Daniel. "The *second* year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign (ii. 1) falls after the completion of the three years' training of Daniel, which commenced with his captivity (i. 1, 5); and this is a clear indication that the expedition mentioned in i. 1 was undertaken in the last year of the reign of Nabopolassar, while as yet Nebuchadnezzar *was not properly king*." This explanation of one difficulty by the discovery of a second, which leads to giving up the historical accuracy of the passage explained, and that in a way which evidently contradicts the intention of one's author, is far from satisfactory. "But some further difficulties remain," continues Mr. Westcott, "which appear, however, to have been satisfactorily removed by Niebuhr (*Gesch. Assur's*, 86 ff.)." One of these satisfactory explanations seems to be that when Jeremiah¹⁰ predicted the coming of Nebuchadnezzar, Nebuchadnezzar had already come.

We certainly did not expect to find in Mr. Westcott's articles a solution of the difficulties of the book of Daniel; and we have therefore not been disappointed. The doubts as to the genuineness of the book are disposed of in not quite a column of general views as to the providential government of the world, together with about the same amount of reply to objections in detail. The whole tone of this criticism is so conservative as logically to be available for the defence of other books with which that of Daniel has much in common. But as these books are not in the Hebrew canon, we must expect quite a different treatment for them.

The great fabulist La Fontaine one day accidentally made acquaintance with the book of Baruch, and was so struck with its beauty that he went about asking all his friends, "Connaissez-vous Baruch?" and recommending them to read it. We fear that Baruch is little known to the readers of Dr. Smith's Dic-

¹⁰ Chap. xxv.

tionary, and that they will pass over, without any misgivings, an important misstatement of Mr. Westcott's as to the imitation of Daniel by the author of the book. There are certainly very close and unmistakeable coincidences between the books of Daniel and Baruch; but in our opinion, which is that also of great critics¹¹ who are not remarkable for prejudices in favour of the deutero-canonical books, it is the author of Daniel who has imitated the book of Baruch. If this be the true state of the case, Mr. Westcott has the alternative of giving the book of Baruch a date anterior to that of the prophet Daniel, or of bringing down the date of the book of Daniel to a time posterior to that to which he assigns the book of Baruch.

Other deutero-canonical books (Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom of Solomon, Maccabees, and Tobit) are not treated by Mr. Westcott as they would have been were they recognised by his Church as canonical; but he certainly deserves the praise of having displayed in regard to them an amount of fairness and good sense which has been lamentably rare among English Protestant writers. A better and more rational feeling than had hitherto prevailed towards the "Apocryphal" books was first inaugurated by Dr. Davidson, whose chapter on this subject in the last edition of Horne's Introduction offers a very striking contrast to the corresponding chapter in the earlier editions.

A fair amount of Greek scholarship being nearly as common among the more highly educated Anglican clergy as a knowledge of Hebrew is rare, it might have been expected that the excellence of articles on the books of the New Testament would compensate for the poverty of those on the Old. But this is far from being the case; the New Testament articles are in general inferior to the Old Testament ones, the difficulties of the latter having apparently enforced a greater amount of careful study both of the original documents and of the erudite German works to which the writers of the Dictionary are so much indebted.

The article "Gospels," by the Archbishop of York, might, if we except a few allusions and bibliographical references to modern books, have been written more than thirty years ago. He tells us that "Barnabas, Clemens Romanus, and Polycarp, quote passages from [the gospels], but not with verbal exactness. The testimony of Justin Martyr (born about A.D. 99,

¹¹ "Las der Verfasser des B. Daniel gewiss schon dies Buch und zwar hebräisch, auch wohl in derselben Verbindung mit dem B. Jeremja: denn die Wörter des Gebetes Dan. ix. 4. 19 geben sich ihrem Hauptinhalte nach nur als eine neue Ausarbeitung nach Bar. i. 15—ii. 17, auch meist als Verkürzung daraus; und während dies Gebet im B. Daniel mehr nur eine Nebensache ist um auf etwas wichtigeres hinüberzuleiten, ist es im B. Barúkh eben die Hauptsache fürsich." Ewald, *Gesch. d. V. Israel*, B. iv. p. 232.

martyred A.D. 165) is much fuller; many of his quotations are found verbatim in the gospels of St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John, and possibly of St. Mark also, whose words it is more difficult to separate." After all that has been written on the testimony of Justin, and, indeed, of the ancients generally, one could hardly have been prepared for such smooth sailing. The assertion, too, that from the first "a sharp line of distinction was drawn between [the four gospels] and the so-called apocryphal gospels, of which the number was very great," may be true; but when Dr. Thompson appeals to historical evidence in support of it, he should tell us in what this evidence consists. He ought to remember that it is generally admitted that Ignatius, Justin, and the author of the second epistle attributed to Clement of Rome, unhesitatingly quote apocryphal gospels, and that no testimony equally clear, and of equal antiquity, has yet been produced for the gospel of St. John.

A short account of the different explanations first given of the close resemblances to be found in the synoptical gospels, and of the theory of an original gospel, is closed by a protest against this theory as inconsistent with inspiration and with "the wholesome confidence with which we now rely on the gospels as pure, true, and genuine histories of the life of Jesus, composed by four independent witnesses inspired for that work." Gieseler's hypothesis, that the oral teaching of the apostles was the real source of the agreement between the three gospels, meets with more favour; and Dr. Thompson proceeds to enquire how it bears upon our belief in the inspiration of the gospels—a momentous question, which admits, he believes, of a satisfactory reply. Divine guidance and the Spirit of Truth were promised to the apostles by our Lord; and that this promise was fully realised to them, the history of the Acts sufficiently shows. "So that as to St. Matthew and St. John, we may say that their gospels are inspired because the writers of them were inspired according to their Master's promise," supernatural guidance being as necessary in writing a gospel as when standing before a human tribunal. "*The case of the other two Evangelists is somewhat different.* It has always been held that they were under the guidance of apostles in what they wrote,—St. Mark under that of St. Peter, and St. Luke under that of St. Paul." "As St. Mark and St. Luke were the companions of apostles,—shared their dangers, confronted hostile tribunals, had to teach and preach,—*there is reason to think that they equally enjoyed what they equally needed.*" The portion of the three first gospels which is common to all, being derived from the teaching of the apostles in general, is drawn directly from an inspired source, and each

gospel has its own features, the divine element having controlled the human but not destroyed it.

"There is a perverted form," continues Dr. Thompson, "of the theory we are considering, which pretends that the facts of the Redeemer's life remained in the state of an oral tradition till the latter part of the second century, and that the four gospels were not written till that time." The difference is not of degree," he says, "between the opinion that the gospels were written during the lifetime of the apostles, who were eye-witnesses, and the notion that for nearly a century after the oldest of them had passed to his rest, the events were only preserved in the changeable and insecure form of an oral account. *But for the latter opinion there is not one spark of historical evidence.*" There is certainly none. But if, instead of taking the most exaggerated form in which the hypothesis he supports has been "perverted," we substitute for "the latter part of the second century" "a hundred years after the death of Christ," will Dr. Thompson tell us that the "sparks" of evidence are much more numerous and bright on his side of the question than on the other? If so, where are they?

We shall look in vain for them in the articles on the gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. St. Matthew's gospel is said to be quoted by Justin Martyr and Hegesippus. We know from Eusebius that Hegesippus used the "gospel according to the Hebrews;" but this was not St. Matthew. Dr. Thompson allows that "the citations of Justin Martyr, very important for this subject, have been thought to indicate a source different from the gospels which we now possess;" but he has no space to show that the ἀπομνημονεύματα of Justin were the gospels; and that though "Justin quotes the gospels very loosely, so that his words often bear but a slight resemblance to the original, the same is true of his quotations from the Septuagint." We are referred for the disposal of this question to Norton's *Genuineness*, vol. i., and Hug's *Einleitung*. It is scarcely necessary to say that both these books, the latter of which was most admirable at the time when it was written, are quite inadequate to the wants of the present day.

"Owing to the very few sections peculiar to Mark," it is said in the article on that gospel, "evidence from patristic quotation is somewhat difficult to produce. Justin Martyr, however, quotes ch. ix. 44, 46, 48, xii. 30, and iii. 17; and Irenæus cites both the opening and closing words (iii. 10, 6)." Here again we have to bear in mind that all the supposed quotations from the gospels in Justin are, to say the least, very doubtful.

Of St. Luke's gospel Dr. Thompson says that "it is quoted

by Justin Martyr, and by the author of the Clementine Homilies. The silence of the apostolic fathers only indicates that it was admitted into the canon somewhat late, which was probably the case. The result of the Marcion controversy is, as we have seen, that our gospel was in use before A.D. 120." The mention of the canon leads us to enquire by whom Dr. Thompson thinks that of the New Testament was drawn up. He objects¹² to Eichhorn's notion that the "*Church*" sanctioned the four canonical books, and by its authority gave them exclusive currency, because "there existed at that time no means for convening a council;" and yet he implies that the canon of the New Testament, even as regarding the gospels, was not drawn up till after the date of the writings attributed to the apostolical fathers.

If it be important to prove by convincing evidence that the gospels were written by contemporaries and eye-witnesses of the events which they record, and if this can be done in a way which ought to be satisfactory to all fair judges of literary history, Dr. Thompson cannot lay any claim to the credit of such a success. And his account of the questions raised with reference to the contents and purpose of each of the synoptical gospels is as unsatisfactory as his proofs of their apostolical antiquity.

The gospel of St. John deserved an article at least of the same importance as "*Isaiah*." That by Mr. Bullock is very short and insignificant. It simply ignores all the great questions to which the gospel has given rise. The same thing is true of Dean Alford's article, "*Acts of the Apostles*."

The articles on the epistles of St. Paul are often dull, and always unimportant. The speculations of the Tübingen school, which have furnished so many suggestions even to its theological and literary opponents in Germany, are only referred to occasionally for the purpose of refutation. De Wette, Neander, Hase, Reuss, Bleek, and even Thiersch and the Catholic Lutterbeck, have better understood how to profit by the critical enquiries which are treated with such contempt by some of the writers of the Dictionary.

The writer of the article "*Epistle to the Hebrews*," who says that the tendency of opinion in Germany is to ascribe the epistle to some other author than St. Paul, does not seem to be aware that, besides the difference of style and mode of reasoning between it and the acknowledged writings of St. Paul, a difference of doctrinal system is strongly asserted to exist. It is only Luther whom Mr. Bullock mentions as "unable to perceive its agreement with St. Paul's doctrine." Another objection—which,

¹² Vol. ii. p. 277.

as we should put it, is that it quotes a different text¹³ of the Septuagint from that generally quoted by St. Paul—is thus alluded to: "If St. Paul quotes to the Hebrews the LXX. without correcting it where it differs from the Hebrew, this agrees with his practice in other epistles, and with the fact that, as elsewhere, so in Jerusalem, Hebrew was a dead language, acquired only by much pains by the learned."

Mr. F. C. Cook, in the article "Peter," calls attention to the fact that the apostle "seems to have conversed fluently in Greek with Cornelius,—at least there is no intimation that an interpreter was employed,—while it is highly improbable that Cornelius, a Roman soldier, should have used the language of Palestine." He says also that "the style of both of St. Peter's epistles indicates a considerable knowledge of Greek; it is pure and accurate, and in grammatical structure equal to that of St. Paul." This, however, he thinks, may possibly be due to the employment of an interpreter; a hypothesis which would explain the difference of style between the two epistles, for that the two "could not have been composed and written by the same person is a point scarcely open to doubt." But when he says that "there are no traces of Greek literature upon [St. Peter's] mind, such as we find in St. Paul, nor could we expect it in a person of his station, even had Greek been his mother tongue," he is not aware that the second epistle attributed to St. Peter is more full, perhaps, than all those of St. Paul put together of passages closely akin in thought to aphorisms of Greek, and particularly Philonic, philosophy.¹⁴

Of Mr. Meyrick's contributions to the Dictionary, and among them some articles upon the epistles of St. James and St. John, we shall have occasion to speak later on. Mr. Bullock's article, "Revelation of St. John," does not rise above the moderate level we are accustomed to in English books on the subject.

"Introduction" is decidedly one of the weak departments of the Dictionary, although the articles belonging to it are put forward in the editor's preface as "naturally some of the most important in the work." A deplorable mediocrity in all that regards learning and thought characterises most of them. This is particularly true of the articles on the books of the New Testament. But with the exception, perhaps, of what Mr. Westcott writes on parts of the "Apocrypha," the articles both on Old and New Testament books are all utterly unworthy to be compared with the corresponding ones in the ordinary German works on "Introduction." From some of our remarks it may perhaps be thought that we chiefly object to the apologetic and

¹³ A reading of Deut. xxxii. 35 differing from the Hebrew and common Septuagint texts is, however, quoted both in Rom. xii. 19 and Heb. x. 30.

¹⁴ See Schweigler, *Das nachapostolische Zeitalter*, i. 615.

conservative spirit which prevails throughout these articles. We certainly do think that in a work of the kind objectivity is what should chiefly be aimed at. But we do not find fault with any amount of conservatism which is consistent with objective truth. It is not with the conclusions considered in themselves that we quarrel, but with the facts and arguments by which they are supported. The interests of the most conservative theology are here in fact identical with those of critical science. It is not for the benefit of religion that all the positions taken up by its defenders should be evidently such as may be undermined, turned, or carried by assault.

The apologetic interest, to which a part at least of the defects of the articles about which we have been speaking is due, is necessarily less prominent in the purely biographical and historical articles. Many of these are admirably written. It is not often that contributions to a Dictionary possess the picturesque beauty of such articles as "Moses," "Samuel," "Saul," "David," "Jonathan," "Jeroboam," and some others by Dr. Stanley. There is an exquisite charm about them, which ought not, however, to blind one to their defects. Dr. Stanley is too apt to fill up the gaps of the Hebrew narrative with doubtful details from the Septuagint or Josephus; perhaps from traditions even still more questionable. But we only do him justice in saying that the strict accuracy with which he invariably gives his authorities enables the reader to exercise a watchful criticism over what he reads. Mr. Bullock's articles on the "Kingdoms of Israel and Judah" are very superior to those he has written on books of Scripture. "Elijah" and "Elisha," like most of Mr. Grove's articles, are excellent. The history of the Maccabees, of several of the Seleucidæ, and of the Herodian family, are well given by Mr. Westcott. The biographies of the New Testament are of much less value as Dictionary articles than those of the Old. They are all more or less coloured by the controversies of the day; and the writers are too apt to imagine themselves working for the pulpit or for a theological journal.

We must not, however, forget that one unfortunate biographical article belongs to the Old Testament. It is under "Noah" that the difficulties of the Flood are considered. The writer, Mr. Perowne, takes the greatest pains to gather together all the difficulties that are involved in the admission of a universal deluge. And he then proceeds to argue that the biblical narrative does not compel us to adopt so tremendous an hypothesis. The language is confessedly strong, but he thinks it may be got over. It is got over, in fact, by such expedients as the following: "It is true that Noah is told to take two 'of

every living thing of all flesh,' but that could only mean two of every animal *then known* to him, unless we suppose him to have had supernatural information in zoology imparted—a thing quite incredible." "It is natural to suppose that the writer, when he speaks of 'all flesh,' 'all in whose nostrils was the breath of life,' refers only to his own locality." What! after having read, "And the Lord said, I will destroy man whom I have created from the face of the earth, both man and beast, and the creeping thing, and the fowls of the air; for it repenteth me that I have made them. . . . And God said unto Noah, The end of all flesh is come before me; for the earth is filled with violence through them; and behold I will destroy them with the earth." Was it only in Noah's locality that the earth was filled with the violence of man and beast and creeping thing and fowl of the air? Again, after the Flood, God says, "I will not again curse the ground any more for man's sake . . . neither will I again smite any more every thing living as I have done." And again, "I will establish my covenant with you; neither shall all flesh be cut off any more by the waters of a flood; *neither shall there any more be a flood to destroy the earth.*" Partial inundations of the most terrific and destructive kind have certainly taken place in historic times. How do the words we have printed in italics harmonise with Mr. Perowne's hypothesis that the Noachic deluge was a partial inundation, "similar to what occurred in the Runn of Cutch, on the eastern arm of the Indus, in 1819, when the sea flowed in, and in a few hours converted a tract of land 2000 square miles in area into an inland sea or lagoon"?

The chief difficulty which he perceives is the connection of the statement that "all the high hills that were under the whole heaven were covered," with the district in which Noah is supposed to have lived, and the assertion that the waters prevailed fifteen cubits upward. It would have been impossible for the mountain now called Ararat to have been covered unless the whole earth were submerged. But he suggests that instead of Ararat, "a lower mountain range, such as the Zagros range, for instance, may be intended." We may be mistaken in our calculations; but it seems to us impossible to imagine any other than a universal deluge as covering either the Zagros or any other range of mountains, and reaching fifteen cubits above it.

The violence done to the sacred text by such interpretations is contrary to all the principles of sound exegesis. The Noachic deluge is unmistakeably represented as universal and destructive of all life except what was preserved in the ark. If, as Mr. Perowne believes, the scientific evidence against the hypothesis of a universal deluge is conclusive, the biblical narrative

is, in some important particulars at least, not historically true.

The important question, how far inspiration implies infallibility in historical statements, is, of course, nowhere discussed in the Dictionary. Most of the writers appear to take it for granted that inspiration excludes the possibility of historical inaccuracy. The opposite view, however, is indirectly inculcated in Dr. Stanley's article "Stephen." It is there observed that no less than twelve of St. Stephen's references to the Mosaic history differ from it either by variation or addition. Some of these variations are very remarkable; for instance—

1. The call of Abraham before the migration to Haran ([Acts] vii. 2), not as according to Gen. xii. 1, in Haran.

2. The death of his father *after the call* (vii. 4), not as according to Gen. xi. 32, before it.

3. The seventy-five souls of Jacob's migration (vii. 14), not as according to Gen. xlv. 27, seventy.

12. The purchase of the tomb at Shechem by Abraham from the sons of Emmor (vii. 16), not as according to Gen. xxiii. 15, the purchase of the cave at Machpelah from Ephron the Hittite."

"It may almost be said," adds Dr. Stanley, "that the whole speech is a protest against a rigid view of the mechanical exactness of the inspired records of the Old Testament: 'He had regard,' as St. Jerome says, 'to the meaning, not to the words.'"

A great Catholic theologian, Melchior Canus,¹⁵ finds no difficulty in allowing that St. Stephen's memory failed him. The evangelist correctly reported his speech, and "*nos non Stephanum ab omni lapsu sed Evangelistam vindicare debemus.*" But the dogmatic obligation is quite as great in one case as in the other. St. Stephen is described as "full of the Holy Ghost;" and as speaking under those circumstances, with reference to which it was said, "It shall be given to you in that same hour what you shall speak. For it is not you that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you." The inspiration of St. Stephen is as solemnly guaranteed to us as that of a writer of one of the books of Scripture; and if an admitted "*lapsus in parvis*" is not inconsistent with the inspiration of the one, neither need it be so with that of the other.

Theology is distinctly excluded from the "scope and object" of the Dictionary, which the editor says is not intended "to explain systems of theology, or discuss points of controversial divinity." In spite of this announcement a good many topics of controversy are discussed, the writers apparently finding it hard to resist the temptation of proving that their own High, Low, or Broad, Church opinions were shared by the writers of the Bible.

¹⁵ De Locis, ii. 18.

The controversial spirit is most conspicuously and offensively displayed by Mr. Meyrick, who intrudes his sectarian views every where. This grievous blemish is by no means compensated by the merit of his articles. That on the first epistle of St. John, one of the most magnificent subjects that could fall to the lot of a writer, does not rise above the level of a school-book. In that on the epistle of St. James we are told that the Jewish vices against which Christians are warned are, "Formalism, which made the service (*θρησκεία*) of God consist in washings and outward ceremonies, whereas he reminds them (i. 27) that it consists rather in Active Love and Purity (see Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection*, Aph. 23; note also Active Love=Bp. Butler's 'Benevolence' and Purity=Bp. Butler's 'Temperance'); Fanaticism," &c. St. James's doctrine of justification and the unction of the sick demand a somewhat more lengthened notice. The discrepancy between St. James and St. Paul is explained by "faith" meaning "fides informis" in the former, and "fides formata" in the latter; and some old Anglican books are referred to for further information. Mr. Meyrick does not seem to know that very important things have been written on the subject since the time of Bull and Taylor, or even of Lawrence's Bampton Lectures. He is not accurate in speaking of James v. 14, 15, as being quoted as the authority (in his sense of the term) for the sacrament of extreme unction. The unction of the sick was not adopted on the authority of any text of Scripture. It has been practised, like infant baptism, from time immemorial, not only in the Catholic church in communion with Rome, but in all the Eastern churches, "orthodox" and heretical. The earliest mention of it in ecclesiastical antiquity is not as of a novelty, but merely as of an existing practice. St. James is only quoted in proof of the antiquity of the practice, and of its being approved by him. The "extraordinary gifts of the Spirit," in which Mr. Meyrick, like the common herd of Protestant controversialists, sees a characteristic distinction between the apostolic and the present practice, might with as full right be quoted against the practices of baptism and the imposition of hands.

His article "Mary the Virgin" is in great part a furious and ignorant onslaught on "Mariolatry;" though by what right this should be introduced into Dr. Smith's Dictionary we cannot see. The history of the "cultus of the Blessed Virgin" does not come within the scope of the work any more than those of the cultus of our Lord and the Holy Ghost, about which Mr. Meyrick might find it difficult to write so fluently if he were somewhat better informed than he appears to be. He believes no doubt that Christ was invoked as Almighty

God from the first; but if so, what has he to reply to those who would use his own words against him?¹⁶ "There is nothing of the sort in the supposed works of Hermas and Barnabas, nor in the real works of Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp—that is, the doctrine is not to be found in the first century. There is nothing of the sort in Justin Martyr, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian—that is, in the second century. There is nothing of the sort in Origen, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Cyprian, Methodius, Lactantius—that is, in the third century." And when he goes beyond the third century, his argument (for his historical sketch is in fact a mere controversial argument) breaks down before considerations of another kind. Were it ever so true that the writers of the fourth, fifth, or ever so many succeeding centuries were silent as to the cultus of the Blessed Virgin, can it be denied that these very writers are most enthusiastic patrons of the cultus of the saints, amongst whom Mr. Meyrick himself places the Blessed Virgin?

Dr. Newman's use of the word "deification" with reference to the saints is spoken of as characteristic of modern Romanism; it is, on the contrary, infinitely more common in the writings of the fourth and fifth centuries;¹⁷ and the notion is ante-Nicene that "God became man that man might become God."¹⁸

We are not writing a defence of Catholic doctrines, but protesting against Mr. Meyrick's use of Dr. Smith's Dictionary for the propagation of his absurd no-Popery arguments. Of his section on the Immaculate Conception we shall only say that there is not a line in it which betrays the slightest acquaintance with the theological grounds on which the doctrine is, rightly or wrongly, supposed to rest.

But the calibre of Mr. Meyrick's theological science may be judged from the following specimen, taken from his article "Antichrist:"

"That the harlot-woman must be an unfaithful Church is argued convincingly by Wordsworth (*On the Apocalypse*, p. 376), and no less decisively by Isaac Williams (*The Apocalypse*, p. 335). A close consideration of the language and import of St. John's prophecy appears, as Mr. Williams says, to leave no room for doubt on this point. If this be so, the conclusion seems almost necessarily to follow that the unfaithful Church spoken of is, as Dr. Wordsworth argues, the Church of Rome.

¹⁶ Vol. ii. p. 267.

¹⁷ It is often found even in ante-Nicene writers. For numerous examples see a note of Potter in *Clem. Alex.* t. i. p. 88. One of the passages quoted is *θεαταί, ἄγγελοι καὶ θεοί*, "ubi Deos appellat beatorum animas." Potter's own explanation of this language is one-sided.

¹⁸ See *Iren. adv. Hæres.* præf. ad lib. v.; *Tertull. Apol.* c. 21; *Cyprian, de Vanit. Idol.* c. 6. Innumerable passages to the same effect might be referred to in later authors.

And this appears to be the case. The Babylon of the Apocalypse is probably the Church of Rome, which gradually raised and seated herself on the back of the corrupted Church,—the Harlot rider on the Beast."

Should trash of this sort be tolerated in a Dictionary which comes before the public with such pretensions as that of Dr. Smith?

The most abstruse article in the Dictionary is that on "Miracles," by Dr. Fitzgerald, Protestant Bishop of Killaloe. It is a laborious and indeed painful attempt to maintain an indefensible position—a belief in the miracles of the Bible, combined with a disbelief of all others. Such a belief, however, is by no means difficult to one who declares that "in the case of the Christian [*i. e.* Scripture] miracles, the truth of the facts, varying as they do from our ordinary experience, is far more credible than the falsehood of a testimony so circumstanced as that by which they are attested." If this were clearly the case of the Scripture miracles, it would hardly be necessary to write so long and elaborate an article as that of Dr. Fitzgerald. But we have seen how difficult it was for Dr. Thompson to find witnesses for the historians of the New Testament miracles. The peculiarity, however, according to Dr. Fitzgerald, of these miracles, as to their external evidence, is that they are attested by "inspired historians;" and he evidently attaches to the word "inspired" a sense which would make it impossible for any one who allows it to question the conclusions which it implies. But he has omitted to tell us in what the evidence for the supernatural character of the testimony consists. In spite of the references to Hume and other writers on the subject of miracles, the whole article seems to give an idea of the motives which would naturally lead Dr. Fitzgerald himself to doubt the occurrence of miracles, and of the considerations on the other side of the question which would weigh strongly on his own mind, rather than of considerations which actually impel the present generation of thinkers one way or another. We are far from denying the force of his reasonings, taken separately; much of what he says in favour of the Scripture miracles is extremely cogent, and so is much of what he says in denial of ecclesiastical miracles. But the legitimate result of these reasonings is, contrary to the writer's intention, either conservative as to ecclesiastical miracles, or destructive as to those recorded in Scripture. The attempt to draw a logical distinction between the two series is utterly futile; and its futility is becoming more and more apparent every day. Dr. Smith's Dictionary will, no doubt, help Englishmen to see how unfairly the evidence is dealt with, according as it refers to Scripture miracles or to those of ecclesias-

tical history. The silence of Eusebius, for instance, on the Invention of the Cross is held to outweigh the positive evidence of even a host of ecclesiastical authors, and indeed the unanimous belief of contemporary Christendom; whilst the "perplexing phenomenon," as Professor Plumptre calls it, that the first three gospels omit all mention of so wonderful a fact as the resurrection of Lazarus, excites no wonder in ordinary readers of the Bible.

The geographical articles are, as a rule, excellent. It is, however, to be regretted that the paradoxes of so able a writer as Mr. Fergusson about the site of the Holy Sepulchre should be given to the reader as the latest results of topographical science. It has always been considered that the site now pointed out as that of the Holy Sepulchre is the same as that recognised as such in the time of Constantine; and the only question has been held to be, whether Constantine and his contemporaries were not mistaken. The chief, or rather the only serious, reason for distrusting their evidence lay in the position of the supposed Golgotha. On looking at its place on the map of Jerusalem, it was difficult to believe that such a site could ever have been a place of tombs, and lain without the walls of the city. But this topographical difficulty has certainly been cleared up. "In the topographical question," says Dr. Stanley, himself a sceptic on the subject, "the opponents of the identity of the Sepulchre have never done justice to the argument first clearly stated in England by Lord Nugent, and pointedly brought out by Professor Willis, which is derived from the so-called tombs of Joseph and Nicodemus. Underneath the western galleries of the church, behind the Holy Sepulchre, are two excavations in the face of the rock, forming an ancient Jewish sepulchre as clearly as any that can be seen in the Valley of Hinnom or in the Tombs of the Kings. . . . The traditional names of Joseph and Nicodemus are probably valueless; but the existence of these sepulchres proves almost to a certainty that at some period the site of the present church must have been outside the walls of the city, and lends considerable probability to the belief that the rocky excavation—which perhaps exists in part still, and certainly once existed entire—within the marble casing of the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre was at any rate a really ancient tomb, and not, as is often rashly asserted, a modern structure intended to imitate it." Now of this solution of the topographical difficulty Mr. Fergusson says nothing. He merely repeats that "the site of the present church is obviously at variance with the facts of the Bible narrative." But he argues, on the other hand, with great force, in favour of the probability that Constantine and those who acted

with him possessed sufficient information to enable them to ascertain exactly the precise localities of the crucifixion and burial of our Lord. The mistake, he thinks, was not made by Constantine and his contemporaries, but by the Christians of a later age, after the Holy Sepulchre had fallen into the hands of the Saracens. The ingenious arguments by which he undertakes to prove that the site of Constantine's Basilica is to be identified with that of the Mosque of Omar have now for a long time been before the learned world, and have not produced conviction. Most persons will agree with Dr. Stanley in considering the historical objections to this hypothesis insurmountable.

Mr. Layard, Professor Rawlinson, Professor Oppert, and Mr. R. S. Poole of the British Museum, have contributed articles which represent the amount of illustration that biblical science may derive from recent discoveries in Babylonian and Egyptian archæology. The article "Nineveh" is by Mr. Layard. To Professor Oppert we are indebted for one containing the translation of the Borsippa inscription, in which he sees an allusion to the confusion of tongues. The new witness to the biblical narrative is no other than King Nabuchodonosor. "A former king," he says, "built [the Tower of Borsippa] (they reckon forty-two ages), but he did not complete its head. *Since a remote time people had abandoned it, without order expressing their words.* Since that time the earthquake and the thunder had dispersed its sun-dried clay; the bricks of the casing had been split, and the earth of the interior had been scattered in heaps. Merodach, the great lord, excited my mind to repair this building," &c. Whatever differences may exist among scholars as to the exact interpretation of the inscriptions in cuneiform character, there can be no doubt that the department undertaken by Professor Rawlinson, who has furnished a long series of valuable articles, could not have been entrusted to better hands. We are sorry not to be able to speak quite as favourably of Mr. R. S. Poole's articles. The absurd blunders which are constantly made by biblical scholars when they appeal to Egyptian lore for illustration, and the frequency of these appeals, furnish very good reasons for entrusting an important department of the Dictionary to a competent and trustworthy scholar. But Mr. Poole, in spite of his undoubted learning, is not altogether to be depended upon. In this department there are, of course, blunders and omissions for which he is not responsible. He is not to be blamed if the derivation of Behemoth from an impossible Coptic word supposed to signify "water-ox" is repeated by Mr. Drake and Mr. Bevan; he would, no doubt, if consulted, have assured Dr. Stanley that the etymology of the name Moses, from the Coptic "*mo*—water, and *ushe*—

saved," is not to be seriously thought of; he would have been able to give curious and interesting information not found in the articles "Askalon," "Damascus," and others. The discovery made by M. Chabas that the Egyptians practised circumcision at a time which we believe to be anterior to the Exodus, and that of the etymology of No-Ammon, are too recent to have been utilised. But our quarrel with him is not for being behind the best Egyptologists of the day, or for the faults and shortcomings of his fellow-contributors, but for his own serious mistakes, and particularly for using the pages of so important a work of reference as a Bible Dictionary (and so many of them too) for the purpose of giving currency to fancies which, he should be aware, can never meet with the sanction of first-rate scholars. We are aware that he sometimes ventures to express his dissent from the authority of great scholars, but it is not by any means clear that he does so with advantage to himself or others. In the article "Magic," for instance, he conjectures an etymological relation between the Hebrew *teraphim* and an Egyptian group which beyond all question ought to be read *cheper*, but which he reads *ter*. The difficulty arising from the want in this word of the third radical of *teraphim* he acknowledges to be a serious one; but he falls back "on our present state of ignorance respecting the ancient Egyptian and the primitive language of Chaldæa in their *verbal* relations to the Semitic family."

The following note, however, strikes us with astonishment:

"Egyptologists have generally read this word TER. Mr. Birch, however, reads it CHEPER. . . . The balance is decided by the discovery of the Coptic equivalent *ἸΟΥ* 'transmutare,' in which the absence of the final R is explained by a peculiar but regular modification which the writer was the first to point out (HIEROGLYPHICS, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 8th ed. p. 421)."

Here we have, in the first place, a statement implying that a reading, *cheper*, of one of the commonest words in the Egyptian language (it signifies *be, become*) is peculiar to Mr. Birch, Egyptologists in general reading the word otherwise; whilst it is notorious, on the other hand, that ever since Mr. Birch discovered proofs of the reading *cheper*, every Egyptologist of note has accepted this reading. The evidence in its favour was irresistible. And, secondly, Mr. Poole has the appearance at least of claiming the priority of the discovery of an important philological law which is distinctly enunciated by Champollion in his *Egyptian Grammar*.

All competent judges, we are sure, will agree with us that Mr. Poole is not the safest guide in Egyptian philology, and

will be disposed to look with suspicion on his numerous contributions to Dr. Smith's Dictionary. The speculations in the articles "Naphtuhim" and "Phut" are quite unfit for such a work. And what else can be said of the following chain of reasoning from the article "Caphtor, Caphtorim"? The Philistines, it will be remembered, are said to have come from Caphtor, and are called Caphtorim.

"The writer (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, 8th ed., Egypt, p. 419) has proposed to recognise Caphtor in the ancient Egyptian name of Coptos. This name, if literally transcribed, is written in the hieroglyphics Kebtu, Keb-ta, and Keb-Her,¹⁹ probably pronounced Kubt, Kabt, and Kebt-Hor (Brugsch, *Geogr. Inschr.* Taf. xxxviii: no. 899,900), whence Coptic . . . Gr. Κόπτος, Arab . . . Kuft. The similarity of name is so great that it alone might satisfy us; but the correspondence of Αἴγυπτος, as if Αἰα γυπτος, to כְּפִתּוּס, unless כְּפִתּוּס refer to the Philistine coast, seems conclusive. We must not suppose, however, that Caphtor was Coptos: it must rather be compared to the Coptic nome, probably in primitive ages of greater extent than under the Ptolemies, for the number of nomes was in the course of time greatly extended."

The articles "Chronology," "Egypt," "The Exodus," "Pharaoh," and some others, are written for the purpose of supporting what we consider a completely false system of biblical chronology. Some, indeed, of Mr. Poole's chronological arguments we confess to be unintelligible to us. We do not understand, for instance, his favourite one, "from the celebration of great passovers." The paragraph on "sabbatical and jubilee years" finishes with the following sentence: "This result would place the Exodus in the middle of the seventeenth century B.C., a time for which we believe there is a preponderance of evidence." We find it impossible to discover the premises or train of reasoning which are supposed to lead to this result.

Other arguments of Mr. Poole for his date of the Exodus have already been noticed in this Review, and it is unnecessary to repeat the arguments by which they are met. It is, however, important to state that his solution of the difficulty about the treasure-cities Pithom and Rameses appears to us untenable. "We need only repeat," he says, "that the highest date to which Rameses I. can be reasonably assigned is consistent alone with the Rabbinical date of the Exodus, and that we find a prince of the same name two centuries earlier, and therefore at a time perhaps consistent with Ussher's date, so that the place might have taken its name either from this prince or a yet earlier king or prince Rameses." This solution of a really in-

¹⁹ Keb-Her or Keb-Hor signifies "the Coptos of the god Horus." The god's name is no part of the geographical name.

surmountable difficulty in the way of Mr. Poole's chronological hypothesis involves an important philological error. The Hebrew transcription רַעַמְסֵס leaves no doubt as to the Egyptian name for which it stands. That name is the royal one of Râ-mes-es, frequently written Râ-mes-su; and the formation of it is very remarkable. It is not made up of two elements, like Aâh-mes, Thoth-mes, Chonsu-mes, but of *three*. The second ס of the Hebrew transcription represents as distinct and essential a syllabic portion of the name as the first syllable, רַע, or the second, מַס. Whatever explanation be given of the name, it is not grammatically equivalent to Râ-mes, which is literally "Sun-born." This, and not Rameses, is the name of the prince referred to by Mr. Poole. To identify the two names is as great an error as to confound *Forest* and *Forester*.

The science of language is represented in two or three articles. That on "Shemitic Languages and Writing," by Archdeacon Ormerod, contains a good deal of interesting matter borrowed from Max Müller, Renan, Ewald, and other philologists; but the writer's own judgment is by no means to be relied upon. The following passage will, we suspect, meet but little favour among really sound philologists:

"Is it altogether a wild conjecture to assume as not impossible the formation of a sacred language among the chosen people, at so marked a period of their history as that of Moses? Every argument leads to a belief that the popular dialect of the Hebrews from a very early period was deeply tinged with Aramaic, and that it continued so. But there is surely nothing unlikely or inconsistent in the notion that he who was 'learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians' should have been taught to introduce a sacred language, akin but superior to the every-day dialect of his people,—the property of the rulers, and which subsequent writers should be guided to copy."

There remain, of course, a great many articles of which we have not spoken; but, with the exception of those belonging to the department of natural history, which cannot be too highly praised, they do not call for any special notice. Our remarks have been confined to those upon which the character of the Dictionary chiefly depends; and with reference to them, it is impossible for us to judge more favourably than we have done in the foregoing pages. They are unsatisfactory from a purely scientific point of view; and, if considered with reference to the apologetic purpose which seems to have inspired many of them, they are deplorable. During the last hundred years the external evidences of Christianity have undergone a profound modification, partly through changes of opinion as to the nature of historical evidence in general, and partly through the discussion of evidences special to Christianity. That which was for-

merly considered important evidence in political or literary history is now, in many cases, not considered as evidence at all. It cannot be expected that, if the apostolic antiquity of the gospels is called in question, its adversaries will accept as convincing what might have been a hundred years ago, but would not now be, so considered in the case of profane literature. It has been demonstrated that part of the evidence to which learned Protestants appealed in past times is in fact part of that very Catholic tradition against which the Reformers protested, and that its sole cogency as evidence is derived from the authority, rightly or wrongly, assigned to Catholic tradition as such.²⁰ It cannot be accepted without involving the additional evidence which it furnishes of the apostolic origin of the entire Catholic system, as found in the Fathers of the latter half of the second century. And this, again, involves a great deal more than is explicitly written in the works of the Fathers. Every argument which tells against tradition tells also against the evidence for the Bible; and the Bible can only recover its authority on grounds which cannot be conceded without also admitting the fundamental doctrines of Catholicism.

²⁰ "Abgesehen von dieser Halbheit verwickelte sich jedoch der Protestantismus mit seiner Verwerfung der Tradition in auffallende Inkonssequenzen. Einerseits sind die katholischen Ueberlieferungen, die er fallen liess, zum Theil um nichts schlechter geschichtlich bezeugt, als diejenigen die es in christlichem Interesse festhalten zu müssen geglaubt hat; andererseits ist es ja einzig die katholische Tradition, durch welche das N. T. selbst beglaubigt und verbürgt ist; denn dass jene Schriften, in welchen der Protestantismus seine normativen Glaubensurkunden erkennt, wirklich apostolischen Ursprungs seyen, sagt uns nur jene kirchliche Tradition, deren Gultigkeit und zulängliche Beweiskraft die Reformation eben bestreitet." Schwegler, *Nachapostolisches Zeitalter*, B. I. p. 3.

CONFLICTS WITH ROME.

AMONG the causes which have brought dishonour on the Church in recent years, none have had a more fatal operation than those conflicts with science and literature which have led men to dispute the competence, or the justice, or the wisdom, of her authorities. Rare as such conflicts have been, they have awakened a special hostility which the defenders of Catholicism have not succeeded in allaying. They have induced a suspicion that the Church, in her zeal for the prevention of error, represses that intellectual freedom which is essential to the progress of truth; that she allows an administrative interference with convictions to which she cannot attach the stigma of falsehood; and that she claims a right to restrain the growth of knowledge, to justify an acquiescence in ignorance, to promote error, and even to alter at her arbitrary will the dogmas that are proposed to faith. There are few faults or errors imputed to Catholicism, which individual Catholics have not committed or held; and the instances on which these particular accusations are founded have sometimes been supplied by the acts of authority itself. Dishonest controversy loves to confound the personal with the spiritual element in the Church—to ignore the distinction between the sinful agents and the divine institution. And this confusion makes it easy to deny, what otherwise would be too evident to question, that knowledge has a freedom in the Catholic Church which it can find in no other religion; though there, as elsewhere, freedom degenerates unless it has to struggle in its own defence.

Nothing can better illustrate this truth than the actual course of events in the cases of Lamennais and Frohschammer. They are two of the most conspicuous instances in point; and they exemplify the opposite mistakes through which a haze of obscurity has gathered over the true notions of authority and freedom in the Church. The correspondence of Lamennais and the later writings of Frohschammer furnish a revelation which ought to warn all those who, through ignorance, or timidity, or weakness of faith, are tempted to despair of the reconciliation between science and religion, and to acquiesce either in the subordination of one to the other, or in their complete separation and estrangement. Of these alternatives Lamennais chose the first, Frohschammer the second; and the exaggeration of the claims of authority by the one, and the extreme assertion of independence by the other, have led them, by contrary paths, to nearly the same end.

When Lamennais surveyed the fluctuations of science, the multitude of opinions, the confusion and conflict of theories, he was led to doubt the efficacy of all human tests of truth. Science seemed to him essentially tainted with hopeless uncertainty. In his ignorance of its methods, he fancied them incapable of attaining to any thing more than a greater or less degree of probability, and powerless to afford a strict demonstration, or to distinguish the deposit of real knowledge amidst the turbid current of opinion. He refused to admit that there is a sphere within which metaphysical philosophy speaks with absolute certainty, or that the landmarks set up by history and natural science may be such as neither authority nor prescription, neither the doctrine of the schools nor the interest of the Church, has the power to disturb or the right to evade. These sciences presented to his eyes a chaos incapable of falling into order and harmony by any internal self-development, and requiring the action of an external director to clear up its darkness and remove its uncertainty. He thought that no research, however rigorous, could make sure of any fragment of knowledge worthy the name. He admitted no certainty but that which relied on the general tradition of mankind, recorded and sanctioned by the infallible judgment of the Holy See. He would have all power committed, and every question referred, to that supreme and universal authority. By its means he would supply all the gaps in the horizon of the human intellect, settle every controversy, solve the problems of science, and regulate the policy of states.

The extreme Ultramontaniam which seeks the safeguard of faith in the absolutism of Rome he believed to be the keystone of the Catholic system. In his eyes, all who rejected it, the Jesuits among them, were Gallicans; and Gallicanism was the corruption of the Christian idea.¹ "If my principles are rejected," he wrote on the 1st of November 1820, "I see no means of defending religion effectually, no decisive answer to the objections of the unbelievers of our time. How could these principles be favourable to them? they are simply the development of the great Catholic maxim, *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*." Joubert said of him, with perfect justice, that when he destroyed all the bases of human certainty, in order to retain no foundation but authority, he destroyed authority itself. The confidence which led him to confound the human element with the divine in the Holy See was destined to be tried by the severest of all tests; and his exaggeration of the infallibility of the Pope proved fatal to his religious faith.

In 1831 the Roman Breviary was not to be bought in Paris.

¹ Lamennais, *Correspondance*. Nouvelle édition. (Paris: Didier.)

We may hence measure the amount of opposition with which Lamennais's endeavours to exalt Rome would be met by the majority of the French bishops and clergy, and by the school of St. Sulpice. For him, on the other hand, no terms were too strong to express his animosity against those who rejected his teaching and thwarted his designs. The bishops he railed at as idiotic devotees, incredibly blind, supernaturally foolish. The Jesuits, he said, were "grenadiers de la folie," and united imbecility with the vilest passions.² He fancied that in many dioceses there was a conspiracy to destroy religion, that a schism was at hand, and that the resistance of the clergy to his principles threatened to destroy Catholicism in France. Rome, he was sure, would help him in his struggle against her faithless assailants, on behalf of her authority, and in his endeavours to make the clergy refer their disputes to her, so as to receive from the Pope's mouth the infallible oracles of eternal truth.³ Whatever the Pope might decide, would, he said, be right, for the Pope alone was infallible. Bishops might be sometimes resisted, but the Pope never.⁴ It was both absurd and blasphemous even to advise him. "I have read in the *Diario di Roma*," he said, "the advice of M. de Chateaubriand to the Holy Ghost. At any rate, the Holy Ghost is fully warned; and if he makes a mistake this time, it will not be the ambassador's fault."

Three Popes passed away; and still nothing was done against the traitors he was for ever denouncing. This reserve astounded him. Was Rome herself tainted with Gallicanism, and in league with those who had conspired for her destruction? What but a schism could ensue from this inexplicable apathy? The silence was a grievous trial to his faith. "Let us shut our eyes," he said, "let us invoke the Holy Spirit, let us collect all the powers of our soul, that our faith may not be shaken."⁵ In his perplexity he began to make distinctions between the Pope and the Roman Court. The advisers of the Pope were traitors, dwellers in the outer darkness, blind and deaf; the Pope himself and he alone was infallible, and would never act so as to injure the faith, though meanwhile he was not aware of the real state of things, and was evidently deceived by false reports.⁶ A few months later came the necessity for a further distinction between the Pontiff and the Sovereign. If the doctrines of the *Avenir* had caused displeasure at Rome, it was only on political grounds. If the Pope was offended, he was offended not as Vicar of Christ, but as a temporal monarch implicated in the political system of Europe. In his capacity of spiritual head of

² April 12 and June 25, 1830.

⁴ March 30, 1831.

⁵ May 8 and June 15, 1829.

³ Feb. 27, 1831.

⁶ Feb. 8, 1830.

the Church, he could not condemn writers for sacrificing all human and political considerations to the supreme interests of the Church, but must in reality agree with them.⁷ As the Polish Revolution brought the political questions into greater prominence, Lamennais became more and more convinced of the wickedness of those who surrounded Gregory XVI., and of the political incompetence of the Pope himself. He described him as weeping and praying, motionless amidst the darkness which the ambitious, corrupt, and frantic idiots around him were ever striving to thicken.⁸ Still he felt secure. When the foundations of the Church were threatened, when an essential doctrine was at stake, though, for the first time in eighteen centuries, the supreme authority might refuse to speak,⁹ at least it could not speak out against the truth. In this belief he made his last journey to Rome. Then came his condemnation. The staff on which he leaned with all his weight broke in his hands; the authority he had so grossly exaggerated turned against him; and his faith was left without support. His system supplied no resource for such an emergency. He submitted, not because he was in error, but because Catholics had no right to defend the Church against the supreme will even of an erring Pontiff.¹⁰ He was persuaded that his silence would injure religion, yet he deemed it his duty to be silent and to abandon theology. He had ceased to believe that the Pope could not err; but he still believed that he could not lawfully be disobeyed. In the two years during which he still remained in the Church his faith in her system fell rapidly to pieces. Within two months after the publication of the Encyclica he wrote that the Pope, like the other princes, seemed careful not to omit any blunder that could secure his annihilation.¹¹ Three weeks afterwards he denounced, in the fiercest terms, the corruption of Rome. He predicted that the ecclesiastical hierarchy was about to depart with the old monarchies; and, though the Church could not die, he would not undertake to say that she would revive in her old forms.¹² The Pope, he said, had so zealously embraced the cause of antichristian despotism as to sacrifice to it the religion of which he was the chief. He no longer felt it possible to distinguish what was immutable in the external organisation of the Church. He admitted the personal fallibility of the Pope, and declared that, though it was impossible, without Rome, to defend Catholicism successfully, yet nothing could be hoped for from her, and that she seemed to have condemned Catholicism to die.¹³ The Pope, he soon afterwards said, was in league with the kings in opposition to the eternal truths of religion,

⁷ Aug. 15, 1831.⁸ Feb. 10, 1832.⁹ July 6, 1829.¹⁰ Sept. 15, 1832.¹¹ Oct. 9, 1832.¹² Jan. 25, 1833.¹³ Feb. 5, 1833.

the hierarchy was out of court, and a transformation like that from which the Church and Papacy had sprung was about to bring them both to an end, after eighteen centuries, in Gregory XVI.¹⁴ Before the following year was over he had ceased to be in communion with the Catholic Church.

The fall of Lamennais, however impressive as a warning, is of no great historical importance; for he carried no one with him, and his favourite disciples became the ablest defenders of Catholicism in France. But it exemplifies one of the natural consequences of dissociating secular from religious truth, and denying that they hold in solution all the elements necessary for their reconciliation and union. In more recent times, the same error has led, by a contrary path, to still more lamentable results, and scepticism on the possibility of harmonising reason and faith has once more driven a philosopher into heresy. Between the fall of Lamennais and the conflict with Frohschammer many metaphysical writers among the Catholic clergy had incurred the censures of Rome. It is enough to cite Bautain in France, Rosmini in Italy, and Günther in Austria. But in these cases no scandal ensued, and the decrees were received with prompt and hearty submission. In the cases of Lamennais and Frohschammer no speculative question was originally at issue, but only the question of authority. A comparison between their theories will explain the similarity in the courses of the two men, and at the same time will account for the contrast between the isolation of Lamennais and the influence of Frohschammer, though the one was the most eloquent writer in France, and the head of a great school, and the other, before the late controversy, was not a writer of much name. This contrast is the more remarkable since religion had not revived in France when the French philosopher wrote, while for the last quarter of a century Bavaria has been distinguished among Catholic nations for the faith of her people. Yet Lamennais was powerless to injure a generation of comparatively ill-instructed Catholics, while Frohschammer, with inferior gifts of persuasion, has won educated followers even in the home of Ultramontaniam.

The first obvious explanation of this difficulty is the narrowness of Lamennais's philosophy. At the time of his dispute with the Holy See he had somewhat lost sight of his traditionalist theory; and his attention, concentrated upon politics, was directed to the problem of reconciling religion with liberty,—a question with which the best minds in France are still occupied. But how can a view of policy constitute a philosophy? He began by thinking that it was expedient for the Church to ob-

¹⁴ March 25, 1833.

tain the safeguards of freedom, and that she should renounce the losing cause of the old *régime*. But this was no more philosophy than the similar argument which had previously won her to the side of despotism when it was the stronger cause. As Bonald, however, had erected absolute monarchy into a dogma, so Lamennais proceeded to do with freedom. The Church, he said, was on the side of freedom, because it was the just side, not because it was the stronger. As De Maistre had seen the victory of Catholic principles in the Restoration, so Lamennais saw it in the revolution of 1830.

This was obviously too narrow and temporary a basis for a philosophy. The Church is interested, not in the triumph of a principle or a cause which may be dated as that of 1789, or of 1815, or of 1830, but in the triumph of justice and the just cause, whether it be that of the people or of the crown, of a Catholic party or of its opponents. She admits the tests of public law and political science. When these proclaim the existence of the conditions which justify an insurrection or a war, she cannot condemn that insurrection or that war. She is guided in her judgment on these causes by criteria which are not her own, but are borrowed from departments over which she has no supreme control. This is as true of science as it is of law and politics. Other truths are as certain as those which natural or positive law embraces, and other obligations as imperative as those which regulate the relations of subjects and authorities. The principle which places right above expedience in the political action of the Church has an equal application in history or in astronomy. The Church can no more identify her cause with scientific error than with political wrong. Her interests may be impaired by some measure of political justice, or by the admission of some fact or document. But in neither case can she guard her interests at the cost of denying the truth.

This is the principle which has so much difficulty in obtaining recognition in an age when science is more or less irreligious, and when Catholics more or less neglect its study. Political and intellectual liberty have the same claims and the same conditions in the eyes of the Church. The Catholic judges the measures of governments and the discoveries of science in exactly the same manner. Public law may make it imperative to overthrow a Catholic monarch, like James II., or to uphold a Protestant monarch, like the King of Prussia. The demonstrations of science may oblige us to believe that the earth revolves round the sun, or that the donation of Constantine is spurious. The apparent interests of religion have much to say against all this; but religion itself prevents those

considerations from prevailing. This has not been seen by those writers who have done most in defence of the principle. They have usually considered it from the standing ground of their own practical aims, and have therefore failed to attain that general view which might have been suggested to them by the pursuit of truth as a whole. French writers have done much for political liberty, and Germans for intellectual liberty; but the defenders of the one cause have generally had so little sympathy with the other, that they have neglected to defend their own on the grounds common to both. There is hardly a Catholic writer who has penetrated to the common source from which they spring. And this is the greatest defect in Catholic literature, even to the present day.

In the majority of those who have afforded the chief examples of this error, and particularly in Lamennais, the weakness of faith which it implies has been united with that looseness of thought which resolves all knowledge into opinion, and fails to appreciate methodical investigation or scientific evidence. But it is less easy to explain how a priest, fortified with the armour of German science, should have failed as completely in the same enquiry. In order to solve the difficulty, we must go back to the time when the theory of Frohschammer arose, and review some of the circumstances out of which it sprang.

For adjusting the relations between science and authority, the method of Rome had long been that of economy and accommodation. In dealing with literature, her paramount consideration was the fear of scandal. Books were forbidden, not merely because their statements were denied, but because they seemed injurious to morals, derogatory to authority, or dangerous to faith. To be so, it was not necessary that they should be untrue. For isolated truths separated from other known truths by an interval of conjecture, in which error might find room to construct its works, may offer perilous occasions to unprepared and unstable minds. The policy was therefore to allow such truths to be put forward only hypothetically, or altogether to suppress them. The latter alternative was especially appropriated to historical investigations, because they contained most elements of danger. In them the progress of knowledge has been for centuries constant, rapid, and sure; every generation has brought to light masses of information previously unknown, the successive publication of which furnished ever new incentives and more and more ample means of enquiry into ecclesiastical history. This enquiry has gradually laid bare the whole policy and process of ecclesiastical authority, and has removed from the past that veil of mystery wherewith, like all other authorities, it tries to surround the present. The human element

in ecclesiastical administration endeavours to keep itself out of sight, and to deny its own existence, in order that it may secure the unquestioning submission which authority naturally desires, and may preserve that halo of infallibility which the twilight of opinion enables it to assume. Now the most severe exposure of the part played by this human element is found in histories which show the undeniable existence of sin, error, or fraud, in the high-places of the Church. Not, indeed, that any history furnishes, or can furnish, materials for undermining the authority which the dogmas of the Church proclaim to be necessary for her existence. But the true limits of legitimate authority are one thing, and the area which authority may find it expedient to attempt to occupy is another. The interests of the Church are not necessarily identical with those of the ecclesiastical government. A government does not desire its powers to be strictly defined; but the subjects require the line to be drawn with increasing precision. Authority may be protected by its subjects being kept in ignorance of its faults, and by their holding it in superstitious admiration. But religion has no communion with any manner of error; and the conscience can only be injured by such arts, which, in reality, give a far more formidable measure of the influence of the human element in ecclesiastical government than any collection of detached cases of scandal can do. For these arts are simply those of all human governments which possess legislative power, fear attack, deny responsibility, and therefore shrink from scrutiny.

One of the great instruments for preventing historical scrutiny had long been the Index of prohibited books, which was accordingly directed, not against falsehood only, but particularly against certain departments of truth. Through it an effort had been made to keep the knowledge of ecclesiastical history from the faithful, and to give currency to a fabulous and fictitious picture of the progress and action of the Church. The means would have been found quite inadequate to the end, if it had not been for the fact that while society was absorbed by controversy knowledge was only valued so far as it served a controversial purpose. Every party in those days virtually had its own prohibitive Index, to brand all inconvenient truths with the note of falsehood. No party cared for knowledge that could not be made available for argument. Neutral and ambiguous science had no attractions for men engaged in perpetual combat. Its spirit first won the naturalists, the mathematicians, and the philologists; then it vivified the otherwise aimless erudition of the Benedictines; and at last it was carried into history, to give new life to those sciences which deal with the tradition, the law, and the action of the Church.

The home of this transformation was in the universities of Germany; for there the Catholic teacher was placed in circumstances altogether novel. He had to address men who had every opportunity of becoming familiar with the arguments of the enemies of the Church, and with the discoveries and conclusions of those whose studies were without the bias of any religious object. Whilst he lectured in one room, the next might be occupied by a pantheist, a rationalist, or a Lutheran, descanting on the same topics. When he left the desk, his place might be taken by some great original thinker or scholar, who would display all the results of his meditations without regard for their tendency, and without considering what effects they might have on the weak. He was obliged often to draw attention to books lacking the Catholic spirit, but indispensable to the deeper student. Here, therefore, the system of secrecy, economy, and accommodation was rendered impossible by the competition of knowledge, in which the most thorough exposition of the truth was sure of the victory; and the system itself became inapplicable as the scientific spirit penetrated ecclesiastical literature in Germany.

In Rome, however, where the influences of competition were not felt, the reasons of the change could not be understood, nor its benefits experienced; and it was thought absurd that the Germans of the nineteenth century should discard weapons which had been found efficacious with the Germans of the sixteenth. While in Rome it was still held that the truths of science need not be told, and ought not to be told, if, in the judgment of Roman theologians, they were of a nature to offend faith, in Germany Catholics vied with Protestants in publishing matter without being diverted by the consideration whether it might serve or injure their cause in controversy, or whether it was adverse or favourable to the views which it was the object of the Index to protect. But though this great antagonism existed, there was no collision. A moderation was exhibited which contrasted remarkably with the aggressive spirit prevailing in France and Italy. Publications were suffered to pass unnoted in Germany which would have been immediately censured if they had come forth beyond the Alps or the Rhine. In this way a certain laxity grew up side by side with an unmeasured distrust, and German theologians and historians escaped censure.

This toleration gains significance from its contrast to the severity with which Rome smote the German philosophers like Hermes and Günther when they erred. Here, indeed, the case was very different. If Rome had insisted upon suppressing documents, perverting facts, and resisting criticism, she would have

been only opposing truth, and opposing it consciously, for fear of its inconveniences. But if she had refrained from denouncing a philosophy which denied creation or the personality of God, she would have failed to assert her own doctrines against her own children who contradicted them. The philosopher cannot claim the same exemption as the historian. God's handwriting exists in history independently of the Church, and no ecclesiastical exigence can alter a fact. The divine lesson has been read; and it is the historian's duty to copy it faithfully without bias and without ulterior views. The Catholic may be sure that as the Church has lived in spite of the fact, she will also survive its publication. But philosophy has to deal with some facts which, although as absolute and objective in themselves, are not and cannot be known to us except through revelation, of which the Church is the organ. A philosophy which requires the alteration of these facts is in patent contradiction against the Church. Both cannot coexist. One must destroy the other.

Two circumstances very naturally arose to disturb this equilibrium. There were divines who wished to extend to Germany the old authority of the Index, and to censure or prohibit books which, though not heretical, contained matter injurious to the reputation of ecclesiastical authority, or contrary to the common opinions of Catholic theologians. On the other hand, there were philosophers, of the schools of Hermes and Günther, who would not retract the doctrines which the Church condemned. One movement tended to repress even the knowledge of demonstrable truth; and the other aimed at destroying the dogmatic authority of the Holy See. In this way a collision was prepared, which was eventually brought about by the writings of Dr. Frohschammer.

Ten years ago, when he was a very young lecturer on philosophy in the university of Munich, he published a work on the origin of the soul, in which he argued against the theory of preëxistence, and against the common opinion that each soul is created directly by Almighty God, defending the theory of Generatianism by the authority of several Fathers, and quoting, among other modern divines, Klee, the author of the most esteemed treatise of dogmatic theology in the German language. It was decided at Rome that his book should be condemned; and he was informed of the intention, in order that he might announce his submission before the publication of the decree.

His position was a difficult one; and it appears to be admitted that his conduct at this stage was not prompted by those opinions on the authority of the Church, in which he afterwards took refuge, but must be explained by the known facts of the case. His doctrine had been lately taught in a book generally

read and approved. He was convinced that he had at least refuted the opposite theories; and yet it was apparently in behalf of one of these that he was condemned. Whatever errors his book contained, he might fear that an act of submission would seem to imply his acceptance of an opinion he heartily believed to be wrong, and would therefore be an act of treason to truth. The decree conveyed no conviction to his mind. It is only the utterances of an infallible authority that men can believe without argument and explanation; and here was an authority not infallible, giving no reasons, and yet claiming a submission of the reason. Dr. Frohschammer found himself in a dilemma. To submit absolutely would either be a virtual acknowledgment of the infallibility of the authority, or a confession that an ecclesiastical decision necessarily bound the mind irrespectively of its truth or justice. In either case, he would have contradicted the law of religion and of the Church. To submit, while retaining his own opinion, to a disciplinary decree, in order to preserve peace and avoid scandal, and to make a general acknowledgment that his work contained various ill-considered and equivocal statements which might bear a bad construction,—such a conditional submission either would not have been that which the Roman Court desired and intended, or, if made without explicit statement of its meaning, would have been in some measure deceitful and hypocritical. In the first case it would not have been received; in the second case it could not have been made without loss of self-respect. Moreover, as the writer was a public professor, bound to instruct his hearers according to his best knowledge, he could not change his teaching while his opinion remained unchanged. These considerations, and not any desire to defy authority, or introduce new opinions by a process more or less revolutionary, appear to have guided his conduct. At this period it might have been possible to arrive at an understanding, or to obtain satisfactory explanations, if the Roman Court would have told him what points were at issue, what passages in his book were impugned, and what were the grounds for suspecting them. If there was on both sides a peaceful and conciliatory spirit, and a desire to settle the problem, there was certainly a chance of effecting it by a candid interchange of explanations. It was a course which had proved efficacious on other occasions; and in the then recent discussion of Günther's system it had been pursued with great patience, and decided success.

Before giving a definite reply, therefore, Dr. Frohschammer asked for information about the incriminated articles. This would have given him an opportunity of seeing his error, and making a submission *in foro interno*. But the request was re-

fused. It was a favour, he was told, sometimes extended to men whose great services to the Church deserved such consideration, but not to one who was hardly known except by the very book which had incurred the censure. This answer instantly aroused a suspicion that the Roman Court was more anxious to assert its authority than to correct an alleged error, or to prevent a scandal. It was well known that the mistrust of German philosophy was very deep at Rome; and it seemed far from impossible that an intention existed to put it under all possible restraint.

This mistrust on the part of the Roman divines was fully equalled, and so far justified, by a corresponding literary contempt on the part of many German Catholic scholars. It is easy to understand the grounds of this feeling. The German writers were engaged in an arduous struggle in which their antagonists were sustained by intellectual power, solid learning, and deep thought, such as the defenders of the Church in Catholic countries have never had to encounter. In this conflict the Italian divines could render no assistance. They had shown themselves altogether incompetent to cope with modern science. The Germans, therefore, unable to recognise them as auxiliaries, soon ceased to regard them as equals, or as scientific divines at all. Without impeaching their orthodoxy, they learned to look on them as men incapable of understanding and mastering the ideas of a literature so very remote from their own, and to attach no more value to the unreasoned decrees of their organ than to the undefended *ipse dixit* of a theologian of secondary rank. This opinion sprang, not from national prejudice or from the self-appreciation of individuals comparing their own works with those of the Roman divines, but from a general view of the relation of those divines, among whom there are several distinguished Germans, to the literature of Germany. It was thus a corporate feeling, which might be shared even by one who was conscious of his own inferiority, or who had written nothing at all. Such a man, weighing the opinion of the theologians of the Gesù and the Minerva, not in the scale of his own performances, but in that of the great achievements of his age, might well be reluctant to accept their verdict upon them without some aid of argument and explanation.

On the other hand, it appeared that a blow which struck the Catholic scholars of Germany would assure to the victorious congregation of Roman divines an easy supremacy over the writers of all other countries. The case of Dr. Frohschammer might be made to test what degree of control it would be possible to exercise over his countrymen, the only body of writers at whom alarm was felt, and who insisted, more than others, on

their freedom. But the suspicion of such a possibility was likely only to confirm him in the idea that he was chosen to be the experimental body on which an important principle was to be decided, and that it was his duty, till his dogmatic error was proved, to resist a questionable encroachment of authority upon the rights of freedom. He therefore refused to make the preliminary submission which was required of him, and allowed the decree to go forth against him in the usual way. Hereupon it was intimated to him—though not by Rome—that he had incurred excommunication. This was the measure which raised the momentous question of the liberties of Catholic science, and gave the impulse to that new theory on the limits of authority with which his name has become associated.

In the civil affairs of mankind, it is necessary to assume that the knowledge of the moral code and the traditions of law cannot perish in a Christian nation. Particular authorities may fall into error; decisions may be appealed against; laws may be repealed. But the political conscience of the whole people cannot be irrecoverably lost. The Church possesses the same privilege, but in a much higher degree; for she exists expressly for the purpose of preserving a definite body of truths, the knowledge of which she can never lose. Whatever authority therefore expresses that knowledge of which she is the keeper must be obeyed. But there is no institution from which this knowledge can be obtained with immediate certainty. A council is not *a priori* œcumenical; the Holy See is not separately infallible. The one has to await a sanction; the other has repeatedly erred. Every decree, therefore, requires a preliminary examination.

A writer who is censured may in the first place yield an external submission, either for the sake of discipline, or because his conviction is too weak to support him against the weight of authority. But if the question at issue is more important than the preservation of peace, and if his conviction is strong, he enquires whether the authority which condemns him utters the voice of the Church. If he finds that it does, he yields to it, or ceases to profess the faith of Catholics. If he finds that it does not, but is only the voice of authority, he owes it to his conscience, and to the supreme claims of truth, to remain constant to that which he believes, in spite of opposition. No authority has power to impose error; and, if it resists the truth, the truth must be upheld until it is admitted. Now the adversaries of Dr. Frohschammer had fallen into the monstrous error of attributing to the Congregation of the Index a share in the infallibility of the Church. He was placed in the position of a persecuted man; and the general sympathy was with him. In his defence he

proceeded to state his theory of the rights of science, in order to vindicate the Church from the imputation of restricting its freedom. Hitherto his works had been written in defence of a Christian philosophy against materialism and infidelity. Their object had been thoroughly religious; and although he was not deeply read in ecclesiastical literature, and was often loose and incautious in the use of theological terms, his writings had not been wanting in catholicity of spirit. But after his condemnation by Rome he undertook to pull down the power which had dealt the blow, and to make himself safe for the future. In this spirit of personal antagonism he commenced a long series of writings in defence of freedom and in defiance of authority.

The following abstract marks, not so much the outline of his system, as the logical steps which carried him to the point where he passed beyond the limits of Catholicism. Religion, he taught, supplies materials but no criterion for philosophy; philosophy has nothing to rely on, in the last resort, but the unfailing veracity of our nature, which is not corrupt or weak, but normally healthy, and unable to deceive us.¹⁵ There is not greater division or uncertainty in matters of speculation than on questions of faith.¹⁶ If at any time error or doubt should arise, the science possesses in itself the means of correcting or removing it, and no other remedy is efficacious but that which it applies to itself.¹⁷ There can be no free philosophy if we must always remember dogma.¹⁸ Philosophy includes in its sphere all the dogmas of revelation, as well as those of natural religion. It examines by its own independent light the substance of every Christian doctrine, and determines in each case whether it be divine truth.¹⁹ The conclusions and judgments at which it thus arrives must be maintained even when they contradict articles of faith.²⁰ As we accept the evidence of astronomy in opposition to the once settled opinion of divines, so we should not shrink from the evidence of chemistry if it should be adverse to transubstantiation.²¹ The Church, on the other hand, examines these conclusions by her standard of faith, and decides whether they can be taught in theology.²² But she has no means of ascertaining the philosophical truth of an opinion, and cannot convict the philosopher of error. The two domains are as distinct as reason and faith; and we must not identify what we know with what we believe, but must separate the philosopher from his philosophy. The system may be utterly at variance with the whole teaching of Christianity, and yet the philosopher,

¹⁵ *Naturphilosophie*, p. 115; *Einleitung in die Philosophie*, pp. 40, 54; *Freiheit der Wissenschaft*, pp. 4, 89; *Athenäum*, i. 17.

¹⁶ *Athenäum*, i. 92.

¹⁷ *Athenäum*, i. 167.

¹⁸ *Athenäum*, i. 208.

¹⁹ *Freiheit der Wissenschaft*, p. 32.

²⁰ *Einleitung*, pp. 305, 317, 397.

²¹ *Ibid.* ii. 655.

²² *Ibid.* ii. 676.

while he holds it to be philosophically true and certain, may continue to believe all Catholic doctrine, and to perform all the spiritual duties of a layman or a priest. For discord cannot exist between the certain results of scientific investigation and the real doctrines of the Church. Both are true, and there is no conflict of truths. But while the teaching of science is distinct and definite, that of the Church is subject to alteration. Theology is at no time absolutely complete, but always liable to be modified, and cannot therefore be made a fixed test of truth.²³ Consequently there is no reason against the union of the Churches. For the liberty of private judgment, which is the formal principle of Protestantism, belongs to Catholics; and there is no actual Catholic dogma which may not lose all that is objectionable to Protestants by the transforming process of development.²⁴

The errors of Dr. Frohschammer in these passages are not exclusively his own. He has only drawn certain conclusions from premisses which are very commonly received. Nothing is more usual than to confound religious truth with the voice of ecclesiastical authority. Dr. Frohschammer, having fallen into this vulgar mistake, argues that because the authority is fallible the truth must be uncertain. Many Catholics attribute to theological opinions which have prevailed for centuries without reproach a sacredness nearly approaching that which belongs to articles of faith: Dr. Frohschammer extends to defined dogmas the liability to change which belongs to opinions that yet await a final and conclusive investigation. Thousands of zealous men are persuaded that a conflict may arise between defined doctrines of the Church and conclusions which are certain according to all the tests of science: Dr. Frohschammer adopts this view, and argues that none of the decisions of the Church are final, and that consequently in such a case they must give way. Lastly, uninstructed men commonly impute to historical and natural science the uncertainty which is inseparable from pure speculation: Dr. Frohschammer accepts the equality, but claims for metaphysics the same certainty and independence which those sciences possess.

Having begun his course in company with many who have exactly opposite ends in view, Dr. Frohschammer, in a recent tract on the union of the Churches, entirely separates himself from the Catholic Church in his theory of development. He had received the impulse to his new system from the opposition of those whom he considered the advocates of an excessive uniformity, and the enemies of progress; and their contradiction

²³ *Athenäum*, ii. 661.

²⁴ *Wiedervereinigung der Katholiken und Protestanten*, pp. 26, 36.

has driven him to a point where he entirely sacrifices unity to change. He now affirms that our Lord desired no unity or perfect conformity among His followers, except in morals and charity;²⁵ that He gave no definite system of doctrine; and that the form which Christian faith may have assumed in a particular age has no validity for all future time, but is subject to continual modification.²⁶ The definitions, he says, which the Church has made from time to time are not to be obstinately adhered to; and the advancement of religious knowledge is obtained by genius, not by learning, and is not regulated by traditions and fixed rules.²⁷ He maintains that not only the form but the substance varies; that the belief of one age may be not only extended but abandoned in another; and that it is impossible to draw the line which separates immutable dogma from undecided opinions.²⁸

The causes which drove Dr. Frohschammer into heresy would scarcely have deserved great attention from the mere merit of the man; for he cannot be acquitted of having, in the first instance, exhibited very superficial notions of theology. Their instructiveness consists in the conspicuous example they afford of the effect of certain errors which at the present day are commonly held and rarely contradicted. When he found himself censured unjustly, as he thought, by the Holy See, it should have been enough for him to believe in his conscience that he was in agreement with the true faith of the Church. He would not then have proceeded to consider the whole Church infected with the liability to err from which her rulers are not exempt, or to degrade the fundamental truths of Christianity to the level of mere school opinions. Authority appeared in his eyes to stand for the whole Church; and therefore, in endeavouring to shield himself from its influence, he abandoned the first principles of the ecclesiastical system. Far from having aided the cause of freedom, his errors have provoked a reaction against it, which must be looked upon with deep anxiety, and of which the first significant symptom remains to be described.

On the 21st of December 1863 the Pope addressed a Brief to the Archbishop of Munich, which was published on the 5th of March. This document²⁹ explains that the Holy Father had originally been led to suspect the recent congress at Munich of a tendency similar to that of Frohschammer, and had consequently viewed it with great distrust; but that these feelings were removed by the address which was adopted at the meeting, and by the report of the Archbishop. And he expresses the

²⁵ *Wiedervereinigung*, pp. 8, 10.

²⁶ p. 15.

²⁷ p. 21.

²⁸ pp. 25, 26.

²⁹ The document is printed in full at the end of this article.

consolation he has derived from the principles which prevailed in the assembly, and applauds the design of those by whom it was convened. He asks for the opinion of the German prelates, in order to be able to determine whether, in the present circumstances of their Church, it is right that the congress should be renewed.

Besides the censure of the doctrines of Frohschammer, and the approbation given to the acts of the Munich congress, the Brief contains passages of deeper and more general import, not directly touching the action of the German divines, but having an important bearing on the position of this Review. The substance of these passages is as follows:—In the present condition of society the supreme authority in the Church is more than ever necessary, and must not surrender in the smallest degree the exclusive direction of ecclesiastical knowledge. An entire obedience to the decrees of the Holy See and the Roman congregations cannot be inconsistent with the freedom and progress of science. The disposition to find fault with the scholastic theology, and to dispute the conclusions and the method of its teachers, threatens the authority of the Church, because the Church has not only allowed theology to remain for centuries faithful to their system, but has urgently recommended it as the safest bulwark of the faith, and an efficient weapon against her enemies. Catholic writers are not bound only by those decisions of the infallible Church which regard articles of faith. They must also submit to the theological decisions of the Roman Congregations, and to the opinions which are commonly received in the schools. And it is wrong, though not heretical, to reject those decisions or opinions.

In a word, therefore, the Brief affirms that the common opinions and explanations of Catholic divines ought not to yield to the progress of secular science, and that the course of theological knowledge ought to be controlled by the decrees of the Index.

There is no doubt that the letter of this document might be interpreted in a sense consistent with the habitual language of *The Home and Foreign Review*. On the one hand, the censure is evidently aimed at that exaggerated claim of independence which would deny to the Pope and the Episcopate any right of interfering in literature, and would transfer the whole weight heretofore belonging to the traditions of the schools of theology to the incomplete, and therefore uncertain, conclusions of modern science. On the other hand, the Review has always maintained, in common with all Catholics, that if the one Church has an organ it is through that organ that she must speak; that her authority is not limited to the precise sphere of her infallibility;

and that opinions which she has long tolerated or approved, and has for centuries found compatible with the secular as well as religious knowledge of the age, cannot be lightly supplanted by new hypotheses of scientific men, which have not yet had time to prove their consistency with dogmatic truth. But such a plausible accommodation, even if it were honest or dignified, would only disguise and obscure those ideas which it has been the chief object of the Review to proclaim. It is therefore not only more respectful to the Holy See, but more serviceable to the principles of the Review itself, and more in accordance with the spirit in which it has been conducted, to interpret the words of the Pope as they were really meant, than to elude their consequences by subtle distinctions, and to profess a formal adoption of maxims which no man who holds the principles of the Review can accept in their intended signification.

One of these maxims is that theological and other opinions long held and allowed in the Church gather truth from time, and an authority in some sort binding from the implied sanction of the Holy See, so that they cannot be rejected without rashness; and that the decrees of the Congregation of the Index possess an authority quite independent of the acquirements of the men composing it. This is no new opinion; it is only expressed on the present occasion with unusual solemnity and distinctness. But one of the essential principles of this Review consists in a clear recognition, first, of the infinite gulf which in theology separates what is of faith from what is not of faith,—revealed dogmas from opinions unconnected with them by logical necessity, and therefore incapable of any thing higher than a natural certainty,—and next, of the practical difference which exists in ecclesiastical discipline between the acts of infallible authority and those which possess no higher sanction than that of canonical legality. That which is not decided with dogmatic infallibility is for the time susceptible only of a scientific determination, which advances with the progress of science, and becomes absolute only where science has attained its final results. On the one hand, this scientific progress is beneficial, and even necessary, to the Church; on the other, it must inevitably be opposed by the guardians of traditional opinion, to whom, as such, no share in it belongs, and who by their own acts and those of their predecessors are committed to views which it menaces or destroys. The same principle which, in certain conjunctures, imposes the duty of surrendering received opinions imposes in equal extent, and under like conditions, the duty of disregarding the fallible authorities that uphold them.

It is the design of the Holy See not, of course, to deny

the distinction between dogma and opinion, upon which this duty is founded, but to reduce the practical recognition of it among Catholics to the smallest possible limits. A grave question therefore arises as to the position of a Review founded in great part for the purpose of exemplifying this distinction.³⁰ In considering the solution of this question two circumstances must be borne in mind: first, that the antagonism now so forcibly expressed has always been known and acknowledged; and secondly, that no part of the Brief applies directly to the Review. The Review was as distinctly opposed to the Roman sentiment before the Brief as since; and it is still as free from censure as before. It was at no time in virtual sympathy with authority on the points in question; and it is not now in formal conflict with authority.

But the definiteness with which the Holy See has pronounced its will, and the fact that it has taken the initiative, seem positively to invite adhesion, and to convey a special warning to all who have expressed opinions contrary to the maxims of the Brief. A periodical which not only has done so, but exists in a measure for the purpose of doing so, cannot with propriety refuse to survey the new position in which it is placed by this important act. For the conduct of a Review involves more delicate relations with the government of the Church than the authorship of an isolated book. When opinions which an author defends are rejected at Rome, he either makes his submission, or, if his mind remains unaltered, silently leaves his book to take its chance, and to influence men according to its merits. But such passivity, however right and seemly in the author of a book, is inapplicable to the case of a Review. The periodical iteration of rejected propositions would amount to insult and defiance, and would probably provoke more definite measures; and thus the result would be to commit authority yet more irrevocably to an opinion which otherwise might take no deep root, and might yield ultimately to the influence of time. For it is hard to surrender a cause on behalf of which a struggle has been sustained, and spiritual evils have been inflicted. In an isolated book, the author need discuss no more topics than he likes, and any want of agreement with ecclesiastical authority may receive so little prominence as to excite

³⁰ The prospectus of the Review contained these words: "It will abstain from direct theological discussion, as far as external circumstances will allow: and in dealing with those mixed questions into which theology indirectly enters, its aim will be to combine devotion to the Church with discrimination and candour in the treatment of her opponents; to reconcile freedom of enquiry with implicit faith; and to discountenance what is untenable and unreal, without forgetting the tenderness due to the weak, or the reverence rightly claimed for what is sacred. Submitting without reserve to infallible authority, it will encourage a habit of manly investigation on subjects of scientific interest."

no attention. But a continuous Review which adopted this kind of reserve would give a negative prominence to the topics it persistently avoided, and by thus keeping before the world the position it occupied would hold out a perpetual invitation to its readers to judge between the Church and itself. Whatever it gained of approbation and assent would be so much lost to the authority and dignity of the Holy See. It could only hope to succeed by trading on the scandal it caused.

But in reality its success could no longer advance the cause of truth. For what is the Holy See in its relation to the masses of Catholics, and where does its strength lie? It is the organ, the mouth, the head, of the Church. Its strength consists in its agreement with the general conviction of the faithful. When it expresses the common knowledge and sense of the age, or of a large majority of Catholics, its position is impregnable. The force it derives from this general support makes direct opposition hopeless, and therefore disedifying, tending only to division, and promoting reaction rather than reform. The influence by which it is to be moved must be directed first on that which gives it strength, and must pervade the members in order that it may reach the head. While the general sentiment of Catholics is unaltered, the course of the Holy See remains unaltered too. As soon as that sentiment is modified, Rome sympathises with the change. The ecclesiastical government, based upon the public opinion of the Church, and acting through it, cannot separate itself from the mass of the faithful, and keep pace with the progress of the instructed minority. It follows slowly and warily, and sometimes begins by resisting and denouncing what in the end it thoroughly adopts. Hence a direct controversy with Rome holds out the prospect of great evils, and at best a barren and unprofitable victory. The victory that is fruitful springs from that gradual change in the knowledge, the ideas, and the convictions, of the Catholic body, which, in due time, overcomes the natural reluctance to forsake a beaten path, and by insensible degrees constrains the mouth-piece of tradition to conform itself to the new atmosphere with which it is surrounded. The slow, silent, indirect action of public opinion bears the Holy See along, without any demoralising conflict or dishonourable capitulation. This action it belongs essentially to the graver scientific literature to direct; and the enquiry what form that literature should assume at any given moment involves no question which affects its substance, though it may often involve questions of moral fitness sufficiently decisive for a particular occasion.

It was never pretended that *The Home and Foreign Review* represented the opinions of the majority of Catholics. The

Holy See has had their support in maintaining a view of the obligations of Catholic literature very different from the one which has been upheld in these pages; nor could it explicitly abandon that view without taking up a new position in the Church. All that could be hoped for on the other side was silence and forbearance; and for a time they have been conceded. But this is the case no longer. The toleration has now been pointedly withdrawn; and the adversaries of the Roman theory have been challenged with the summons to submit.

If the opinions for which submission is claimed were new, or if the opposition now signalised were one of which there had hitherto been any doubt, a question might have arisen as to the limits of the authority of the Holy See over the conscience, and the necessity or possibility of accepting the view which it propounds. But no problem of this kind has in fact presented itself for consideration. The differences which are now proclaimed have all along been acknowledged to exist; and the Conductors of this Review are unable to yield their assent to the opinions put forward in the Brief.

In these circumstances, there are two courses which it is impossible to take. It would be wrong to abandon principles which have been well considered and are sincerely held, and it would also be wrong to assail the authority which contradicts them. The principles have not ceased to be true, nor the authority to be legitimate, because the two are in contradiction. To submit the intellect and conscience without examining the reasonableness and justice of this decree, or to reject the authority on the ground of its having been abused, would equally be a sin, on one side against morals, on the other against faith. The conscience cannot be relieved by casting on the administrators of ecclesiastical discipline the whole responsibility of preserving religious truth; nor can it be emancipated by a virtual apostasy. For the Church is neither a despotism in which the convictions of the faithful possess no power of expressing themselves and no means of exercising a legitimate control, nor is it an organised anarchy where the judicial and administrative powers are destitute of that authority which is conceded to them in civil society—the authority which commands submission even where it cannot impose a conviction of the righteousness of its acts.

No Catholic can contemplate without alarm the evil that would be caused by a Catholic journal persistently labouring to thwart the published will of the Holy See, and continuously defying its authority. The Conductors of this Review refuse to take upon themselves the responsibility of such a position. And if it were accepted, the Review would represent no section

of Catholics. But the representative character is as essential to it as the opinions it professes, or the literary resources it commands. There is no lack of periodical publications representing science apart from religion, or religion apart from science. The distinctive feature of *The Home and Foreign Review* has been that it has attempted to exhibit the two in union; and the interest which has been attached to its views proceeded from the fact that they were put forward as essentially Catholic in proportion to their scientific truth, and as expressing more faithfully than even the voice of authority the genuine spirit of the Church in relation to intellect. Its object has been to elucidate the harmony which exists between religion and the established conclusions of secular knowledge, and to exhibit the real amity and sympathy between the methods of science and the methods employed by the Church. That amity and sympathy the enemies of the Church refuse to admit, and her friends have not learned to understand. Long disowned by a large part of our Episcopate, they are now rejected by the Holy See; and the issue is vital to a Review which in ceasing to uphold them would surrender the whole reason of its existence.

Warned, therefore, by the language of the Brief, I will not provoke ecclesiastical authority to a more explicit repudiation of doctrines which are necessary to secure its influence upon the advance of modern science. I will not challenge a conflict which would only deceive the world into a belief that religion cannot be harmonised with all that is right and true in the progress of the present age. But I will sacrifice the existence of the Review to the defence of its principles, in order that I may combine the obedience which is due to legitimate ecclesiastical authority with an equally conscientious maintenance of the rightful and necessary liberty of thought. A conjuncture like the present does not perplex the conscience of a Catholic; for his obligation to refrain from wounding the peace of the Church is neither more nor less real than that of professing nothing beside or against his convictions. If these duties have not been always understood, at least *The Home and Foreign Review* will not betray them; and the cause it has imperfectly expounded can be more efficiently served in future by means which will neither weaken the position of authority nor depend for their influence on its approval.

If, as I have heard, but now am scarcely anxious to believe, there are those, both in the communion of the Church and out of it, who have found comfort in the existence of this Review, and have watched its straight short course with hopeful interest,

trusting it as a sign that the knowledge deposited in their minds by study, and transformed by conscience into inviolable convictions, was not only tolerated among Catholics, but might be reasonably held to be of the very essence of their system; who were willing to accept its principles as a possible solution of the difficulties they saw in Catholicism, and were even prepared to make its fate the touchstone of the real spirit of our hierarchy; or who deemed that while it lasted it promised them some immunity from the overwhelming pressure of uniformity, some safeguard against resistance to the growth of knowledge and of freedom, and some protection for themselves, since, however weak its influence as an auxiliary, it would, by its position, encounter the first shock, and so divert from others the censures which they apprehended; who have found a welcome encouragement in its confidence, a satisfaction in its sincerity when they shrank from revealing their own thoughts, or a salutary restraint when its moderation failed to satisfy their ardour; whom, not being Catholics, it has induced to think less hardly of the Church, or, being Catholics, has bound more strongly to her;—to all these I would say that the principles it has upheld will not die with it, but will find their destined advocates, and triumph in their appointed time. From the beginning of the Church it has been a law of her nature, that the truths which eventually proved themselves the legitimate products of her doctrine have had to make their slow way upwards through a phalanx of hostile habits and traditions, and to be rescued, not only from open enemies, but also from friendly hands that were not worthy to defend them. It is right that in every arduous enterprise some one who stakes no influence on the issue should make the first essay, whilst the true champions, like the *Triarii* of the Roman legions, are behind, and wait, without wavering, until the crisis calls them forward.

And already it seems to have arrived. All that is being done for ecclesiastical learning by the priesthood of the Continent bears testimony to the truths which are now called in question; and every work of real science written by a Catholic adds to their force. The example of great writers aids their cause more powerfully than many theoretical discussions. Indeed, when the principles of the antagonism which divides Catholics have been brought clearly out, the part of theory is accomplished, and most of the work of a Review is done. It remains that the principles which have been made intelligible should be translated into practice, and should pass from the arena of discussion into the ethical code of literature. In that shape their efficacy will be acknowledged, and they will cease to be the object of alarm. Those who have been indignant at

hearing that their methods are obsolete, and their labours vain, will be taught by experience to recognise in the works of another school services to religion more momentous than those which they themselves have aspired to perform; practice will compel the assent which is denied to theory; and men will learn to value in the fruit what the germ did not reveal to them. Therefore it is to the prospect of that development of Catholic learning which is too powerful to be arrested or repressed that I would direct the thoughts of those who are tempted to yield either to a malignant joy or an unjust despondency at the language of the Holy See. If the spirit of *The Home and Foreign Review* really animates those whose sympathy it enjoyed, neither their principles, nor their confidence, nor their hopes, will be shaken by its extinction. It was but a partial and temporary embodiment of an imperishable idea—the faint reflection of a light which still lives and burns in the hearts of the silent thinkers of the Church.

JOHN DALBERG ACTON.

Venerabili Fratri GREGORIO Archiepiscopo Monacensi et Frisingensi

PIVS PP. IX.

Venerabilis Frater, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Tuas libenter accepimus Litteras, die 7. proxime elapsi mensis Octobris datas, ut Nos certiores faceres de Conventu in ista Monacensi civitate proximo mense Septembri a nonnullis Germaniae Theologis doctisque catholicis viris habito de variis argumentis, quae ad theologicas praesertim ac philosophicas tradendas disciplinas pertinent. Ex Litteris Tibi Nostro jussu scriptis a Venerabili Fratre Matthaeo Archiepiscopo Neocæsariensi Nostro, et Apostolicae hujus Sedis apud istam Regiam Aulam Nuntio vel facile noscere potuisti, Venerabilis Frater, quibus Nos sensibus affecti fuerimus, ubi primum de hoc proposito Conventu nuntium accepimus et postquam agnovimus, quomodo commemorati Theologi, et viri ad hujusmodi Conventum invitati et congregati fuere. Nihil certe dubitare volebamus de laudabili fine, quo hujus Conventus auctores, fautoresque permoti fuere, ut scilicet omnes Catholici viri doctrina praestantes, collatis consiliis, conjunctisque viribus, germanam catholicae Ecclesiae scientiam promoverent, eamque a nefariis, ac perniciosissimis tot adversariorum opinionibus, conatibusque vindicarent ac defenderent. Sed in hac sublimi Principis Apostolorum Cathedra licet immerentes collocati asperrimis hisce temporibus, quibus Sacrorum Antistitum auctoritas, si unquam alias, ad unitatem et integritatem catholicae doctrinae custodiendam, vel maxime est necessaria, et ab omnibus sarta tecta servari debet, non potuimus non vehementer mirari videntes memorati Conventus invitationem privato nomine factam et promulgatam, quin ullo modo intercederet impulsus, auctoritas, et missio ecclesiasticae potestatis, ad quam proprio, ac nativo jure unice pertinet advigilare ac dirigere theologicarum praesertim rerum doctrinam. Quae sane res, ut optime nosis, omnino nova, ac prorsus inusitata in Ecclesia est. Atque ideo voluimus, Te, Venerabilis Frater, noscere hanc Nostram fuisse sententiam, ut cum a Te, tum ab aliis Venerabilibus Fratribus Sacrorum in Germania Antistitibus probe judicari posset de scopo per Conventus programma enuntiato, si nempe talis esset, ut veram Ecclesiae utilitatem afferret. Eodem autem tempore certi eramus, Te, Venerabilis Frater, pro pastoralis Tua sollicitudine ac zelo omnia consilia et studia esse adhibiturum, ne in eodem Conventu tum catholicae fidei ac doctrinae integritas, tum obedientia, quam omnes cujusque

classis et conditionis catholici homines Ecclesiae auctoritati ac magisterio praestare omnino debent, vel minimum detrimentum caperent. Ac dissimulare non possumus, non levibus Nos angustiiis affectos fuisse, quandoquidem verebamus, ne hujusmodi Conventu sine ecclesiastica auctoritate congregato exemplum praeberetur sensim usurpandi aliquid ex jure ecclesiastici regiminis, et authentici magisterii, quod divina institutione proprium est Romano Pontifici, et Episcopis in unione et consensione cum ipso S. Petri Successore, atque ita, ecclesiastico ordine perturbato, aliquando unitas, et obedientia fidei apud aliquos labefacteretur. Atque etiam timebamus, ne in ipso Conventu quaedam enunciarentur, ac tenerentur opiniones et placita, quae in vulgus praesertim emissa et catholicae doctrinae puritatem, et debitam subjectionem in periculum ac discrimen vocarent. Summo enim animi Nostri dolore recordabamur, Venerabilis Frater, hanc Apostolicam Sedem pro gravissimi sui muneris officio debuisse ultimis hisce temporibus censura notare, ac prohibere nonnullorum Germaniae Scriptorum opera, qui cum nescirent decedere ab aliquo principio, seu methodo falsae scientiae, aut hodiernae fallacis philosophiae, praeter voluntatem, uti confidimus, inducti fuere ad proferendas ac docendas doctrinas dissidentes a vero nonnullorum sanctissimae fidei nostrae dogmatum sensu et interpretatione, quique errores ab Ecclesia jam damnatos e tenebris excitaverunt, et propriam divinae revelationis et fidei indolem et naturam in alienum omnino sensum explicaverunt. Noscebamus etiam, Venerabilis Frater, nonnullos ex catholicis, qui severioribus disciplinis excolendis operam navant, humani ingenii viribus nimium fidentes errorum periculis haud fuisse absteritos, ne in asserenda fallaci, et minime sincera scientiae libertate abriperentur ultra limites, quos praetergredi non sinit obedientia debita erga magisterium Ecclesiae ad totius revelatae veritatis integritatem servandam divinitus institutum. Ex quo evenit, ut hujusmodi catholici misere decepti et iis saepe consentiant, qui contra hujus Apostolicae Sedis, ac Nostrarum Congregationum decreta declamant, ac blaterant, ea liberum scientiae progressum impedire, et periculo se exponunt sacra illa frangendi obedientiae vincula, quibus ex Dei voluntate eidem Apostolicae huic obstringuntur Sedi, quae a Deo ipso veritatis magistra, et vindex fuit constituta. Neque ignorabamus, in Germania etiam falsam invaluisse opinionem adversus veterem scholam, et adversus doctrinam summorum illorum Doctorum, quos propter admirabilem eorum sapientiam, et vitae sanctitatem universalis veneratur Ecclesia. Qua falsa opinione ipsius Ecclesiae auctoritas in discrimen vocatur, quandoquidem ipsa Ecclesia non solum per tot continentia saecula permisit, ut ex eorumdem Doctorum methodo, et ex principiis

communi omnium catholicarum scholarum consensu sancitis theologica excoleretur scientia, verum etiam saepissime summis laudibus theologicam eorum doctrinam extulit, illamque veluti fortissimum fidei propugnaculum et formidanda contra suos inimicos arma vehementer commendavit. Haec sane omnia pro gravissimi supremi Nostri Apostolici ministerii munere, ac pro singulari illo amore, quo omnes Germaniae catholicos carissimam Dominici gregis partem prosequimur, Nostrum sollicitabant et angebant animum tot aliis pressum angustis, ubi, accepto memorati Conventus nuntio, res supra expositas Tibi significandas curavimus. Postquam vero per brevissimum nuntium ad Nos relatum fuit, Te, Venerabilis Frater, hujusce Conventus auctorum precibus annuentem tribuisse veniam celebrandi eundem Conventum, ac sacrum solemni ritu peregis, et consultationes in eodem Conventu juxta catholicae Ecclesiae doctrinam habitas fuisse, et postquam ipsius Conventus viri per eundem nuntium Apostolicam Nostram imploraverunt Benedictionem, nulla interposita mora, piis illorum votis obsecundavimus. Summa vero anxietate Tuas expectabamus Litteras, ut a Te, Venerabilis Frater, accuratissime noscere possemus ea omnia, quae ad eundem Conventum quovis modo possent pertinere. Nunc autem cum a Te acceperimus, quae scire vel maxime cupiebamus, ea spe nitimur fore, ut hujusmodi negotium, quemadmodum asseris, Deo auxiliante, in majorem catholicæ in Germania Ecclesiae utilitatem cedat. Equidem cum omnes ejusdem Conventus viri, veluti scribis, asseruerint, scientiarum progressum, et felicem exitum in devitandis ac refutandis miserrimae nostrae aetatis erroribus omnino pendere ab intima erga veritates revelatas adhaesione, quas catholica docet Ecclesia, ipsi noverunt, ac professi sunt illam veritatem, quam veri catholici scientiis excolendis et evolvendis dediti semper tenere, ac tradiderunt. Atque hac veritate innixi potuerunt ipsi sapientes, ac veri catholici viri scientias easdem tuto excolere, explanare, easque utiles certasque reddere. Quod quidem obtineri non potest, si humanae rationis lumen finibus circumscriptum eas quoque veritates investigando, quas propriis viribus et facultatibus assequi potest, non veneretur maxime, ut par est, infallibile et increatum Divini intellectus lumen, quod in christiana revelatione undique mirifice elucet. Quamvis enim naturales illae disciplinae suis propriis ratione cognitis principiis nitantur, catholici tamen earum cultores divinam revelationem veluti rectricem stellam prae oculis habeant oportet, qua prae-lucente sibi a syrtibus et erroribus caveant, ubi in suis investigationibus, et commentationibus animadvertant posse se illis adduci, ut saepissime accidit, ad ea proferenda, quae plus minusve adversentur infallibili rerum veritati, quae a Deo reve-

latae fuere. Hinc dubitare nolumus, quin ipsius *Conventus* viri commemoratam veritatem noscentes, ac profitentes uno eodemque tempore plane reiicere ac reprobare voluerint recentem illam ac praeposteram philosophandi rationem, quae etiamsi divinam revelationem veluti historicum factum admittat, tamen ineffabiles veritates ab ipsa divina revelatione propositas humanae rationis investigationibus supponit, perinde ac si illae veritates rationi subiectae essent, vel ratio suis viribus et principiis posset consequi intelligentiam et scientiam omnium supernarum sanctissimae fidei nostrae veritatum, et mysteriorum, quae ita supra humanam rationem sunt, ut haec nunquam effici possit idonea ad illa suis viribus, et ex naturalibus suis principiis intelligenda, aut demonstranda. Eiusdem vero *Conventus* viros debitis prosequimur laudibus, proptereaquod reiicientes, uti existimamus, falsam inter philosophum et philosophiam distinctionem, de qua in aliis *Nostris Litteris* ad Te scriptis loquuti sumus, noverunt, et asseruerunt, omnes catholicos in doctis suis commentationibus debere ex conscientia dogmaticis infallibilis catholicae Ecclesiae obedire decretis. Dum vero debitas illis deferimus laudes, quod professi sint veritatem, quae ex catholicae fidei obligatione necessario oritur, persuadere Nobis volumus, noluisse obligationem, qua catholici Magistri, ac Scriptores omnino adstringuntur, coarctare in iis tantum, quae ab infallibili Ecclesiae iudicio, veluti fidei dogmata ab omnibus credenda proponuntur. Atque etiam Nobis persuademus, ipsos noluisse declarare, perfectam illam erga revelatas veritates adhaesionem, quam agnoverunt necessariam omnino esse ad verum scientiarum progressum assequendum, et ad errores confutandos, obtineri posse, si tumtaxat Dogmatibus ab Ecclesia expresse definitis fides, et obsequium adhibeatur. Namque etiamsi ageretur de illa subiectione, quae fidei divinae actu est praestanda, limitanda tamen non esset ad ea, quae expressis oecumenicorum Conciliorum, aut Romanorum Pontificum, huiusque Apostolicae Sedis decretis definita sunt, sed ad ea quoque extendenda quae ordinario totius Ecclesiae per orbem dispersae magisterio tamquam divinitus revelata traduntur, ideoque universali et constanti consensu a catholicis Theologis ad fidem pertinere retinentur. Sed cum agatur de illa subiectione, qua ex conscientia ii omnes catholici obstringuntur, qui in contemplatrices scientias incumbunt, ut novas suis scriptis Ecclesiae afferant utilitates, iccirco eiusdem *Conventus* viri recognoscere debent, sapientibus catholicis haud satis esse, ut praefata Ecclesiae dogmata recipiant ac venerentur, verum etiam opus esse, ut se subiiciant tum decisionibus, quae ad doctrinam pertinentes a Pontificiis Congregationibus proferuntur, tum iis doctrinae capitibus, quae communi et constanti

Catholicorum consensu retinentur, ut theologicæ veritates et conclusiones ita certæ, ut opiniones eisdem doctrinæ capitibus adversæ quamquam hæreticæ dici nequeant, tamen aliam theologicam mereantur censuram. Itaque haud existimamus viros, qui commemorato Monacensi interfuere Convéntui, ullo modo potuisse, aut voluisse obstare doctrina nuper expositæ, quæ ex veræ theologiæ principiis in Ecclesia retinetur, quin immo ea fiducia sustentamur fore, ut ipsi in severioribus excolendis disciplinis velint ad enunciatae doctrinæ normam se diligenter conformare. Quæ Nostra fiducia præsertim nititur iis Litteris, quas per Te, Venerabilis Frater, Nobis miserunt. Siquidem eisdem Litteris cum summa animi Nostri consolatione ipsi profitentur, sibi in cogendo Convéntu mentem nunquam fuisse, vel minimam sibi arrogare auctoritatem, quæ ad Ecclesiam omnino pertinet, ac simul testantur, noluisse, eundem dimittere Convéntum, quin primum declararent summam observantiam, obedientiam, ac filialem pietatem, qua Nos et hanc Petri cathedram catholicæ unitatis centrum prosequuntur. Cum igitur hisce sensibus supremam Nostram, et Apostolicæ huius Sedis potestatem, auctoritatemque ipsi recognoscant, ac simul intelligant, gravissimum officium Nobis ab ipso Christo Domino commissum regendi, ac moderandi universam suam Ecclesiam, ac pascendi omnem suum gregem salutaris doctrinæ pascuis, et continenter advigilandi, ne sanctissima fides, eiusque doctrina ullum unquam detrimentum patiatur, dubitare non possumus, quin ipsi severioribus disciplinis excolendis, tradendis, sanæque doctrinæ tuendæ operam navantes uno, eodemque tempore agnoscant, se debere et religiose exsequi regulas ab Ecclesia semper servatas, et obedire omnibus decretis, quæ circa doctrinam a Suprema Nostra Pontificia auctoritate eduntur. Haec autem omnia Tibi communicamus, ac summopere optamus, ut ea iis omnibus significes viris, qui in memorato Convéntu fuere, dum, si opportunum esse censuerimus, haud omitemus alia Tibi, et Venerabilibus Fratribus Germaniæ Sacrorum Antistitibus hac super re significare, postquam Tuam, et eorundem Antistitum sententiam intellexerimus de huiusmodi Convéntuum opportunitate. Demum pastorem Tuam sollicitudinem, ac vigilantiam iterum vehementer excitamus, ut una cum aliis Venerabilibus Fratribus Sacrorum in Germania Antistitibus curas omnes, cogitationesque in tuendam et propagandam sanam doctrinam assidue conferas. Neque omittas omnibus inculcare, ut profanas omnes novitates diligenter devitent, neque ab illis se decipi unquam patiantur, qui falsam scientiæ libertatem, eiusque non solum verum profectum, sed etiam errores tamquam progressus impudenter iactant. Atque pari studio et contentione ne desinas omnes hortari, ut

maxima cura, et industria in veram christianam et catholicam sapientiam incumbant, atque, uti par est, in summo pretio habeant veros solidosque scientiae progressus, qui, sanctissima ac divina fide duce et magistra, in catholicis scholis habiti fuerunt, utque theologicas praesertim disciplinas excolant secundum principia, et constantes doctrinas, quibus unanimiter innixi sapientissimi Doctores immortalem sibi nominis laudem, et maximam Ecclesiae, et scientiae utilitatem, ac splendorem pepererunt. Hoc sane modo catholici viri in scientiis excolendis poterunt, Deo auxiliante, magis in dies quantum homini fas est, noscere, evolvere, et explanare veritatum thesaurum, quas in naturae et gratiae operibus Deus posuit, ut homo postquam illas rationis et fidei lumine noverit, suamque vitam ad eas sedulo conformaverit, possit in aeternae gloriae claritate summam veritatem, Deum scilicet, sine ullo velamine intueri, Eoque felicissime in aeternum perfrui et gaudere. Hanc autem occasionem libentissimo animo amplectimur, ut denuo testemur et confirmemus praecipuam Nostram in Te caritatem. Cuius quoque pignus esse volumus Apostolicam Benedictionem, quam effuso cordis affectu Tibi ipsi, Venerabilis Frater, et gregi Tuae curae commisso peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die 21. Decembris Anno 1863.

Pontificatus Nostri Anno Decimotavo

PIUS PP. IX.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

1. *Ueber die Quellen zum Leben des Confucius, namentlich seine sog. Hausgespräche (Kia-ia).* Von Dr. John Heinr. Plath, München. (Aus den Sitzungsberichten der k. b. Akademie des Wissenschaften.)
2. *Yu Kiao Li. Les Deux cousines, Roman chinois.* Traduction nouvelle, accompagnée d'un Commentaire philologique et historique, par Stanislas Julien, Membre de l'Institut, Professeur de Langue et de Littérature chinoise, Commandeur de la Légion d'Honneur, etc. etc. (Paris: Didier.)
3. *Indische Sprüche: Sanskrit und Deutsch.* Herausgegeben von Otto Böhtlingk. Erster Theil. (St. Petersburg.)
4. *Dei Tentativi fatti per spiegare le antiche Lingue Italiane e specialmente l'Etrusca.* Saggio storico-critico di Pietro Risi, Professore di Lettere Latine et Greche nel R. Liceo di San Remo. (Milano: Francesco Villardi.)
5. *An elementary Grammar of the Greek Language.* By Dr. Raphael Kühner. Translated by S. H. Taylor, LL.D. A new edition by Charles W. Bateman, LL.B., sometime Scholar of Trinity College, Dublin. (London: Simpkin and Marshall.)
6. *Life of Marcus Tullius Cicero.* By William Forsyth, M.A., Q.C. 2 vols. (London: Murray.)
7. *Biblical Essays.* By Rev. John Kenrick, M.A., F.S.A. (London: Longmans.)
8. *La Chaldée chrétienne: étude sur l'histoire religieuse et politique des Chaldéens-unis et des Nestoriens.* Par Adolphe d'Avril. (Paris: Benjamin Duprat, Challamel.)
9. *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema in Egypt, Syria, Arabia Deserta and Arabia Felix, in Persia, India, and Ethiopia, A.D. 1503 to 1508.* Translated from the original Italian edition of 1510, with a preface, by J. W. Jones, Esq., F.S.A.; and edited, with notes and an introduction, by G. P. Badger, late Government Chaplain in the Presidency of Bombay. (London: printed for the Hakluyt Society.)
10. *A Church History of Ireland from its invasion by the English in 1169 to the beginning of the Reformation in 1532.* By the Rev. Sylvester Malone. (Dublin: Kelly.)
11. *Corpus Reformatorum*, Vol. xxix. *Joannis Calvini Opera quæ supersunt omnia.* Edid. G. Baum, E. Cunitz, E. Reuss, theologi Argentoratenses. Vol. I. (Brunsvigæ: Schwetschke.)
12. *Études sur l'Histoire de l'Humanité.* Par F. Laurent, Professeur à l'Université de Gand. "Les Guerres de Religion." (Bruxelles: Lacroix, Verboeckhoven et Cie.)

13. *Englische Geschichte vornehmlich im sechzehnten und siebzehnten Jahrhundert.* Von Leopold Ranke. Vol. IV. (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot.)
14. *Court and Society from Elizabeth to Anne.* Edited from the papers at Kimbolton by the Duke of Manchester. 2 vols. (London: Hurst and Blackett.)
15. *Swedenborg; sa Vie, ses Ecrits, et sa Doctrine.* Par M. Matter, conseiller honoraire de l'Université, ancien inspecteur général des bibliothèques publiques. Deuxième édition. (Paris: Didier.)
16. *Alexander Hamilton and his Contemporaries; or, the Rise of the American Constitution.* By Christopher James Riethmüller. (London: Bell and Daldy.)
17. *Die Deutschen Hülfsstruppen im nordamerikanischen Befreiungskriege, 1776 bis 1788.* Von Max von Eelking. Erster Theil. (Hanover: Helwing.)
18. *Goëthe: ses mémoires, sa vie.* Par Henri Richelot. (Paris: Hetzel.)
19. *Corneille, Shakespeare, et Goethe. Etude sur l'influence anglo-germanique en France au XIX^e siècle.* Par William Reymond. (London: Williams and Norgate.)
20. *Kleine historische Schriften von Heinrich von Sybel.* (München: Literarisch-artistische Anstalt.)
21. *Histoire politique et littéraire de la Restauration.* Par Léon Verdier. (Paris: Hetzel.)
22. *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de mon temps.* Par M. Guizot. Vol. VI. (Paris: Michel Lévy.)
23. *Le Parti libéral, son programme et son avenir.* Par Ed. Laboulaye, de l'Institut. (Paris: Charpentier.)
24. *Life of William Hickling Prescott.* By George Ticknor. (Boston: Ticknor and Fields.)
25. *The Life and Letters of Washington Irving.* By his nephew Pierre M. Irving. Vol. IV. (London: Bentley.)
26. *Mr. Kingsley and Dr. Newman: a Correspondence on the Question whether Dr. Newman teaches that Truth is no Virtue?* (London: Longman.)
27. "What, then, does Dr. Newman mean?" *A reply to a Pamphlet lately published by Dr. Newman.* By the Rev. Charles Kingsley. (London and Cambridge: Macmillan.)
28. *A Plea for the Abolition of Tests in the University of Oxford.* By Goldwin Smith. (Oxford: Wheeler and Day.)
29. *Pensées et Fragments divers de Charles Neuhaus, ancien Avoyer de la république de Berne.* Publiés d'après le manuscrit autographe par les fils de l'auteur. (Bienne: K. F. Steinheil.)

30. *Tales of a Wayside Inn.* By Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. (London: Routledge.)
31. *My Beautiful Lady.* By Thomas Woolner. (London: Macmillan.)
32. *Die Crustaceen des südlichen Europa: Crustacea Podophthalmia, mit einer Uebersicht über die horizontale Verbreitung sämtlicher europäischer Arten.* Von Dr. Camil Heller, O. Oe. Professor der Zoologie an der kk. Med.-Chir. Josefs-Akademie in Wien, &c. Mit 10 lithografirten Tafeln. (Wien: Braumüller.)
33. *Die frei lebenden Copepoden, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Fauna Deutschlands, der Nordsee und des Mittelmeeres.* Von Dr. C. Claus, ordentlichem Professor der Zoologie und Director des zoologischen Museums an der Universität Marburg. Mit 37 Tafeln. (Leipzig: Engelmann.)
34. *Ergebnisse meiner Reise nach Habesch im Gefolge seiner Hoheit des regierenden Herzogs von Sachsen-Koburg-Gotha Ernst II.* Von Dr. A. E. Brehm, Director des zoologischen Gartens zu Hamburg. (Hamburg: O. Meissner.)
35. *Mémoire sur le Terrain de Transition des Vosges.* Partie géologique par J. Koechlin-Schlumberger; Partie paléontologique par Wm. Ph. Schimper. Forming part of Vol. V. of *Mémoires de la Société des Sciences Naturelles de Strasbourg*. (Paris et Strasbourg: Veuve Berger-Levrault et Fils.)
36. *Géologie et Paléontologie de la Région sud de la Province de Constantine.* Par M. H. Coquand, Professeur de Géologie à la Faculté des Sciences de Marseille. (Marseille: Arnaud et Cie.; Paris: Savy.)
37. *Ueber Synchronismus und Antagonismus von vulkanischen Eruptionen und die Beziehungen derselben zu den Sonnenflecken und erdmagnetischen Variationen.* Von Dr. Emil Kluge, Lehrer an der k. höheren Gewerbschule zu Chemnitz. Mit einer graphischen Darstellung der vulkanischen Eruptionen von 1600-1860. (Leipzig: Engelmann.)
38. *Das Cyan und seine anorganischen Verbindungen nebst dem Mellon, eine Zusammenstellung aller darüber bekannt gewordenen Erfahrungen.* Von Dr. Otto Bernhard Kühn, Prof. d. theor. Chemie a. d. Universität Leipzig. (Leipzig: A. Abel.)
39. *Das Mikroskop und die mikroskopische Technik: ein Handbuch für Aerzte und Studierende.* Von Dr. Heinrich Frey, Prof. der Medizin in Zürich. Mit 228 Figuren in Holzschnitt, und Preisverzeichnissen mikroskopischer Firmen. (Leipzig: Engelmann.)
40. *Physiologische Untersuchungen im Gebiete der Optik.* Von Dr. Alfred Wilhelm Volkmann, Professor in Halle. Erstes Heft, mit 21 in den Text eingedruckten Holzschnitten. (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel.)

1. The life of Confucius has never been written, either by his learned countrymen or by Europeans, with that regard to critical accuracy which is now considered indispensable even in biographies of much less remarkable personages. Dr. Plath of Munich has carefully examined the original authorities in chronological order; and his investigations reduce the amount of reliable information on the life of the great Chinese sage to a very small quantity. The genuine writings of Confucius himself contain hardly any thing which throws light upon his biography. Of information derived from his disciples and followers, the book called *Lün-ü* is the most important source. It is a collection of four hundred and ninety-seven sayings of Confucius and his disciples. The tenth chapter of this book describes how Confucius lived, how he ate and drank, how he was clothed, &c. And here Dr. Plath says, "man sieht da ganz den chin. Pedanten." Next to the *Lün-ü* come the memorabilia of Meng-tseu, who was, however, no immediate disciple of Confucius, but of Tseu-sse, the grandson of Confucius. Far less confidence is due to the information derived from the so-called philosophers (Tseu), which stands apparently on the same level with the grossly improbable dialogues handed down on the same authority as having taken place between Yao and Shün, who lived more than two thousand years before Christ. The dialogues between Confucius and his disciples which are given in the *Li-ki* are certainly spurious. There was an ancient book called *Li-ki* which was recommended by Confucius to his son; but the book which now bears that name is much more recent. The *Kia-ü*, or House-dialogues of Confucius, are equally apocryphal. They belong, according to Father Gaubil, to the time of the Han dynasty, and represent Chinese ideas current after the persecution of letters, not anterior to it. Several learned Jesuits besides Father Gaubil have expressed their disbelief in the authenticity of these dialogues, of which Dr. Plath gives an accurate analysis. The earliest historical account of the life of Confucius is that of Sse-ma-tsien, in his great work the *Sse-ki*, and the principal authority here followed is the *Lün-ü*, which is sometimes quoted verbally. The last work described by Dr. Plath is the *J-sse*, a large work on the ancient history of China, containing all sorts of information, credible and incredible, about Confucius. On looking back at the results of his enquiry, Dr. Plath concludes that an accurate chronological biography of Confucius is impossible. Of his youth hardly any thing is known. The most ancient and trustworthy authorities give but few and scattered details of his entire life. There are also great difficulties as to the real nature of his principles. The Chinese of later times have ascribed to him all sorts of unauthenticated doctrines. Many of the dialogues ascribed to him are undoubtedly spurious. Yet it would be unsafe to judge him solely by the contents of his genuine writings and the short sayings found in the *Lün-ü*, for even these lend a probability to the ritual "responsa," for instance, found in less authentic documents like the *Li-ki* and the *Kia-ü*. The best plan, therefore, in writing the biography of the Chinese sage, is to give all the principal *data*, carefully indicating the source of each, and the amount of reliance which can be placed upon it.

2. The Chinese novel *Yu Kiao Li* was translated into French by Abel Rémusat in 1826, that is, at a time when the passion for what the Romantic school called "*la couleur locale*" was very strong. Its success was great, and must be ascribed not only to the peculiarities which recommended it to the taste of the day, such as the painting of habits and modes of thought extremely remote from the European, of which it is full, but to the higher qualities of literary composition which marked it out for translation,—a simple, well-conceived, and ably-developed plot, and the variety and truth of the characters. A completely new translation is now offered to the public by M. Stanislas Julien, who has constantly kept in view the wants of students of the Chinese language. The former translation was a great deal too free to admit of its being used for the explanation of the text. In many places the ideas of the original had utterly disappeared. It could hardly be imagined that the two following translations, for instance, had reference to the same text :

ABEL RÉMUSAT.
 "Croyez en les rapports d'un père,
 le jeune homme ira à tout.
 Mais au moindre examen, le vide
 de la tête se montrera."

STANISLAS JULIEN.
 "P'ing-kiun adressa une commu-
 nication secrète à Teng-tou.
 Dans le monde, on est obligé de
 flatter les autres."

Abel Rémusat had also suppressed all the historical allusions, of which the novel is full ; and he had in fact utterly misunderstood them. The following is a curious instance. A passage which M. Stanislas Julien thus translates, "*Après avoir vu Siang-jou, la belle Wen-kiun ne craignit pas de passer par dessus les rites ; elle avait bien ses raisons,*" was rendered by Abel Rémusat, "*Le prince des lettres, quand deux personnes se conviennent ne défend pas de passer par dessus les rites pour arriver à un heureux résultat.*" Here the proper names Wen-kiun and Siang-jou have been misunderstood, and translated according to the philological elements of which they are composed, the former by "*prince of letters,*" and the latter by "*quand deux personnes se sont vues et se conviennent.*" It is clear that a version in which blunders of this kind occur at every step must be considered as obsolete in presence of the requirements of the day. A far more authentic "*couleur locale*" than that which was admired by the Parisian critics of 1826 will undoubtedly be found in the translation now given by M. Stanislas Julien, and the learned notes which accompany it. The English reader, if not deterred by occasionally tedious repetitions, will find the story curious and interesting both in its plot and its details. The peculiarly Chinese characteristics (of which the passion of the hero for two young ladies, terminating in his marriage with both of them, and the perfect happiness of the three parties, is not the least remarkable) are perhaps hardly less striking than the many details which prove that the Chinese world is not divided from our own by so profound a psychological difference as is sometimes asserted. The following passage is taken from the very first chapter. Three gentlemen are drinking together, and are on the point of displaying their poetical talents. "*Mais au moment où ils allaient tous trois manier le pinceau, soudain les domestiques vinrent*

leur annoncer la visite du seigneur Yang, le moniteur impérial. Cette nouvelle fut loin de les charmer; Pé-kong ne put s'empêcher de gronder les domestiques. 'Imbéciles !' leur dit-il, 'vous saviez que j'étais à boire avec messieurs Ou et Sou; il fallait répondre tout de suite que je n'y étais pas.' 'Seigneur,' répondirent-ils, 'nous avons bien dit que vous étiez sorti pour faire des visites. Mais les gens du seigneur Yang nous répliquèrent que leur maître étant allé demander le seigneur Sou dans sa maison, on lui avait appris qu'il était ici à boire. Voilà pourquoi il est venu le chercher ici. D'ailleurs, comme il avait vu devant votre porte les chaises et les chevaux de ces deux messieurs, il nous a été impossible de le renvoyer.'

3. Two or three years ago the learned editors of the great Sanskrit Lexicon published at St. Petersburg complained of the difficulty which they experienced in the prosecution of their task, in consequence of the fact that some very important texts had not yet been subjected to a satisfactory amount of criticism. Among these texts they specified the proverbs of Bhartrihari, and those in the Panchatantra. In spite of Benfey's labours, the poetical portions of the latter work required a careful examination. A revision of the text of Bhartrihari by one of the editors was promised; and it was hinted that it might be desirable to publish at the same time a collection of the proverbs of other Indian poets and thinkers.

The handsome volume now published by Dr. Böhtlingk is the first part of such a collection. It contains, in alphabetical order as far as अ, all the proverbs of Bhartrihari, those in the Panchatantra, Hitopadeśa, Vikramacharitra, and Häberlin's anthology. Besides these the Amar-çataka, and poetical passages of a kindred nature, the law-books of Manu and Yājñavalkya, the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyana, and many other works, have largely contributed to form an anthology of a very remarkable description. When a proverb is found in several books, it is given, as far as possible, in the most ancient form in which it has appeared. In cases where it is not easy to ascertain the original form, two or even more texts of the same proverb are given. The critical apparatus contains accurate references to the sources of each passage, and all variants, even of the most trifling kind, are scrupulously registered. A German (and in some cases, where a more learned language seems to be desirable, a Greek) translation accompanies each proverb.

4. The attempts made to explain the ancient languages of Italy, and particularly the Etruscan, have, it is but too well known, been crowned with little success. The greater part of these attempts were so thoroughly unscientific in their method that an accurate account of them may be considered a waste of labour. Nothing is to be learned from them. They are of the same character as the interpretations of Egyptian hieroglyphical inscriptions which were proposed before the true key to them was discovered. Although little, therefore, can be got out of the book of Professor Risi about the different systems to which he gives learned names, instead of simply calling them rubbish, the loss

is not great. We agree with him about the untenableness of those interpretations which he condemns. We differ, however, from him as to the extent of the condemnation which ought to be pronounced. If the Semitic method of interpreting Etruscan be wrong at all, it is wholly and entirely wrong. It cannot be partly true and partly false. It is a mistaken moderation to say, "Non corriamo agli estremi. Nella incertezza in cui versa questo genere di studi, giova tenersi in un prudente riserbo. Nulla è più funesto alla scienza che lo spirito di sistema. Guardiamoci dal negare troppo leggiermente ogni fede alle ardite induzioni dello Stickel e dal padre Tarquini, dal rigettare indistintamente ogni lor congettura; ma quando il dotto Alemanno quando il Tarquini," &c., "diplomiamo altamente l'esagerazione e gli abusi a cui sogliono trascorrere anche ingegni elevati, una volta che sieno incapocchiti in un' idea qualunque." This is running off on a false scent altogether; and we are therefore not at all surprised to find that a writer who has so little sense of philological science ends his book with a chapter proposing as the real solution of the difficulty a hypothesis which, however plausible to reason and supported by analogies in the history of language, is in the particular case of the Italian language purely *à priori*, and not justified by the all-important process of verification. The *scuola prettamente italica*, which he patronises, seeks the key to the old Italian languages in the dialects still spoken in the corresponding parts of contemporary Italy. But our author is afraid of exclusiveness here also; and he proposes to apply a sort of eclectic system which should combine the good elements to be found in each of the other systems. It is hardly necessary to say that we have no very sanguine expectations as to the light which is likely to be thrown on the ancient Etruscan or Messapian languages by a comparative dictionary of the existing *patois* of Italy. That very numerous and important benefits may result to philological science from such a dictionary, if compiled by competent hands, is, however, indisputable.

5. Mr. Bateman's edition of the translation of Dr. Kühner's Greek Grammar is a really valuable contribution to school literature, not only as being very cheap and portable, but as being carefully compiled and accurately printed. In a duodecimo of 660 pages we have not only all the principal phenomena of the Greek language explained and illustrated, but we have a *delectus*, in the shape of progressive examples for translation from and into Greek, a copious series of examination questions, and a Greek-English and English-Greek lexicon (or vocabulary) at the end. And this is an excellent method of teaching Greek from the very first, and one that may save schoolboys years of often unprofitable and always distasteful labour. "The present work," says the editor, "is so arranged that the pupil may *at once* proceed to translate from Greek into English, and *vice versa*, after becoming familiar with the contents of the introductory sections. With this view, sentences of the most elementary nature are first proposed, including only the simplest forms of the verb, some parts of the verb *εἶμι*, and a few *indeclinable* words,—adverbs, prepositions, and conjunctions,—to diversify them;

the fuller consideration of the verb being reserved till afterwards. Thus it will be seen that the present work combines grammar, delectus, and lexicon; consequently the boy, when he has mastered it, has acquired insensibly a stock of words, while he is, at the same time, enabled to commence the translation of a prose writer (such as Xenophon) with ease to himself, and with much greater accuracy than he would otherwise be capable of."

There is, however, one weak point in this work, though it is common to every Greek grammar that we know of. The inflexions of verbs are complicated by the addition of a considerable number of purely imaginary forms,—that is to say, forms which might have existed, by analogy, but which, as a matter of fact, do not exist, and the use of which, in writing Greek, would wholly alter the character of the ancient language. A great many of these spurious forms are given, and that without the slightest intimation that they are really barbarisms. In fact, there is probably not one verb in the Greek language that has *all* its forms (in tenses, moods, and persons) in actual use. In page 217 we are indeed told in a note, that "In these tables forms of *rare* occurrence are put in brackets." And yet on the very same page we have such very questionable words as ἐσφόλκεν and ἐπεφώνειν given as genuine; in page 218, πέφανθον, πεφάνθωσαν, ἐξηράνθων; in page 219, ἱμερκα, ἱμέρμην, ἱμεροῦμαι; in page 220, τέτιλκα, σέσυρκα, σθροῦμαι. We could put our pen through *hundreds* of such barbarisms, and we can only hope that they will be eliminated in a future edition. Only those, indeed, who are familiar with the really ancient forms will be particularly struck by their novelty; but we must say, it is not only giving infinite labour, but doing positive harm, to students to imbue their minds with such erroneous notions of Greek verbs. A few of these we will here add, but only as specimens: ἐβλάκευκα, ἐβλακεύκειν, ἔγλυφα, ἐγλύφειν, ἔκτικα, ἐκτίκειν, ἔπτυχα, ἐπτύχειν, ἔψτικα, ἔψτίκειν, ἔφρεκα, ἐψεύκειν, ἀρήροκα, ἀρηρόκειν, ἡνώρθωον, πεπαρφήκα, δεδυσώπηκα, ἐδέδυσωπήκειν. Can it be shown that any classical writer, or even any of the most debased period, has used these words? If not, they are pure creations of the fancy; they are words that "might have existed,—only they don't." That some of these occur in the Septuagint is possible: but if so, they should be marked as peculiar, and indeed, in our opinion, omitted from manuals which are designed to teach classical Greek.

We believe, however, on the whole, this Grammar is characterised by correctness and sound views. We might perhaps object to making the two constructions εἰ τοῦτο εἶπες, ἡμάρτανες ἄν, and εἰ τοῦτο εἶπας, ἡμάρτες ἄν, absolutely identical (p. 476). The exact difference it is not easy to give in English; but the former means, "had you been disposed to say this, you would have been on the verge of error;" the other, "had you said this, you would have been in error."

We much doubt—though we believe the distinction is Buttmann's—the propriety of making two separate verbs (p. 163), χρίω, "I prick" and χρίω, "I anoint." These meanings seem different, but are probably identical; for the notions of *puncturing* and *rubbing oil* into and through

the pores of the skin are correlative. Perhaps the idea of a *light quick touch* is the primary one, as in *χαίρω* and *χρίπτω*.

The full and accurate exposition of the cases and the constructions of the prepositions (p. 357 to 417) deserves all praise. It is quite sufficient even for students of a more advanced order, and is strictly philosophical, yet simple in its arrangement.

6. Drumann's shapeless and unreadable book has made it a comparatively easy task to write the history of the generation that saw the ruin of Roman liberty. Since his work was completed, a powerful and brilliant writer, the only German rival of Macaulay, has gone over the same ground in the spirit of a scholar and an artist. The judgments of both Drumann and Mommsen have been severe on Cicero; and while the first has drawn up a formidable indictment against his character, the other has depreciated in an almost equal degree his intellectual powers. According to Mommsen, he was not only vain and weak, but insincere, shallow, wanting in energy both of thought and purpose, a journalist, a mere reviewer—"ein Feuilletonist—eine ächte journalisten Natur." His eloquence, however, his respectability, his love of civilisation and of freedom, have won the sympathy of many who knew, as well as Mommsen or Drumann, the scientific worthlessness of his philosophy, his inability to understand the great writers whom he copied, his inefficiency as a statesman, and the eager selfishness of his private character. His reputation, which must wane in a scientific age, naturally flourished in uncritical and moralising times; and there have been men who compared him as a philosopher with Plato, and as a political thinker with Burke.

Mr. Forsyth's *Life of Cicero* belongs to the old school; and he has managed to stand by its opinions without glaring inconsistencies, by avoiding all minute enquiry, and sticking to generalities. He gives no account of Cicero's writings, but passes many judgments which, without it, are irrelevant. The *De Officiis* is "the best manual of ethics bequeathed to us by heathen antiquity." "His standard of morality was as high as it was perhaps possible to elevate it by the mere light of nature." Without some description of his doctrines, there is no test given by which his actions can be fairly judged; and such sentences as these are as vain as the slashing insults of Mommsen. It would have been a fitting work for a writer of Mr. Forsyth's industry and literary ability to compare the ethics of Cicero with those of the Socratic Dialogues, of Aristotle, and of the later Stoics, and to ascertain how far the morality of Christianity was anticipated, and what were definitely the deficiencies of the best practical philosophy of paganism.

7. Mr. Kenrick, the author of *Ancient Egypt under the Pharaohs* and *Phœnicia*, has reprinted three essays, which originally appeared in periodical publications. The first and most elaborate of them is on the much-disputed question as to the relation in which St. Mark's gospel stands to those of St. Matthew and St. Luke. St. Augustine first suggested the notion that St. Mark had the appearance of being "Matthæi

pedissequus et breviator." Griesbach, in a remarkable dissertation, undertook to show that the entire gospel of St. Mark, with the exception of one or two sections, is made up out of passages from the first and third gospels. This view has been maintained by very able writers; but it has been as strongly opposed by others of equal ability. Mr. Kenrick's essay originated in the endeavour to form a clear idea of the events of our Lord's crucifixion. He found in the gospel of St. Mark the clue to the perplexing variety in the accounts of the evangelists; and further enquiry convinced him that this gospel "bears internal evidence of being the oldest of the three which it is now customary to distinguish as the synoptics, and that when they differ, it deserves to be considered as the most authentic record of our Lord's life and teaching." The comparison between the gospels, as conducted by Mr. Kenrick, will, we believe, convince most readers that he is right in vindicating the originality of St. Mark; and the current of opinion among biblical critics is setting strongly in that direction. But when he goes so far as to call this gospel the "Protevangelium," and to argue that it was so, it is difficult to follow him without getting entangled in questions which it is impossible to decide with certainty one way or the other.

His essay on the gift of tongues is intended to show that the sacred text does not countenance the opinion that those who received the gift were endowed with the power of speaking languages which they had not learned. "The evidence that foreign languages were really spoken" on the day of Pentecost "is contained," he observes, "wholly in the parenthetical part (vv. 6-11) which relates the conflux of the foreigners, and their remarks on what they heard." And he doubts whether the speech which is attributed to these foreigners can literally have been spoken by those into whose mouths it is put. With reference to the Church of Corinth, he argues that a power so irrationally and capriciously exercised as to call for expostulation on the part of St. Paul could not be really bestowed by special inspiration. He explains the phenomenon by the fact that the Church of Corinth contained, among its members, several who spoke a foreign language, and that, the religious impulse sometimes coming upon them so powerfully as to overbear considerations of propriety and sound judgment, they broke forth in prayers or ejaculations to which the hearers could not respond, not understanding the language which was spoken.

The third and last essay, on the question whether St. Paul designated the Athenians as religious or superstitious, is a successful vindication of the Vulgate and Authorised English version of Acts xvii. 22. We should have thought the effort quite superfluous, if the opposite opinions were not still gravely defended in Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*.

8. The author of *La Chaldée chrétienne* is not particularly distinguished by original learning or deep thought; and he is decidedly deficient in humour. The writer of *Eastern Churches*, in contrasting the habits of Anglican bishops with the austere lives of Nestorian prelates, ironically laments the inhuman regulations which deprive the latter of the enjoyments of beef, mutton, and Lord Mayor's festivities. This

delicate satire is entirely misunderstood by M. d'Avril, who believes that the author he quotes merely speaks "en vrai Anglais;" and he solemnly remarks: "certainement il est triste que les Anglais ont si peu le sentiment de ce qu'il y a de grand et d'utile dans les austérités religieuses; mais cette inintelligence a un bon côté, c'est une garantie que les Anglais ne feront jamais de nos Orientaux des protestants." But, though neither witty nor learned, the book contains a good deal of useful information, taken at secondhand, and put together in a very readable shape.

9. Of the private history of Ludovico di Varthema little is known except what may be gathered from his travels. The *Biographie Universelle* speaks of him as a gentleman of Bologna and Roman patrician, and adds that "son voyage est un des plus importants pour l'histoire de la géographie, et pour l'histoire en général." It has nevertheless had its phases of neglect as well as popularity. Within a hundred years after its publication, it passed through ten Italian, three Latin, seven German, and four Spanish editions, besides retranslations or abridgments in French, Dutch, and English. Subsequently it fell into the shade, from which the Hakluyt Society, with laudable zeal, have now rescued it. They have bestowed on the present edition the greatest care, yet not more than the book deserves. It is enriched with copious and valuable notes, in which the statements of Varthema are confirmed or corrected by the accounts of the most celebrated Oriental travellers down to the present day. Of the truthfulness of his details in general there cannot be a doubt; and when we consider how many falsehoods and fables he must have heard, and how completely he was dependent on oral testimony, we cannot but wonder at the judgment with which he winnows chaff from grain, and false from true. In passing from one country to another, he steadily pursues his system of observation, without many reflections or preconceived theories; and his style is marked by a delightful simplicity and freshness. It is evident from the dedication of his work to the Duchess of Tagliacosso, that he could have indulged with effect in more ornate composition; but the privations of a long and perilous journey, together with the multitude of things to be narrated, rendered brevity both a necessity and a merit. So far from practising intentionally on the credulity of his readers, he is careful to explode accredited fictions whenever the opportunity occurs. He refutes, for instance, the story, so long current in Christendom, of Mahomet's body being suspended in the air at Medinah. "You must know," he says, "there is no coffin of iron or steel, nor loadstone, nor any mountain within four miles of the city." His adventures are numberless, and he appears never to have been at a loss for an expedient. At Damascus he bribed a renegade captain of Mamelukes to admit him into the escort of the pilgrim caravan bound for Mecca; and thus, under the guise of Islamism, he was enabled to see and learn much from which, as a Christian, he would have been shut out. At Mecca a Moorish merchant recognised him; but Varthema, compelled to admit that he was an Italian, stoutly professed his zeal for the Prophet, and prevailed

on the Moor to hide him in his house till the Mameluke escort had passed on. At Zida, or, as it is now called, Juddah, the port of Mecca, where none but Mahometans were allowed to live, he lay fourteen days in a corner of the mosque, covered up with his garments and groaning piteously. At Rhada, in Arabia Felix, being imprisoned more than two months with eighteen pounds weight of iron on his feet, he feigned madness to attract the attention of the queen; and subsequently, at Calicut, he turned physician, and set up for a Mussulman saint with signal success. In the midst of all his craft and violence he used to commend himself to the keeping of God, and ascribe all deliverances to a merciful providence; while underneath his slipshod morality he preserved, no doubt, a certain substratum of Christian principle. His *Itinerario* is one of the most entertaining and eventful that a traveller ever wrote. By the graphic descriptions it gives of the religion and habits of the several peoples of the East three centuries and a half ago, it proves that civilisation has, in proportion, made as much progress in that quarter of the globe as in the West. It is evident, moreover, that in losing somewhat of the barbarous element, Arabia, Persia, India, and Ethiopia have lost much of the romantic also.

10. We lately pointed out some of the blunders from which all the resources of Trinity College library and a life devoted to study failed to preserve Dr. Todd in his book on St. Patrick. It cannot be matter of surprise if a country curate, leading a life of ministerial activity amidst a scattered population of several thousand persons, should not find leisure to write a perfectly faultless work on the ecclesiastical history of Ireland from the twelfth to the sixteenth century; and it is not without unfeigned admiration for the intellectual elasticity and vigour which such an undertaking displays, that we nevertheless recognise in Mr. Malone's volume on that subject another proof of the vitality of ancient errors, which a little care would at any time have been enough to rectify. Mr. Malone, indeed, is not a very exact writer. He tells us that the Donation of Constantine was proved to be spurious by Baronius in the *Critica of Pagi*; and he quotes, as "contemporaneous writers," for an event of the year 1156, three historians who died respectively in 1237, in 1259, and in 1328. But his account of the gift of Ireland to Henry II. is full of mistakes, for which the whole responsibility does not fall on him, as they are traditional among writers on that subject. Thus he tells us that the Bull of Adrian IV. was given in the year 1155; that Alexander III. expressly appeals to it in the similar document which he afterwards issued; and that John of Salisbury cannot have been excessively anxious to prop up the claim of Henry, at one period of his life, because, at a very much later period, he recommended that the spiritual sword should be drawn against him for his conduct towards Archbishop Becket. Instead of insisting on these blemishes, it may be worth while to consider more minutely an event over which modern writers have thrown a great obscurity.

The Bull of Adrian must have been issued in the spring of 1156. The Pope came to Benevento in December of the previous year, and

remained there during the whole winter. Here he was visited by John of Salisbury, the secretary of the Primate Theobald, who had been sent on ecclesiastical business to the former Popes,—Eugene and Anastasius,—and who now came on a more important mission. John acquired an extraordinary influence over the mind of the new Pontiff, who loved to open his conscience to his Saxon countryman, and declared that he preferred him even to his own relations. During the three months they spent together, the affair of Ireland was arranged; and when John of Salisbury started for England he carried with him the famous deed, and the symbol of investiture, for which, with a strange felicity, Adrian had chosen an emerald ring. The document would be drawn up and dated only when the messenger who was to take it was ready to depart; and as the three months which John of Salisbury relates that he spent at Benevento began only after the Pope's arrival at the end of December, this brings us to March 1156.

Irish patriotism has generally been reluctant to admit that the condition of the Church of Ireland was really known at Rome, or in any degree justified so grave an act; and the accusation made by the Irish princes in the fourteenth century, that Adrian had acted *anglicana affectione*, has been admitted even by such writers as Cardinal Pole and Dollinger. In both respects, however, a careful examination of the facts will vindicate the English Pope. It is not true, as Mr. Malone states, that there was "comparatively little to be corrected" at the Council of Kells in 1152. There was the Gregorian discipline to establish, for which the Holy See had incessantly struggled since the days of Hildebrand, and which St. Malachi first tried to introduce after his journey to Rome in 1139. Even when the legate Paparo came to Kells, thirteen years later, the thing remained to be done; for the decrees regard the abolition of simony, the celibacy of the clergy, and the institution of tithes. We need not cite the annals of the Four Masters to show that constant wars and civil disorders at that time made the introduction of any ecclesiastical reform very difficult. We know that the Irish prelates themselves despaired of it, and represented to the Pope that it could not be accomplished without the intervention of England. Not once, but repeatedly, they sent warning exhortations to Rome. "*Quantis vitiorum enormitatibus gens Hybernica sit infecta ex vestrarum serie litterarum nobis innotuit,*" says Alexander III. to the archbishops of Ireland.

Long before the days of Adrian it had been customary with the Popes to commit to the successors of Charlemagne the care of religion and the defence of the faith in countries to which the imperial influence extended. But for nearly a century the emperors had been the most dreaded enemies of the Holy See; and during this long conflict the Normans were the protectors on whom it relied, and to them had passed the most honourable prerogative of the imperial crown. Hildebrand had prepared for the great struggle for the emancipation of the Church by erecting two Norman kingdoms. During his administration of the affairs of the Church Nicholas II. had invested Robert Guiscard with Calabria and Apulia, and Alexander II. had sent to William of Nor-

mandy a sacred banner for the conquest of England. William continued to be his favourite among the European princes; and the Normans of Southern Italy gave him a refuge at the hour of his death. Since that time they had founded states in Syria and Armenia, in Sicily and Greece; and a monk of Monte Cassino, writing in those days, was astounded at the rapid progress of their power, and believed that it was destined to overshadow the whole earth. Within three years before the election of Adrian IV. the power of the race had received a vast increase, for the marriage of Henry Plantagenet with Elinor of Aquitaine united the western half of France to the crown of England.

The accession of Henry II. delivered England from the tyranny and misery of an unhappy period; and the strong hand with which he grasped the reins of government excited great hopes for the future among the clergy. For he was of a generous nature, and fond of the society of educated ecclesiastics. No shadow fell on the commencement of his reign from the vices which darkened its close; and zealous, able churchmen loved him for his virtues to the end. This is the language of William of Newburgh; and Peter of Blois, who knew king Henry only in his later years, was persuaded that so good or so great a monarch had not appeared in Christendom since the time of Charlemagne: "*Diligebam ipsum, et diligo, et semper diligam ex affectu . . . confidentissime dico, majoremque partem mundi testem habeo, in hac parte a tempore Caroli, nullum fuisse principem, adeo benignum, prudentem, largum et strenuum*" (Epist. 14). There was much to impel Adrian to contribute to exalt an influence so puissant for the good of the Church, when Henry came before him as a suppliant, with all the prestige of youth, of power not yet abused, of the pacification of England, and of his warm devotion to the Holy See.

The principles of Gregory VII., which hitherto had governed the political action of the Popes, afforded no claim to dispose of Ireland; and there was no example, even in their dealings with the Normans, which could supply a precedent. The Sicilian monarchy was an ordinary feudal dependency of the Church of Rome; the Norman vassals of the Pope swore to defend his spiritual and his temporal authority whenever they were summoned, and acknowledged him as their suzerain. The conquest of England, justified by no such claim, led to no similar agreement. Alexander II. ardently desired the success of the expedition, and sent a blessing, which materially contributed to it. But he professed to enjoy no political jurisdiction over the Anglo-Saxon realm; and afterwards, when his successor demanded homage of the Conqueror, it was refused: "*Fidelitatem facere,*" said William, "*nolui nec volo, quia nec ego promisi, nec antecessores meos antecessoribus tuis id fecisse comperio.*"

In the case of Ireland there was more than in that of England, and less than in that of Apulia. The Pope claimed a positive right to dispose of the country; but he exacted no feudal service or homage in return for it. Gregory VII. was accustomed to support his demands by some documentary evidence of their justice. Where he claimed homage he undertook to prove that it had been done of old; but where

he had nothing to appeal to he pretended to no sovereignty. He claimed none, for instance, in France; yet the king of France was, of all princes living in his time, the one who made the worst use of his power. In those cases where his great knowledge of the Papal archives provided him with no positive claims, he never made up for the deficiency by asserting a superior abstract right, independent of those which belonged to him under the feudal system: he never mentioned the Donation of Constantine. Now in Ireland there was less ground than any where for such a dominion. Not only was it beyond the limits of the empire, whose Roman or German sovereigns had conferred so many privileges on the Popes, but it had not even paid such tribute as came from the Anglo-Saxon kingdom, and as had been claimed of France. The right to dispose of the sovereignty of the island could only be supported by stretching the theory of the power of the keys far beyond the limits which Gregory VII. had observed. John of Salisbury loosely defends it, on the ground that the Donation of Constantine included dominion over all the islands: "*Nam omnes insulæ, de jure antiquo, ex Donatione Constantini, qui eam fundavit et dotavit, dicuntur ad Romanam Ecclesiam pertinere.*" There is no such passage in any known text of the document; and the Donation is never referred to by the Popes in the Bulls by which they conferred on Henry the dominion over Ireland.* Adrian defines his right in terms which are inconsistent with the language of John of Salisbury, for he simply claims all Christian islands: "*Omnes insulas,*" he writes to the king, "*quibus sol justitiæ Christus illuxit, et quæ documenta fidei christianæ ceperunt, ad jus B. Petri, et sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ (quod tua et nobilitas recognoscit) non est dubium pertinere.*" This parenthesis may be explained by those words of Henry, in the 136th letter of Peter of Blois, which Lingard has understood in another connection: "*Vestræ jurisdictionis est regnum Angliæ, et quantum ad feudatorii juris obligationem vobis duntaxat obnoxius teneor et astringor.*" Alexander III. yet more pertinently casts aside the authority of the Donation; for while Constantine is very naturally made in that instrument to restrict his gifts within the boundaries of the empire,—"*populum . . . imperio nostro subjacentem,*"—Alexander distinctly admits that Ireland did not belong to the empire, but affirms that the Church possesses peculiar rights over islands which she has not in Continental states: "*De regno illo, quod Romani principes, orbis triumphatores, suis temporibus inaccessum, sicut accepimus reliquerint. . . . Romana Ecclesia aliud jus habet in insula quam in terra magna et continua.*"

The meaning of these obscure words appears to be that, whereas the Holy See had confirmed and recognised the integrity of certain states, and the rights of certain crowns, in return for services rendered to itself,—as in the cases of Charlemagne and Robert Guiscard,—and by this reciprocity and the sanction of her laws had adopted such states and princes into the commonwealth of Christendom, the islands, like some of the outlying parts of the Continent, had not been included in these compacts, and remained beyond the pale of this political system. It was conceived that full political rights and independence hardly belonged

to any Christian people, except by virtue of the recognition it obtained from Rome; and that recognition was scarcely bestowed unless it could be made to contribute to the general authority of the Church, and to serve her civilising mission. The Popes desired to establish such an exchange of services that their political resources should be increased by every effort which they made for the dissemination of the faith; and they therefore strove to bring the remoter portions of Christendom within the orbit of the system which they governed, by attaching them as satellites to greater powers, or as direct dependents on themselves. As the area of medieval civilisation spread, assisted by the Empire and by the Frankish chivalry which was set in motion by the Crusades, the West Slavonians, Scandinavia, England, Ireland, Portugal, and several provinces of the Eastern empire, were thus successively brought under the influence of other races, which already formed part of the *respublica Christiana*, in politics as well as religion. There were other cases, such as Hungary, Poland, and Dalmatia, where the Popes entered, without any mediator, into direct relations with the kings. Nevertheless, Ireland remains the one solitary instance in which the Holy See invoked a right which was purely imaginary, to justify the subjection of an independent Christian country to a monarch who had neither rights to enforce nor wrongs to avenge.

It is moreover the earliest practical application of a theory which was vaguely foreshadowed in the amplifications of Gregory VII., and was destined to undergo an extreme development. Although Gregory was scrupulously faithful to the letter of the law, and acted only by means of ideas which all his contemporaries recognised, yet in defending his policy he sometimes used arguments which contained in the germ doctrines very different from those to which he appealed, as a practical statesman, for the groundwork and justification of his policy. These arguments, as stated in various parts of his Epistles (iv. 2, 24; vii. 6; viii. 21), are as follows: Civil government is instituted only for ends which the government of the Church pursues with more ample and efficient means; for the State is an invention of sinful humanity, whereas the Church is founded by God, and the Pope is, by virtue of his office, infallible in doctrine and saintly in life. Inasmuch as religious men are subject to the Church in their whole lives, those who live in the world cannot be exempt from her control precisely in those matters in which the occasions of sin are most frequent, and its consequences most injurious. The power over evil spirits which is conferred by holy orders must include power over those who yield to their suggestions. If a confessor may judge the conscience of a king, the Pope has a better right to do so; and if the Church has power over the soul of a king, she must have power over his crown, which is of lower dignity than his soul. To deny that she can bind and loose in the things of earth as well as heaven is to deny her sacramental power. The authority of the Holy See over secular affairs is as much more absolute than over spiritual as secular affairs are inferior to spiritual; and no arbitrary laws and institutions of man can set limits to a power which can dispense from the sacred canons, and from every law whose origin is not

directly from God. It is a far higher prerogative to remove and depose patriarchs and bishops than to remove and depose the princes of the earth; and the Church of Rome may confiscate and distribute at will all human authorities and every earthly possession: "*Si potestis in celo ligare et solvere, potestis in terra imperia, regna, principatus, ducatus, marchias, comitatus et omnium hominum possessiones pro meritis tollere unicuique et concedere.*" This was a theory which, whenever it came to be acted on, would at once supersede all laws, either positive or natural, and give to the Popes that absolute power which was afterwards claimed as an actual right by Pontiffs less cautious than Gregory VII. It was revived in the twelfth century by Hugh of St. Victor, whose words were afterwards used by Boniface VIII., and was countenanced by some expressions of St. Bernard, whose real matured opinion was strongly opposed to it.

The man who made these ideas prevail in the policy of the Church was Adrian's chancellor, Cardinal Roland, an old professor of law, who preferred the absolute doctrines of the schools of Bologna to the feudal ideas of the preceding period. He was the chief of those who relied on the Normans for security, and regarded the imperial claims as a system of usurpations;—"ex parte illius Rolandi quondam cancellarii per conspirationem et conjurationem contra ecclesiam Dei et imperium Wilhelmo Siculo astricti," says his rival, Victor IV. Adrian's first impulse on all occasions was to follow the advice of this consummate statesman; and the two events which cast an appearance of irresolution and inconsistency on his policy were those on which the resistance of the other Cardinals obliged him to disown the acts of his chancellor, in the peace with Naples and the famous scene at Besançon. Roland was with Adrian at Benevento when John of Salisbury obtained the Bull; and it was doubtless his work. It was dictated by the policy which he was the first to carry into practice, and which was more fully acted upon when, as Alexander III., he succeeded Adrian on the Papal throne. The Bull of Adrian was inoperative; and Adrian himself showed no interest in the execution of the enterprise it encouraged. But Alexander had evidently taken pains to master the question fully; his later Bull is full of the grounds and considerations which induce him to grant it; he recites the information he has obtained; he quotes his authorities; he writes to the Irish princes requiring them to submit, and to the Irish prelates praising their submission. He does not cite the Bull of his predecessor to support and justify his own; for he was now more amply informed, and he was conscious that he himself was mainly responsible for Adrian's act. That act holds indeed a high place in history as a sign of the changing times; for it is founded on principles not before recognised in the Church; but it had little practical significance. John of Salisbury claims to have obtained it; but when he fell shortly after into disgrace, in all his letters defending himself against the displeasure of the king, he never thought of pleading the service he had performed in obtaining the gift of Ireland.

Of the three persons concerned, Adrian himself is the least responsible. Neither the initiative nor the burden of the decision was his.

From the course of his early life, it is scarcely possible that he can have had the feelings of a fellow-countryman for those in whose behalf he performed the one act from which has sprung all the obloquy that has rested on his name. The time and circumstances of his birth made him an outcast in his native land. His father was a poor ecclesiastic of St. Albans ; and he was born in the pontificate of a Pope who said that the best of the English priesthood were the sons of the clergy. But the time was approaching when the custom that they should follow their fathers' calling, and succeed to their benefices, was broken down by Anselm. The first serious attempt to enforce the Roman discipline touching the celibacy of the clergy in the Anglo-Norman Church was made at the synod of London in 1102; and from that time it is probable that no one could be ordained sub-deacon who did not live in continence. These statutes, however, hardly did more than regulate the conditions of ordination, without constraining the priests to dismiss their wives. When that step was taken, some resigned their preferment rather than comply; others persisted in defiance of the law until, in 1108, excommunication was made the penalty of disobedience. The birth of Adrian probably preceded the latter of these dates, but not by many years; for his mother, who afterwards bore a son who was his half-brother, was living when he became Pope. The father retired to the monastery of St. Albans, and left his son in utter destitution. He lived on the alms which he received from the monks, until his father turned him away, bidding him angrily go and work for his livelihood. The youth was resolved that he would not fall beneath the rank of life in which he was born, and was ashamed, as the son of a clerk, either to work or beg in his own country. He had a sort of hereditary claim to the learning he was too poor to pay for. He therefore went to France, and after much suffering obtained his education in that monastery of Provence of which he became the abbot. He grew unpopular with the monks; and his countrymen afterwards believed that it was because he was a foreigner: "*indignati quod hominem peregrinum levassent super capita sua*," says William of Newburgh. This report, the only confirmation of that *anglicana affectio* he was afterwards accused of, is extremely improbable. The objection might have weighed at the time of his promotion, but otherwise would scarcely arise later on; and his biographer, his friend and countryman, who could have no motive for suppressing so simple an explanation of the dissensions which opened a career to him in Rome, is silent about it. There is good reason to believe that he had early divested himself of the sympathies of an Englishman, and that he had no national partiality for the Normans. He had received all his education, from the very elements, in foreign schools; and all his experience of life had been gained in France. That long and early training in the monastery by the Rhone, and the revelation of the new world of knowledge he had received there, must have soon swept away the associations and ideas of a country in which he had been an outcast, which only survived in the memories of his homeless childhood, the hungry watching by the abbey-gate, and the harsh reproaches of his father. Probably he had never seen a Norman in his youth without a kind of

awe, as a being of another order and another race, and he never learned to speak their language—"Erat enim vir valde benignus et patiens," says the same biographer, "in Anglica et Latina lingua peritus."

11. Many years ago a collection was commenced under the title *Corpus Reformatorum*, which was to include all the writings of the principal reformers. The editor began with Melancthon; but it required eight-and-twenty quarto volumes in double columns to include all his works. Calvin is to be the next, and one volume has been published of what promises to be a most valuable edition of his voluminous writings. It is conducted by three professors of Strasburg, one of whom is the learned commentator Reuss, whilst another, Baum, is a great authority on the history of the Swiss Reformation, and has published an important work on Beza. They announce that they will give a great number of unpublished letters of Calvin and his correspondents, together with notes, literary introductions, and very ample indexes. The first volume is a good specimen of the care with which this undertaking is commenced, for it contains three editions of Calvin's Institutes, thus enabling us to trace accurately the successive alterations which he made in the original text. The fearless fidelity of the learned editors may be relied on for the more delicate work of editing the private correspondence.

12. The ninth volume of the general history of M. Laurent, the notorious Belgian infidel, embraces the epoch of the religious wars in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The period is very attractive to an enemy of all Christian dogma, because it supplies him with two objects of contempt instead of one, and he can distribute pretty impartial reproaches on Catholics and Protestants alike. M. Laurent follows the progress of humanity and enlightenment, in other words, the process by which men divested themselves of religious belief in the massacres, revolts, and persecutions of those days, where it first appears in the feeble rise of tolerant ideas. Intolerance, according to him, is essential to Christianity, as it was formed by the Council of Nicea and by St. Augustine, from whom Protestantism inherited it. But, in spite of the conservative and retrogressive purpose of the reformers, Protestantism transformed itself into the religion of progress by giving birth to rationalism; and in the Catholic Church an attempt was made by the Jesuits to adapt their faith to the necessities of a sceptical age. This thesis is developed with all the author's extensive reading and his usual knowledge of the best works in modern literature. Sometimes it even happens that his information is not secondhand; and there are some original authorities with which he is evidently familiar. The ardour of his opinions, so different from those which have usually distorted history, gives an interest even to his grossest errors. Mr. Buckle, if he had been able to distinguish a good book from a bad one, would have been a tolerable imitation of M. Laurent.

13. Ranke has never shown his talent for extracting new and minute

information on a familiar subject more remarkably than in the fourth volume of his *English History*, which extends from the death of Cromwell to the year 1674. It is a model of the art of using authorities; and the author has obtained so much new matter at Paris and Oxford, in the British Museum and the Record Office, that he is entirely free from conventional influences, and presents many new points of view. There could not be a more instructive lesson in historical investigation than carefully to compare the methods used in this volume with those of Macaulay in the following reign. And yet the work has been coldly received among the writer's countrymen, and has not sustained his reputation. His strength does not lie in the history of free communities. He is the historian of courts and statesmen, incomparable at unravelling the web of an intrigue, and divining the hidden, changing schemes of the most expert politician; and he understands the force of convictions, the influence of literature, and the progress of theories; but he is happier when he has to deal with personal than with public opinions, with individuals than with masses. His miniature-painting preserves with a fidelity amounting to genius the features of royal and illustrious persons; but he has not the breadth of touch requisite to do justice to great popular and national movements, and to dramas in which the actors are whole classes and provinces of men. Therefore we feel that there is something inadequate, narrow, and unsympathising, in his treatment of the constitutional struggles and of the great political and religious parties, while his intimate knowledge of all the contemporary history of Europe is a merit not suited to his insular readers. But in all that relates to general politics, as in the Triple Alliance and the character of Clarendon, the hand of a real master is not to be mistaken.

14. The Duke of Manchester possesses real historical treasures in the archives of Kimbolton; but it would have been easier to estimate their precise value if he had allowed us to have them without the backram and motley which accompanies them in his *Court and Society from Elizabeth to Anne*. The contents of the volumes are twofold. First there is a history of Queen Catherine of Arragon, founded chiefly on the documents brought to light by Herr Bergenroth from the archives of Simancas, but burdened with the whims of Mr. Hepworth Dixon and the pleasantries of Dr. Doran. Queen Catherine died at Kimbolton; and the owner of the house naturally takes interest in her history. But why he should have made it into the first part of sketches of Court life "from Elizabeth to Anne" is not very intelligible. Why did he not call his volume *Court and Society from Henry VIII. to Anne*? In the second part are the Kimbolton papers containing the correspondence of the Montagu family with statesmen and courtiers, beginning with Sir Francis Walsingham and ending with the Duke of Marlborough. Of course they only tell a very small part of the story of each person concerned. Mr. Dixon and Dr. Doran have been employed to fill in the outlines, to paint flaming pictures into which these old faded relics could be inlaid, to weave new garments on purpose to be patched with these

decaying remnants. Many of the letters are without political interest ; some are important as enabling us to add a few touches to the moral portraits of great actors in our history. There are two from Robert Devereux, the great Earl of Essex, which both enable the duke to institute a curiously exact parallel between his fortunes and those of Shakespeare's Hamlet, and give Mr. Dixon an opportunity to repeat some of those calumnies against Essex which his perverse admiration for Bacon's moral character has obliged him to adopt. It is strange that in this age of monographs and rehabilitations no one has ever patronised Essex and the group that surrounded him, who represented all the elements of the opposition,—the men of letters in Southampton and Shakespeare, the Catholics in the destined Gunpowder conspirators, and the Puritans. Let us only hope that no devil will tempt either Mr. Dixon or Dr. Doran to fill up this void in our literature.

15. M. Matter, in his seventy-third year, has added another to the long list of books which, during nearly half a century, he has been writing on the philosophy or history of religion. Though Protestant, he is not Swedenborgian; and he comes to the discussion of Swedenborg's life, writings, and doctrine, unfettered by the prejudices of a partisan. The character of the great Swedish theosophist has, he believes, been sadly misconstrued; and his object is to place the history of that remarkable man—hitherto a conventional fable—in its true light. He conceives that in Swedenborg the supernatural finds its fullest expression; that he is, in short, the supernatural in presence of the sceptical criticism of the last century, and also the greatest reconciliation ever effected between the natural and supernatural, the rational and the marvellous.

The title of the work suggests three subjects for consideration. The book carefully traces every stage of Swedenborg's long career; but it establishes very little that differs from the judgment society has long ago pronounced on the founder of the "New Jerusalem" and the revealer of the "celestial" sense of Scripture to men. It labours to exonerate his writings from the charge of mysticism, and maintains that, on the contrary, they are rationalistic. They are really both; the two qualities go hand in hand in easy brotherhood. That Swedenborg's reasoning faculties were always on the alert, is beyond doubt; but the same may be said of many a spirit-rapper. He argues cleverly; but his data and postulates are often the creatures of his imagination. Before he entered on the career which has made him famous, he wrote many books on natural science; and the physical knowledge he had acquired during so many years abundantly fed his fancy when this world grew too small for him, and he traversed other regions in the solar system. One looks in vain in M. Matter's entertaining volume for a luminous statement and distinct repudiation of the Swedenborgian doctrines, such as may be found in Möhler's *Symbolism*. He is indulgent to vague dogma; and it pleases him more to enlarge on the moral beauty of Swedenborg's character than to analyse his system or point out his errors.

16. Mr. Riethmüller's sensible and interesting volume on Alexander Hamilton, the foremost of American statesmen, will bear to be compared with De Witt's excellent biography of Jefferson, his successful rival. No foreign writer on political affairs is more worthy of the study of Englishmen, for none sustained the principles of our government in circumstances of greater difficulty, or applied them to a condition of society more remote from our own. European writers such as Montesquieu and Burke have been more deeply versed in history, and have enjoyed the resources of a wider induction; but no philosopher of equal genius ever presided over the formation of a great political society, or watched with equal sagacity the phenomena of its early growth. The wisdom of other men is derived from the long experience of communities developed to their maturity, or already inclining to their decay. No great philosopher held a mirror to the age of Solon, or the Decemvirs, or Charlemagne or Alfred. The wise and observant Achaian who judged so keenly the character of Rome in its transition from an Italian to a universal dominion, and men like Portalis and Fiévée, who saw the reconstruction of the French State after the Revolution, are almost the only instances similar to that of Hamilton watching by the cradle of the American polity. All the knowledge of those who, coming in the height of civilisation, taught the diagnosis of disease, has not the peculiar value of that teaching which other men have learned from the copditions under which states have been established.

Scarcely older than Pitt, and dying before him, Hamilton occupies in history a place not less exalted. He distinguished himself as a soldier in the War of Independence, and afterwards practised as a lawyer at New York. He represented that state in the Convention which formed the American Constitution. Mr. Riethmüller has not ventured to follow Mr. Curtis into the detailed history of that great Assembly. In this, as in other places, he appears to have made little research beyond the common books which are familiar to Americans. But he errs in representing Hamilton's influence as predominant on this occasion. Hamilton was absent during great part of the deliberations; his scheme was rejected, as it appears, not unreasonably; and, although no man present equalled him in talent, there were some who exercised a greater power. Nor was he so persuaded as his biographer says that a Republican government could alone subsist in America. In all things except the inheritance of political privileges he sought to introduce the forms of the English Constitution; and his political system, although deficient for a time in the aristocratic element, would have possessed the essentials of monarchy. His advocacy caused the adoption of the compromise of 1789; but, though he defended it in immortal writings, he never felt confident of its vitality, and was as conscious of its defects as those who, like Luther Martin, desired its rejection. Time has shown that there was no security against the arbitrary force of the people's will; and the regulation of the central and the local jurisdiction, the delicate problem of federal government, ultimately failed.

Speculating as to the probable conduct of Hamilton in the present controversy, Mr. Riethmüller concludes that he would have admitted

the right of secession, and would have considered that "a republic maintained by force was no republic at all" (p. 440). A man who can write thus has not understood the political philosophy of the great American. No man rejected more decidedly than Hamilton that theory that the union is a union between separate states, and not a form of national unity, which is always urged by the defenders of the Southern cause. The act of the Southern States would have appeared to him, not a constitutional measure, but a legitimate revolution, crowning that great enterprise in which he bore a part. It would be congenial to his spirit to approve the form of government which the Southern Congress instituted, and to reject, as the very essence of arbitrary revolutionism, the use of questions of social morality to decide problems of political right. But he had too much reverence for law, too great a horror of the momentary action of popular will, to deny that the constitution of a Republic is as sacred and as worthy of armed defence as the crown of any king.

17. Several works have lately been published on the lives of Germans who served on the American side in the War of Independence, such as Steuben and Kalb. A volume has now appeared on the German auxiliaries of England, remembered by the generic name of Hessians, describing the war from a point of view which all parties have neglected, and giving, besides many new details, an original and interesting view of the war itself. The author has used materials of the highest value—the archives of the petty German states, and the journals of many of the officers. There are to be two volumes. The first contains a curious account of the origin and character of those treaties by which German princes sold their subjects as soldiers to greater states.

During the wars with Lewis XIV., the Emperor often took into his service the troops of some of the lesser states, and paid their rulers for them. By this arrangement the princes of such states contributed their share to the defence of the Empire, without laying heavy burdens on the country, still suffering from the Thirty Years' War; and at the same time they made themselves independent of the Estates, by means of the subsidies they received. The practice enriched the sovereign, and relieved the finances of the State. It was natural to argue that what was done for the Emperor might be done for his allies, or for any body who was at war with the national enemy. In 1687 Hessians were sent to serve the Venetians against the Turks, and in the following year they served the States-General against the French. The War of Succession might be considered a national war; and the same Landgrave gave 20,000 soldiers to England and Holland, while the troops of Gotha were serving the Emperor in the same cause. The military constitution of the Empire was such that for more than a century the standing armies of the lesser States owed nearly all their warlike experience and repute to services performed under a foreign government. In general there was no conscription, and all the men who went into foreign service were voluntary recruits; but for which they could never have been kept to their standard. Wherever it was possible to raise the promised contingent from the population of a neighbouring territory, this was

done by the governments, in order to spare their own. The practice was not unpopular; nobody thought it immoral or degrading; officers of high rank and of reputation from former wars were always ready to be sent into foreign service; and in the great French war it was found that the best soldiers were the Hessians and Brunswickers who had fought in America. The Landgrave of Hesse and the heir to the Duke of Brunswick had married English princesses; and in sending troops against the revolted Americans they deemed that they were acting legitimately in defence of what might belong to the inheritance of their children. The treaty of 1775 with George III. was the tenth of the kind which had been made by Hesse since the seventeenth century. It is reckoned that the Landgrave received near three millions sterling from England in the course of eight years.

18. M. Richelot's memoirs of Göthe are an illustration of the lasting influence of a man of genius, who seems to seize men's minds here and there, and force them to make themselves apostles of his doctrines and propagandists of his renown. M. Richelot has been haunted by the great German poet for a quarter of a century. About twenty-five years ago he published his first book about Göthe; since then he has written a history of the Commercial Reformation in England, a treatise on the German Zollverein, and other works which have given him a high rank among the economists; but he has never lost sight of his beloved poet, on whom he has been brooding through all his economical studies. The present work is in four volumes, though Göthe's life was not what the French call accentuated. His journeys were all pleasure-trips. His social position was fixed early. He was no actor in, but only a somewhat indifferent spectator of, the great drama of the Revolutionary wars. But his interior life makes up for the monotony of his external career. Under the skilful analysis of M. Richelot his biography reads like one of our novels of character where the plot is completely subservient to the development of the man. Göthe's internal developments were so romantic, that when he wrote his memoirs, his memory could give him no test to distinguish the *Wahrheit und Dichtung aus meinen Leben*—the truth from the poetical fiction which made up his autobiographical reminiscences.

The first volume comprises the hero's youth up to the publication of *Werther*. The correspondence of Kestner, published in 1855, enables the writer to rectify many false ideas about that romance. Göthe told Eckermann that it still produced among youths of the proper age as much effect as ever. This does not seem to be the case. The epoch of its appearance was one of sentimentality, and it is only in such periods that it could prove itself so inflammatory a squib as it was. One of its peculiarities is that, whereas romances generally embellish and idealise ordinary life, this one depresses its characters below the ordinary level. This extreme realism was one of the causes of its success. The idealised autobiography of the *Wahrheit und Dichtung* is the chief authority followed in the end of the first and the whole of the second volume, which embraces the period from 1775-1789, comprising the

residence at Weimar and the Italian journey. The third volume is the one which presents Göthe in the most advantageous light ; it embraces the epoch of the French Revolution and his relations with Schiller. The friendship of the two men was a rare spectacle among persons of their calling. They both had weaknesses enough ; but neither of them was jealous of rivals ; and German literature has reaped the double benefit of their emulation and collaboration. The fourth volume perhaps exhibits M. Richelot's talents to the best advantage, though the reader is always so much under the influence of the poet that the merits of the biographer are in danger of being overlooked. Yet the humble labour of clearing difficulties, and putting together detached notices, is one worthy of the more gratitude from its very want of brilliancy. It is just this conscientious work, so rare in a Frenchman, that makes M. Richelot's careful and yet brilliant volumes especially valuable.

19. A Swiss Rationalist, M. Reymond, has disguised under the names of *Corneille, Shakespeare, and Goethe* an agreeable but superficial essay on the action of German literature on France in the nineteenth century. A careful analysis, tracing ideas through several intermediate stages, would show that there is nothing in recent French literature original or of native growth except Socialism, which belongs to the social rather than the literary history of France. And the greatest philosopher of the Socialists, Pierre Leroux, drew his method from the Germans. But in M. Reymond's volume there is no minute research and no historical method. He has an eye for imitations, but none for intellectual influences. M. Cousin, of all French writers the one who owes the greatest literary reputation to the skilful adaptation of German ideas to the forms of French thought, occupies a prominent place in the volume ; but this is due to no critical judgment, but simply to the circumstance that he met the author in the street during a shower of rain, and conversed with him under the same umbrella. It was during the summer of 1860, when Lamoricière commanded the army of the Pope ; and M. Cousin astonished his companion by pronouncing opinions on the temporal power similar to those of M. Guizot's pamphlet, and of M. Thiers's speech in the Legislative Assembly. "I have renounced abstractions, ideas, and principles, especially now that men attack with a poor remnant of the philosophy of the eighteenth century the temporal power of the Pope, that is to say, the independence of the Church, the only ark of salvation of spiritualism, the only barrier that we can oppose at the present day to the invasion of materialism" (p. 72). M. Reymond's idea of religion is that it is a system of moveable dogmas governed by the progress of science and the social requirements of each successive age, whose ethics have always been held by the conscience of men in opposition to all positive religions. MM. Michelet, Vacherot, and Renan are at present the fathers of this accommodating church, the revelation of which consists of nothing but the discoveries of science. Our author, however, seems to be no better endowed with science than with faith.

20. Professor Heinrich von Sybel is a disciple of Ranke, who has learned the art of critical investigation in the dry accurate school of medieval history, without losing the power of grouping facts according to ideas, or being absorbed in the prosaic minuteness which is sometimes a consequence of those antiquarian studies. Like his more famous but scarcely more able master, he is strongest in dealing with the modern world, and with an advanced civilisation; and his aversion for religious controversy draws him to that period which was entirely occupied with political problems—the period of the Revolution. The tone of his mind is essentially modern; it has little warmth or depth, and little power of sympathy. But in his own chosen sphere, among men like the heroes of Thucydides, and questions such as delighted Tocqueville, as a mere political historian, we know of none we could prefer to him. He has lately collected in a volume a variety of historical dissertations, which are apparently chosen with some reference to his position as a leader of the Prussian opposition, since they illustrate most of his political and national opinions. Those on Eugene of Savoy and the rising of Europe against Napoleon are splendid sketches, full of political design, and without any show of research. That on Catherine II. is vitiated by the hasty presumption that there is no ground to doubt the authenticity of her memoirs; whilst the view of the Second Crusade gives the brief result of very profound studies, which have been partly published in another form. There is an attack on the medieval theory of the state, which was originally published above twelve years ago, and contains in germ those views on the injurious influence of the revival of the empire in Germany by which the author more recently occasioned a very active literary and political controversy, and gained the palm in dexterity and popularity, if not in other respects. Two of the most interesting essays are devoted to De Maistre and Burke, and of these the latter is less tainted with prejudice and in general more satisfactory. It embraces, however, only Burke's policy towards Ireland, with a remarkable account of events subsequent to his death, down to the union. Nothing that Herr von Sybel ever wrote is more fitted to give a high notion of his moral and intellectual qualifications for writing history; and nothing more worthy of Burke has yet been written. The essay originally appeared in connection with another, equally good, on Burke's position towards the French Revolution; and it is to be regretted that they have not been united in this volume. Probably the author was unwilling to republish matter which has served as the scaffolding to his great work on the revolutionary epoch. But if these two essays on Burke and that on the War of 1813 stood alone, there would be little to qualify our admiration for the noble powers of the author, and we should be tempted to exalt him to a level which the remainder of the volume does not justify us in assigning to him.

21. M. Verdier, the latest of the many recent writers on the Restoration in France, begins his book with the remark that the period of which he treats has the rare merit of having discussed almost all the elementary questions of public law and the conditions of a free govern-

ment. The endeavour to reconstruct a monarchical society and a constitutional polity after the Revolution and the Empire was as vast, and the problems involved in it as difficult as those of 1789; and a book equal to such a subject would be as full of interest as that of Tocqueville. So much has been lately written on the period by some of the best historians and most thoughtful politicians of the country, that the labour of drawing up a compendious narrative of the efforts and failures of those fifteen years is less than subjects so attractive generally demand. M. Verdier's volume is a useful compendium, chiefly based on the radical Vaulabelle. The author is what is called in France a child of '89. For the history of the year 1815 he discards that remarkable book which, under the name of Colonel Charras, is said to contain the views of the illustrious Changarnier on the campaign of Waterloo, and sticks to M. Thiers. He even affirms that Wellington insisted on the prompt execution of Ney. But he is not a partisan blinded by irritation. He admits that the fall of Napoleon was precipitated by the servile spirit he had maintained in the Senate, and that his credit never stood as high as that of the first royalist ministry, when the finances were administered by Baron Louis. Later on he does hearty justice to that great liberal statesman De Serre. When he says that Lewis XVIII. took no pains with the *Charte*, because he did not know the value of words in a state which is governed by eloquence, he gives, somewhat indistinctly, a real argument for written constitutions. The leading idea of the book is that the heritage of liberal principles left by the Revolution gradually delivered France from the degradation and oppression of 1815, aided by the brilliant literary movement of the time; and he traces with much truth the steps by which they came to triumph over the royalist reaction.

22. The sixth volume of M. Guizot's *Memoirs* is dedicated to the early years of his memorable administration. There is the same elaborate simplicity that betrays art as in the earlier volumes, and the same stern gravity that regards his own career and sentiments as things too solemn for familiar language. The satisfaction he feels at his own character betrays him into what the world would generally consider a piece of false psychology. "I have always carried into public life an optimist disposition, ever ready or resolved to hope for success, which veils over obstacles at the beginning, and afterwards renders disappointment more easy to bear" (p. 7). There is an excellent passage on the moral nature and purpose of the state, against those who treat it as a police organisation for the protection of property. "That would be a very unintelligent and very frivolous power which should content itself with the material and actual order, and should not aspire also to possess the minds and the future. . . . It is the dignity, it is the honour of men to become attached to their government only when their ideas are satisfied at the same time that their interests are assured, and to require to believe that it will last when they shall be no more" (p. 345). It may be partly this disposition to think more of moral than material interests which makes M. Guizot unwilling fairly to consider the great econo-

mical motives of the schism between the people and the middle class on which despotism is founded in France. But he understands better than many of his countrymen the perishable nature of every triumphant democracy. It is a volatile essence that can be fixed only in composition. If left to itself, it either dies a violent death at the hands of monarchy, or slides, by the normal process of nature, into aristocracy. M. Guizot nowhere repeats, in this volume, the exposition of his own views which is virtually contained in this *Three Generations*; but he describes as follows the theories which it was his business to combat in the years 1840-1848: "The universal right of men to political power;—the universal right of men to social comfort;—democratic unity and sovereignty substituted for monarchical unity and sovereignty;—the rivalry of the people against the middle class succeeding the rivalry between the middle class and the nobility;—the science of nature and the worship of humanity raised up in the place of religious faith and of the worship of God."

23. M. Laboulaye's book on the liberal party, its programme, and its future, is of solid, durable quality, though it was written for an occasional purpose. Its exciting cause was the revival of the liberal spirit in France, as shown by the elections of 1863; and it is distinguished by a deep knowledge of national character. The cause of the perpetual alternations of despotism and liberty in France M. Laboulaye finds in the fact that the French in general do not know what real liberty is; not the individual liberty which each man requires for himself, but that general political medium in which each man lives and moves, as he breathes in the atmosphere. From this idea he proceeds to draw the principles of the liberal party, or that party which "desires neither universal war, nor government by police, nor the repression of opinion, nor the Continental system," but which aims at obtaining from the new empire "what it promised at Bordeaux and other places when it proclaimed itself to be synonymous with peace, the reign of a laborious and peaceful democracy, the coronation of the edifice, the advent of a complete and productive freedom."

The whole work consists in the development of this programme. But the author displays a certain hesitation in the process. He does not seem precisely to fear the government; nor was he thinking of the authorities when he wrote, "A man is not seditious because he wishes that France should not be inferior, I do not say to England or the United States, but to Switzerland, Belgium, and Holland." He tells us of whom he was thinking when he advises those people whose taste leads them to be liberal, but whose timidity makes them think his programme too large and too bold, to consider that in matters of liberty, as in matters of religion, it is a first principle to think of others more than of oneself. "We cannot," he says, "make our desires or convictions the measure of all wants and of all beliefs; our rights only deserve respect when we respect the rights of others. The reforms which I demand have not all the same importance in the eyes of any one reader, but each has its ardent and conscientious advocates; all depend on the same

principle ; every one is founded on justice, and has a right to be found in a liberal programme. Liberty has this great advantage, that it enables every legitimate ambition to satisfy itself, and thus unites all noble souls. It is a feast, where each guest may find what he likes best." M. Laboulaye has thought it his first duty to reassure these timid people, and to prove to them that he is no radical, and had no wish to destroy any thing. He thinks with Daunon that "the best constitution is that which happens to exist," and that the way to deal with it is to squeeze out of it all it will yield, even though with hard squeezing it does not promise to yield much. There are two kinds of democracy, he says. The first is that "which obeys and flatters a master, and the next day knocks him down and insults him ; such is the democracy of the Cæsars, the ignorant and revolutionary democracy, the mob-rule of appetites and passions. The other is the Christian democracy, enlightened and industrious, wherein every individual is taught from his infancy to govern himself, and to respect the rights of others, the law which protects individual rights, and the authority which guards the law. This is the democracy which the liberal party loves ; this it is which it desires to set up."

Such are the principles of the book. For the argument, the writer distinguishes between liberties which exist for themselves, and liberties which are the guarantees of the former class—individual and social liberties and political liberties. He shows how the French system interferes at every turn with individual liberties ; how it often entirely exterminates every vestige of the social liberties—liberty of worship, of instruction, of charity, of association ; how it extinguishes municipal liberties. "To regulate the individual, the family, the association, the municipality, the department, the province,—such is the object of the modern legislator. He knows that the state is a living organism, and that the strength of the body is the sum of the strength of its members. What folly, then, is it to quench the force of a society ! Does the administration inherit any thing from that which it kills ? 'With centralisation,' said Lammennais, 'you have apoplexy at the centre and paralysis at the extremities.' No word can be more true. Every statesman should have it ever in mind, and never forgot that in politics apoplexy is called revolution."

In the second part the author treats of political liberty, its guarantees, the true nature of its constituent elements, of universal suffrage, popular education, national representation, ministerial responsibility, the senate, the right of initiation, justice, equality before the law, the press, and the future of the liberal party. His opinions are those of a group of men who seem destined one day to rule France, if they are moderate enough to secure to others the liberties they demand for themselves. Here is the rock on which French politicians generally make shipwreck. They cannot keep from extremes. They run from unitarian despotism to radical republicanism. It is only in the mean that they can verify their motto, *Union de l'ordre avec la liberté*.

24. Mr. Prescott's life has been written by his intimate friend, who

is also the most accomplished scholar of his country, in a volume which would have been worthy of a still more illustrious subject. He was one of the most amiable and beloved of men; but there was neither depth in his nature, nor earnestness in his intellect, to give to the narrative that sort of interest which belongs to the biographies of his fellow-townsmen, Parker, or Channing, or Webster. No philosophy and no passion, neither discovery nor adventure, raised his life above the common level. Several times, in his earlier years, the great problem of religion occupied his mind. Mr. Ticknor, who, like him, is a Unitarian, though made of sterner stuff, relates that he more than once examined the ordinary books on the evidences of Christianity, such as Butler and Paley, with very great care; that he accepted the historical narrative of the gospels, and acquiesced generally in the moral precepts of Christianity; but that he heartily rejected its dogmas, without ever giving offensive utterance to his views. On this basis was reared that apparent fairness in the treatment of religious questions which is deemed one of Prescott's merits, and which earned for him the praises of the late Archbishop Hughes. This placid indifference is very unlike the distributive justice which is demanded of the intelligent historian; and Prescott's description of the religion of Mexico is enough to prove his inaptitude to understand not merely the quality of religious truth, but the nature and operation of religious ideas.

It follows that his view of history was very superficial. His philosophy did not rise above the ordinary moralising about the development of human passion and character. The writers who influenced his method were the French historians of the eighteenth century, and especially Mably. It was his business to construct elegant narratives out of good materials, with taste and in a healthy tone, not to solve difficult problems, enquire deeply into unknown sources, or trace the action and reaction of ideas and events. His biography contains so much information about his studies, that we can follow with perfect ease the formation of his historical ideal and processes. He took no more than a literary interest in his craft. He republished Robertson's *Charles V.* in order to append a better description of the Emperor's last years; but the famous *Introduction* was, in his judgment, a fair and sufficient sketch of the Middle Ages. His own general knowledge was derived from secondary sources; and he never knew enough German to learn from the Germans the principles of critical investigation.

25. There are few men of note who show to greater advantage in private life than Washington Irving; and the biography which his nephew has now brought to a conclusion draws aside the curtain that hid him from the world, with considerable skill. His playful humour, quick imagination, and genuine benevolence, made his fireside talk and familiar correspondence sparkle with a sunny ripple. The very name of his residence on the banks of the Hudson was indicative of the man, for in every circumstance of life his thoughts and movements were always on the "sunny-side." Here, at the age of sixty-five, we find him calm and cheerful, with feelings as fresh as in boyhood, and a kind word

for every one he meets. Here, to use Sir Philip Sidney's expression, "he cometh to you with a tale (ay, and with many a tale) that holdeth children from play, and old men from the chimney-corner." To this favourite retreat he brought one day from New York a picture which had strongly touched his religious sensibilities. This was Dupont's engraving of Ary Scheffer's "Christus Consolator." He had seen it in the window of a German shop, and gazed at it till the tears gathered in his eyes. He thought "there was nothing superior to it in the world of art." This occurred in the autumn of 1848, when he became a member of the Episcopal Church, and he was no doubt more than usually susceptible of the emotions such an engraving was calculated to excite. With anecdotes such as these his *Life* abounds, and they are all just what we might expect to read of the biographer of Oliver Goldsmith. There are many points of resemblance between these two men, and it would be interesting to compare their respective characters and writings. Washington Irving's nephew is keenly alive to the piquancy of his uncle's style, whether in conversation or composition; and he never fails to bring it into prominent relief. He introduces us also to a group of distinguished literary men, who clustered round the historian of Columbus and Washington, or corresponded with him in his honourable retirement.

26, 27. Though a good cause appeals the more powerfully to our sympathies when it comes to us in the garb of weakness, yet weakness, in itself, is not a merit, but a defect. It properly excites in us the feeling of contempt; and if it claims for itself an immunity from the laws by which wrong-doing is restrained, we can witness the vindication of justice at its expense with a satisfaction untempered by pity. When Mr. Kingsley, therefore, makes an unprovoked attack on Dr. Newman, and Dr. Newman raises his finger in self-defence, there is no reason why any impartial looker-on should deprecate the necessary result of the conflict. Clear perception and exact thought work according to their own laws, and cannot help the completeness of the discomfiture they inflict on obtuse and blundering passion. Mr. Kingsley has received no more than his deserts; but he has become the object of one of the severest personal castigations recorded in literary history. Certainly no one will ever follow in his steps in the hope of "making himself a cheap reputation by smart hits at safe objects;" and the *Correspondence on the Question whether Dr. Newman teaches that Truth is no Virtue?* will preserve a moral portrait of the assailant when men have ceased to be influenced by his crude opinions, or to admire his unscrupulous rhetoric.

The portrait, though it has been sketched by its original, is not a noble or attractive one. Filling a place of high responsibility as a teacher of historical science, Mr. Kingsley, in a popular article in a magazine, brings against the whole Roman clergy, of all times and countries, a charge of untruthfulness, which in its sweeping universality is mere nonsense, just as it would be if he brought it against any other considerable body of Christian men. To clench and point this charge, however, he singles out a great name, and declares definitely: 'Father Newman informs

us that truth for its own sake need not, and on the whole ought not to, be a virtue with the Roman clergy.' Being thereupon challenged to say when and where the priest he thus accuses has thus accused his brethren, he shrinks from the proof, referring vaguely to a Protestant sermon of 17 pages preached by the Vicar of St. Mary's, and published in 1844, and more vaguely still to "many passages" in works by Dr. Newman which he abstains altogether from specifying. Having thus shifted the charge from a priest speaking of priests to an individual Protestant speaking of himself only, and having thereby swept away the sole pretext which could be alleged for regarding his mention of Dr. Newman at all as any thing better than a mere pointless impertinence, he proceeds to offer the homage of his "gratitude" to the very man on whose head he has just concentrated this revolting imputation, and to whom he says in the same breath, "I shall be most happy, *on your showing me that I have wronged you*, to retract my accusation as publicly as I have made it." As this artifice fails, of course, to extricate him from the vice in which Dr. Newman fixes him down to the alternative of proving or retracting his statement, he next writes a paper for publication, in which he declares, not, what is the fact, that he has made no attempt to prove his statement by citing any words at all, but, what is not the fact, that Dr. Newman has denied that certain given words bear a certain alleged meaning—"his denial of the meaning which I have put upon his words." He surrounds this declaration with a setting of what he understands to be compliments, and sends a copy of the paper to Dr. Newman, apparently in the belief that men value, or at all events accept, expressions of personal esteem from those who withhold the reparation that is due for grave moral offences. Undeceived on this point, he takes back the pseudo-courtesies; but he still shrinks not only from alleging any definite words as the groundwork of his charge, but even from confessing that he has shrunk from it, and persists in a declaration which, though it withdraws the original charge, founds the withdrawal on a palpable misstatement of fact. At the same time, as though he were doing something which men might be expected to regard as a serious act of reparation, he adheres to the expression of his "heartly regret" at having so far "mistaken" Dr. Newman as to believe that in a sermon published in 1844 he had authoritatively 'informed' the congregation of St. Mary's that truth for its own sake need not, and on the whole ought not to, be a virtue with the Roman clergy. And then, looking back on the whole of his own conduct in the affair, and judging it by the standards which his conscience and his sense of honour supply, he washes his hands before the "British public"—for he has been told that his letters may be printed—and complacently exclaims, "I have done as much as one English gentleman can expect from another."

Perfectly appreciating the demands of the occasion, Dr. Newman had left the aspersion on the Roman clergy to be refuted by the absurdity involved in its mere statement, and had only taken up directly the definite charge against himself. In dealing with this, he had scornfully passed over the author of the article, whose name was then unknown to him, as well as the editor of the magazine in which it had appeared,

and had simply brought the matter to the notice of the publishers with whom the magazine was associated. Mr. Kingsley then came forward on his own account; and when the discussion was over, Dr. Newman, not concurring in his view of the obligations of an English gentleman, summed up the results of the controversy, in a second letter to the publishers, and put it into print, with a few "reflections," chiefly by way of analysis. This analysis, being a perfectly fair one, added nothing really to the previous correspondence; but it pointed the bearings of the case in a manner better fitted to bring them home to Mr. Kingsley's mind. He had not perceived the force that was compressed in his antagonist's letters. "A very moderate answer" is the phrase he uses to describe the first of them, which, though it certainly was not otherwise than perfectly moderate, was yet sufficiently calculated to make the blood rise to the cheeks of any ordinarily acute and sensitive man to whom it might happen to be addressed; and he even fancied—so he tells us—that the most important word in it was "a mere slip of the pen." But no human skin could be proof against the cuts of the analysis. It was impossible to ignore the keenness of the blade, or the accuracy of the aim, or the force of the strokes. Mr. Kingsley naturally writhed under it; and, feeling apparently that he could not keep silence without dishonour, he put aside the question whether a man in that position necessarily improves it by speaking, and issued a rejoinder, under the title "*What, then, does Dr. Newman mean?*"

This pamphlet proceeds on the assumption that, although the author has retracted his charge against Dr. Newman of teaching lying on system, and is therefore precluded from any attempt to prove it, yet he is at liberty to construct and publish exactly the same argument as if he were engaged in that attempt, provided he asserts that his only object in doing so is to explain why he originally made the charge. Much might be forgiven to a man smarting under the lash which, however deservedly, has fallen on Mr. Kingsley; but such a theory as this evinces a perversion of the moral sense, which no mere conjuncture of external circumstances can account for—much less excuse. It blunts the astonishment with which we should otherwise follow him through pages that read like the dull ravings of Exeter Hall, only broken now and then by touches of a coarser fanaticism. Such a production lies substantially outside the range of our criticism; and Mr. Kingsley's friends—who, unless we misinterpret a passage at page 8, have done what they could to keep him silent—will not complain of us if, as far as we are concerned, we leave its main contents to the oblivion which is the happiest fate they can find. To justify such a forbearance, however, we must enable our other readers to judge of the character of Mr. Kingsley's reasoning, by simply putting before them one of his arguments. We choose the first of them, not because it differs at all in point of soundness or honesty from the mass of those which follow it, but merely because it is the first. The sermon, he says, to which he referred, and which was preached by Mr. Newman, as Vicar of St. Mary's, and published in 1844, was not a Protestant but a "Romish" one. And then he proceeds to prove it: In another sermon published in the same volume Mr.

Newman asks whether monks and nuns are not "Christians after the very pattern given us in Scripture;" and in the sermon itself he says, "What, for instance, though we grant that sacramental confession and the celibacy of the clergy do tend to consolidate the body politic in the relation of rulers and subjects, or, in other words, to aggrandise the priesthood? for how can the Church be one body without such relation?" Well? says the reader, impatient for the proof. But there is no more. That is the proof. So that Mr. Kingsley's final position on the matter is this,—that any man who asks whether monks and nuns are not Bible Christians, whether sacramental confession and clerical celibacy may not be in accordance with the will of God though they tend to consolidate the ecclesiastical polity, and whether the Church could be one body without the relation of rulers and subjects, is, *eo nomine*, "Romish" in such a sense that he is in a position to give authoritative 'information' about the ethical system of the Roman clergy.

No one supposes that Dr. Newman's reputation would be likely to suffer from any attack Mr. Kingsley might make on it; but the morality of literature would suffer if popular declaimers were never brought to book, and taught by experience to fear that critical exactness which nature and habit have not disposed them to cultivate. There is no level of nonsense or calumny to which a writer may not descend when he starts from a merely subjective idea of truth, not labouring to grasp the object of his apprehension as it exists in itself, and convey it simply from the world of fact to the consciousness of his readers, unchanged by its passage through his own mind, but content to view it dimly through the haze of prejudice and passion, and careful only to impress upon his canvas the precise distortion that has charmed his fancy. "It is not more than an hyperbole to say that, in certain cases, a lie is the nearest approach to truth;" and it is no hyperbole at all to say that there is a certain kind of truth which has some of the worst features of a lie.

28. Mr. Goldwin's Smith's *Plea for the Abolition of Tests* is an eloquent appeal, but as an argument implies so many preliminary concessions that it will probably only convince those who are convinced already. Indeed, it hardly appeals to any one who does not weigh the comparative value of different principles in the same scales as the author. To understand what these scales are, we must first remember that he is a theosophist; that is, he believes in the sufficiency of the knowing faculties of man to apprehend and comprehend God, and he treats as promulgators of universal scepticism and despair of truth those who, like Mr. Mansel, "prove that men" [of their own reason, research, and sentiment] "cannot know God, and, by necessary implication, that God cannot make Himself known to man" (p. 94). The meaning of this is, that he holds the revelation given us to be internal, not external. Hence, when he admits (p. 88), "not but that there was a faith which was committed to the Church by its Founder, to be simply held for ever, and which those who sold the spiritual independence of the Church for State endowments . . . most miserably betrayed," he cannot mean

any formulary of faith,—not even the Apostles' Creed, which, though a "summary of faith," could not have been a "test" to serve the purposes of "dogmatism and exclusiveness" (p. 22). He must therefore hold that all tests of faith conceived in verbal formularies are against faith. And that this is his fundamental conviction—the point on which he really though unconfessedly takes his stand, and argues as if from an axiom known to all who are worth reasoning with—is clear to any one who reads his book carefully.

For if he had admitted that the Apostles' Creed had been the primitive test of orthodoxy, then, with his strong assertion of the principle of development (p. 88), he must also have admitted that this test would gradually accumulate around it fresh articles of a similar kind, explanatory of the original articles in the terminology of a new philosophy, as in fact it has done. But he utterly rejects these developed tests, on the ground that they deal with doctrine which no one can understand, and which, therefore, no controversy can settle (p. 82). This would be no argument with reasoners who hold that revelation, like an algebraical formula, contains both known and unknown quantities, and that, though we may not understand the exact value of x , the process of summing may lead to some knowledge of its proportion to the known quantities, and perhaps to an approximate estimate of the unknown. But it is a valid argument with one who holds the human mind to be of itself sufficient to apprehend and comprehend God. "If there is a God, and if His voice speaking in our nature does not mock us, we shall be led to the truth only by free, patient, and careful enquiry, carried on with the requisite knowledge, and with a single-hearted love of truth" (p. 90).

In the case of a man thus transparent, one cannot say it would have been more honest, but it would have shown a truer appreciation of his situation, if he had confessed at once that all religious tests were in his opinion essentially irreligious, and had then gone about to prove this great point. But he prefers to take a wider circuit, and elaborately to miss the fundamental argument. He talks about the existing tests—about the immorality of imposing such a mass of controversial decisions on young minds; of imposing at all articles some of which contain manifest and proved falsehoods, and most of which are doubtful; and of giving material rewards to those who accept them, and punishing those who refuse them. He dwells on the futility of the test for the objects sought in imposing it, the want of right in the imposing power, the casuistical expedients for evading the test familiar to the party most zealous in enforcing and perpetuating it, the penal way in which it is applied, the tyranny and oppression of conscience which it involves, and finally, the entire distinction between abolishing tests and altering terms of spiritual communion. "This," he says, "is the answer to those who are disposed to confront the advocates of political or academical emancipation with charges of laxity in doctrine or indifference to religious truth. It is not proposed to alter the articles, or to relax in any way the canon of orthodox doctrine required by the Church" (21). On the contrary, he says, the spiritual strictness of a Church is rather in inverse

than in direct proportion to the stringency of its political tests (24); as if he would permit good Anglicans to increase the number of their Articles, provided they would only do away with them as political and academical tests. This is hardly straightforward, if, as we think evident, his real wish is to do away even with the Athanasian Creed. He cannot expect his opponents to divide his demands into two parts, and to let him make the first a stepping-stone to the second, which he provisionally disclaims.

The second part of his pamphlet discusses the propriety of opening the universities to the Dissenters. Here he owns that he takes not a churchman's but a statesman's view of the question. He argues: 1. That it is within the statesman's province; that the exclusiveness of the universities was a consequence of the view that religious unity was necessary to national unity; that this view is exploded, and therefore that there is now the same reason of state for opening the universities as there was in 1570 for closing them. 2. That the universities are historically and of right lay, not ecclesiastical, institutions, and that the present ascendancy of the clerical element is due to mere accident. And 3. That even if they were the property of the national Church, the property of the national Church is the property of the nation, and the nation owes it to the Nonconformists to give them the opportunity of obtaining its highest culture. Then several presumed inconveniences of the admixture of the orthodox and the heterodox are discussed, and the excellent effects of the association of men of different religions is shown. So far from promoting religious indifference, the disputes of earnest men, he thinks, are a proof to all bystanders that both the contending parties hold truth to be a matter of great importance. But the great benefit he sees is the fact that "Christian morality, the uniting element, is brought by degrees into the foreground, and dogma, the dividing element, is by degrees thrown into the background, and may, in the end, pass practically out of view" (p. 88). He would even open the faculty of theology to Nonconformists, in order thereby to substitute the investigating for the dogmatic method of teaching and studying the science.

The pamphlet ends with a censure on the sceptical liberalism of the present Government, and a warning to the growing Conservative reaction that its time will be short, that it is merely a back-water—an eddy in the currents—and that it must soon be overwhelmed when once the nation is roused from its present apathy to grapple seriously with any of the great questions which are floating in the social intelligence.

As a violent opponent of dogmatism and sacerdotalism, Mr. Goldwin Smith is of course filled with a great contempt for Papists; and he conceives (p. 56) that those of us who best understand the interests of our Church will not desire Oxford to be opened to Catholic students by the abolition of the present tests. Whatever may be the truth or falsehood of his conclusion in itself, it is a mistake to suppose that those best understand Catholic interests who make every Catholic dogma into a principle applicable to all facts bearing any analogy to that of which the dogma speaks. Because an infallible authority may institute a test of

orthodoxy, it does not follow that any other authority may do the same. Because certain truths may be imposed on the conscience, it does not follow that uncertain opinions may be so imposed. Because infallible dogmatism is unassailable by right reason, it does not follow that fallible dogmatism has any reasonable foundation at all. In old days the doctrine of the sacraments was extended by analogy to all kinds of natural things. Because words had power in the Eucharist, it was considered congruous to believe that words and spells had power also to direct the operations of nature. Because an external application wrought an inward change in baptism, it was held that all kinds of charms might produce analogous results. The same fallacy of generalisation which once almost identified sacraments with magical ceremonies, and which would now lead the orthodox believer to make common cause with the believer in any dogma whatever, in order to show that belief of any thing is better than doubt or disbelief, leads to the opinion that because theological truth is the highest of all truth therefore theology is the mother and mistress of all sciences; that because the clergy have the care of our spiritual life, therefore the direction of our political, social, domestic, and literary life belongs to them. Rather, he best understands Catholic interests who would separate both science and politics from all respect whatever for those interests, would allow science to seek for truth, and politics to seek for justice, without any bias whatever towards the interests, whether of belief or unbelief, and then would bring the Catholic faith face to face with this unbiassed science and these unbiassed politics. So far as this implies a mixed university, so far is that mixture a benefit for the truth. But certainly no Catholic will ever be attracted to mixed education on the ground that it brings its pupils to think slightly of dogma.

29. The peculiarity of the *Pensées et Fragments divers* of M. Neuhaus is that they are thoughts upon the thoughts of other writers. Throughout six or seven hundred pages we have a succession of simple airs, with variations more or less elaborate. Sometimes the text is long, and the sermon complete in a line. Sometimes a proposition has to be combated; as that, for example, of Bossuet, that God has no need of His own great acts, on which M. Neuhaus maintains that He has; or of Dupuis, who makes God the motive power of the universe, on which M. Neuhaus contends that nature is not intelligent, and cannot commune with or comfort the soul. About two hundred and sixty authors are cited and commented on in the way of either exegesis or refutation, and from some of them quotations are made ten or twenty times. Those whose names recur most frequently are Bossuet, Chateaubriand, Descartes, Rousseau, Kant, Hegel, Leibniz, Pascal, and Spinoza; and the subjects oftenest discussed are metaphysical. The reflections vary a good deal in merit. At one moment they are truisms, at another senile platitudes, and at another absolutely false; as, for instance, when we are told in a terse apothegm, that "no man can be responsible in any degree for the justice of his opinions." The book contains no little straw-splitting, plenty of playing at metaphysics, and

much of the unintentional impiety of misbelief; and it discards the mysteries of revealed religion as scarcely worthy the consideration of rational beings. It is to be regretted that M. Neuhaus, in collecting and enlarging on such passages as struck him most in the writings of others, should himself have afforded so little instruction or pleasure. Many, indeed, of his reflections on matters level with the capacity of all literary men are just and even beautiful; but none of them are very striking. Originality is totally wanting; the thoughts are seldom profound, though they aim at being so; and the feeling evinced is by no means of the deepest kind. The author has no system to work out; he is fond of battling with giants, and in contradicting them often contradicts himself. The volume is posthumous. Fourteen years have elapsed since M. Neuhaus's death; and posterity would hardly have been a loser if his manuscript had been allowed to rest quietly beside him in the tomb.

30. Mr. Longfellow has given us a volume of poetry the plan of which inevitably reminds us of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. Let all thought of such a comparison be at once dismissed from our minds, for the modern poem will not bear it. In regard to plot, it is naught; but if its separate parts be examined, we shall find real beauties. Mr. Longfellow judged unwisely when he decided to connect the poems contained in this volume by the awkward and unnatural machinery of the prelude. A wayside inn in the United States! what sort of guests or travellers would one expect to find united in such a place in the year 1868? Chaucer brings together at the "Tabard" the very sort of persons whom, granted the common design of a pilgrimage, one would have been likely to meet there in the fourteenth century. If the same fidelity to nature and fact had ruled over the composition of the work before us, the story-tellers at the wayside inn would have been—whom shall we say? Perhaps a war-divine like Mr. Beecher, a soldier from the army that took Vicksburg, a Yankee projector, a young English nobleman, a Confederate spy, a special correspondent, and so on. Instead of these we are introduced to a student with a passion for medieval literature, a young Sicilian well acquainted with Boccaccio, a Spanish Jew, a New-England theologian, a poet, and a Norwegian musician. Why these various persons all betake themselves to the wayside inn on a given night we are not told; nor why they should be successively seized with a desire of story-telling; nor why, the stories being told, all should quietly take their departure, nobody knows whither. No worse-planned poetical machinery ever disfigured a graceful work by a clumsy scaffolding.

The tales themselves differ much in merit. The first in order, "Paul Revere's Ride," recounting an incident in the War of Independence, is a slight and poor production. The student's tale, "The Falcon of Ser Federigo," is a metrical version of one of the tales in the *Decameron*; and when we say that the ineffable charm of style which belongs to the original has not evaporated in Mr. Longfellow's version, we give it no slight praise. The Spanish Jew relates a wild legend, more extravagant than interesting, found in the Talmud. In the Sicilian's tale, "King

Robert of Sicily," we come upon a very old friend indeed. Perhaps Ellis's romances are not so popular a work in America as in England. For ourselves, we confess to a preference for the form which this grand old legend wears in the book which we pored over in boyhood, rather than the elaborate and paraphrastic rendering of Mr. Longfellow. The contrasts in Ellis are more effective, the degradation of Robert more terrible, his wild bursts of wrath more naturally given, even his final penitence more skilfully evolved out of the antecedent circumstances, than in the modern version.

The Norwegian minstrel's tale, "The Saga of King Olaf," seems to be a free rendering of the saga in the *Heimskringla* relating the career of that astounding missionary. Olaf was king of Norway in the tenth century; and, having embraced Christianity, he became exceedingly earnest in spreading among his half-savage countrymen the light of pure religion. To this end he adopted the means which seemed to him most efficacious. He collected all the pagan "warlocks" or wizards, and drowned them (canto v.); he summoned his people together to a great Thing at Drontheim, set before them the emptiness of their old religion, hewed down the images of Odin and Thor, and forced the whole multitude, on pain of being massacred by his Berserks, to submit to immediate baptism (canto vii.). He attempted a similar "conversion" of the Icelanders through the agency of Thangbrand, a violent and disreputable priest;

"Every where
Would drink and swear
Swaggering Thangbrand, Olaf's priest,"

Thangbrand, it may be remarked in passing, is depicted in far lighter colours in the "Story of Burnt Njal," a contemporary authority. With all this zeal for the propagation of the faith, Olaf never loses the wild and fitful temper of the Norse viking: when moved by resentment or some mad caprice, he is ready at any moment to rush into war with a neighbour king; and in a naval expedition of this kind, in which he visits the southern shores of the Baltic, he is met by a more powerful fleet, which has on board three hostile kings, and loses his life in the battle which ensues.

There are many fine things in this version of the old saga. The conversion of the Berserks, Olaf's bodyguard (canto xii.), is finely and broadly conceived, and narrated with suitable fire. In the next canto but one we have a heart-stirring and boisterous picture—words and rhythm both harmonising with and fitly clothing the thoughts—of the roaring blades who composed the crew of the Long Serpent, king Olaf's strongest line-of-battle ship, and rolled in true man-of-war's-man fashion down Drontheim streets. But the poem draws to a conclusion, and the reader wonders "Will the author be so misguided as to draw a set moral?" Lo! he falls into the snare; he cannot resist the temptation to improve the occasion. When will poets remember Tennyson's question:

"And is there any moral shut
Within the bosom of the rose?"

In the last canto "the voice of St. John" the Evangelist (*see Deus interit, &c.*) is heard by Astrid, Olaf's mother, declaring what is the true spirit of Christianity. Force is the wrong weapon; patience and humility effect the only permanent conquests; "cross against corselet, love against hatred," and so on. It is a pity that the poet cannot enforce his moral a little nearer home; or is "The Saga of King Olaf" really to be taken as a veiled satire upon the furious paganism of those aspirations which at the present day possess the advanced Christians of Massachusetts?

If the first story-teller was something of a bungler, the last, profiting, we may suppose, by the experience he has gained as a listener, winds up the evening with a tale which is a complete success. "The Birds of Killingworth" is really a charming poem. Flashes of a quiet humour break forth at every turn; the shafts of a not unkindly satire fly in all directions. The stupid old farmers, the Calvinistic minister, the deacon bursting with self-importance, the schoolmaster who unites culture with common sense, all met in conclave to debate whether the birds shall be massacred or not for the damage they do in the corn-fields, and deciding *wrongly* (as the great *vox populi* sometimes will, does our author gently intimate?), form the most piquant and original picture in the book. The following stanza is given merely as an illustration of the characteristics above mentioned, and of the general tone of the poem:

"And a town-meeting was convened straightway
To set a price upon the guilty heads
Of these marauders, who, in lieu of pay,
Leyed black-mail upon the garden-beds
And corn-fields, and beheld without dismay
The awful scarecrow, with his fluttering shreds;
The skeleton that waited at their feast,
Whereby their sinful pleasure was increased" (p. 209).

Of the few detached poems which occupy the last pages of the volume, two, "The Children's Hour" and "Weariness," have been much noticed and praised—perhaps as much as they deserve.

31. *My Beautiful Lady* belongs to the class of subjective poems, except so far as the minute and accurate presentments of natural objects in which it abounds may give it an objective character. This word-painting has, without doubt, the grand merit of truth, and so far is preferable to the conventional poetic language of the last century, with its "towering hills" and "purling rills." Yet it is full time that the approbation given to this style of writing should be reduced within the limits of reason, and measured by the real requirements of art. Word-painting may be described as, or rather involves, the intellectual analysis and interpretation in words of the sensible impressions made upon us by external objects, such as trees, sunbeams, dress, and the like. A dreamy, indolent, vaguely-longing temperament denotes the cast of mind to which such analysis will be most natural and easy; but as there is really no great difficulty in it, poets whose genius is of the secondary order resort to it voluntarily, in order to please their readers. And thus an unreality arises, which is of a different kind indeed from

the shallow emptiness of the Georgian poets, as well as less intolerable, yet which criticism, if faithful to her office, is bound to stigmatise. For what, after all, is the true end of poetry? Not, surely, to exhibit external phenomena for their own sake, but, primarily, to paint the phenomena of the mobile complex being of man, and, secondarily, to employ its power in delineating external things as a means for representing those moral phenomena in fuller relief and with deeper impressiveness. But this secondary function, with many modern poets, nearly usurps the place of the higher function. There are, no doubt, certain rare and exceptional states of mind in which, in the intervals of moral agitation, the intellect employs itself in a morbid and microscopic scrutiny of the natural objects which surround it. But ordinarily, if there are strong pent-up feelings in a man's heart, to which he desires to give voice, or if his mind is full of an agitating and interesting series of events which he wishes to communicate, the confession or the narrative will be but little interrupted by imaginative descriptions, which can only be the fruit of leisurely and curious observation. This is nature; but our poets do not follow nature. They combine moral truth and analytic truth in proportions which do not obtain in the actual world. Thus, though both parts of their work are true, taken separately, to the whole a *dramatic* truth is wanting, with which no poet can dispense with impunity,—that truth which brings his work into harmony with life and fact. In the poem before us there is beautiful word-painting in the canto headed "My Lady in Death;" and there is also the expression of genuine desolating grief. But can any one believe that a lover, hanging over the death-bed of the fair girl he loves, could let his thoughts wander to the spear-grass in the meadow, and mentally watch the spots of rain uniting and dripping in sparkles off the tips of the leaves (p. 86), or could elaborate in words such an image, even if it flashed momentarily before his inward sense? If not, then this part of the poem is wanting in dramatic truth.

In *My Beautiful Lady* the poet relates how, in his opening manhood, he wooed the beautiful daughter of a brave old country gentleman; how his love was accepted and returned; how, in a few months, consumption seized on the beloved one, and quickly hurried her to the tomb; how, finally, her memory had been to him, in the years that had since passed, an ever-open fountain of strength and consolation, animating him under the labours of a profession in which success was hard to win and there were many competitors, and making his lonely life in the London wilderness not unblessed. This is literally the whole substance of the story. As to the manner of execution, it would be easy to find fault in minor matters. Exception might justly be taken to the new-fangled, ungraceful metres which Mr. Woolner has invented (as in cantos i. iv. and vi.), and to the frequency of awkward or obscure expressions, such as

"I shrunk from searching the abyss I felt
Yawned by;"

or

"The aspirations, darkling, we
Cherish and resolve to be;"

or

"herds,
Collecting, *bellow pitifully bland.*"

But as we draw towards the conclusion of the poem, while the intensity remains the same, the obscurity and awkwardness of expression disappear. Parts of the canto headed "Years after" are quite in Wordsworth's best manner. We must find room for an extract :

"Then oft-time through the emptied London streets,
When every house is closed and spectral still,
And, save the sparrow chirping from the tower
Where tolls the passing time, all sounds are hushed ;
Then walk I pondering on the ways of fate,
And file the past before me in review,
Counting my losses and my treasured gains ;
And feel I lost a glory such as man
Can never know but once ; but how there sprung
From out the chastening wear of grief, a scope
Of sobered interest bent on vaster ends
Than hitherto were mine ; and sympathies
For struggling souls, that each held dear within
A sacred meaning, known or unrevealed :—
And these, in their complexities, and far
Relations with the sum of general power
Which is the living world, now are my gain ;
And grant my spirit from this widened truth
A glimpse of that high duty claimed of all."

The canto from which this extract is taken is all a meditation of the author's at the Lady's tomb. Nearly the whole of it is fine ; strongly thought, and simply and purely, not *turbidly*, expressed,—praise which could be given to but few of the earlier cantos. This third part, taken as a whole, is clear and strong, because deeply felt,—because embodying the spiritual experience sprung out of the very life-struggle and concentrated endeavour of the writer. But Wordsworth could do all this and much more. He had, not so much by natural gift as by continual labour and meditation, reached to an element of harmony which made him truly an artist,—enabled him to invest small things as well as great, and things wholly outside him as well as things touching his personality, with forms of beauty. The "Laodamia" and the "Highland Reaper" are yet more solid evidences of the master's hand, of the creative art of a great poet, than the noblest passages of the "Excursion." Of such self-less projection of the poetic spirit upon nature and human life we cannot believe Mr. Woolner capable ; nor do we think that, even if circumstances permitted him to labour in his art like Wordsworth, he could ever attain to the like gift of pure and simple expression upon subjects not vitally near to him. And therefore, in all kindness, and with true respect for the tenacious and loving nature with which his poem has made us acquainted,—thankful, too, that he has written his poem, because without it we should not have known that nature,—we venture to counsel him to write no more poetry, not to let flattering tongues mislead him into a path which it is not truly his to walk in, but to concentrate his energy and power upon the creation of yet unimagined forms of beauty, through the instrumentality of

that art in which he has given convincing proof that he knows how to excel.

82. Since the completion of M. Milne Edwards's *Histoire Naturelle des Crustacés*, in 1840, which is a repertory of all that had been done on the subject up to that time, and is especially rich in observations on the crustacea of the Mediterranean basin, many investigators have laboured in the latter region. Herr Rathke and Herr Kessler, for instance, have described some of the forms of the Black Sea; Signor Costa, those of the Gulf of Tarentum; Signor Nardo, those of the Venetian Sea; M. Lucas, those of the Algerian coast; M. Verany, those of the Gulf of Genoa; Herr Grube and Herr Lorenz, those of the Gulf of Quarnero. Dr. Heller of Vienna has now given us a monograph on the forms of one order of those creatures, namely, the Decapods and Stomatopods, that have up to this time been found in the Mediterranean basin, which in addition to many new observations may be considered as a summary of the present knowledge upon the subject. He describes 89 genera and 176 species, of which 2 genera and 28 species appear to be new. The greater part of the descriptions, which are very full, and seem to indicate the specific characters sharply, are from Dr. Heller's own observations. This is especially the case with the family *Pagurina* and the macrurous decapods, to which he has devoted special attention. The work is illustrated by ten plates containing figures of characteristic organs, and of some entire forms from different groups, which illustrate the text sufficiently. From his tabular view of the horizontal distribution of the order in Europe, we learn that there are now 112 genera and 287 species; of which 15 occur in the Black Sea, 115 in the Adriatic, 153 in the Mediterranean proper, and 41 in the oceanic region of the Canaries, and in the whole province 185, or nearly two-thirds of the European species. Of these 174 are marine, 9 are fresh-water, and 2 frequent both; 83 marine and 3 fresh-water species are peculiar to the province, 50 are common with the Lusitanian province, 66 with the Celtic, 30 with the Boreal, none with the Arctic, and 20 are found in extra-European seas. The Mediterranean province is especially characterised by the development of *Brachyura* and *Squillina*, or grasshopper crabs; and by the total absence of *Cumacea*. Among the Caridæ the genera *Alpheus* and *Virbius* have a wide distribution, while the genus *Hippolyte* is represented by a single species. The Black Sea has 15 species, of which only one perhaps, *Gelasimus coarctatus*, is peculiar to it; for Dr. Heller thinks *Crangon maculosus* is probably a variety of *Crangon vulgaris*. The Anomobranchiata are wholly wanting, and out of the sub-order Eubranchiata the families *Oxyrhyncha* *Oxystomata*, *Apterura* (a family which includes *Dromia* and *Homola*, or the *Dromiacea* of De Haan, and the genus *Latreillia* of Roux), *Loricata*, *Thalassinidæ* (corresponding to the genus *Thalassina*), and *Cumacea*.

To the Mediterranean proper, 30 species representing 24 genera are peculiar, while only 4 species belonging to 4 genera occur exclusively in the Adriatic. Dr. Heller includes the Canary region in the Medi-

terranean province, in consequence of the predominance of forms belonging to the latter; it has, however, no species peculiar to it; for Dr. Heller considers the *Cycloë dentata*, which M. Brullé regarded as new, to be identical with a Japanese form described by De Haan. Of the 44 species found in this region, 35 are common with the Mediterranean. 16 occur in other European provinces, and 16 in extra-European regions. Of the 20 Mediterranean species which have an extra-European distribution, 4 (*Carcinus maenas*, *Pachygrapsus marmoratus*, *Lysmata seti-candata*, and *Pandalus pristi*) have their maximum of distribution in the Mediterranean; the last De Haan says occurs also in the Japanese seas. The remaining 16 occur seldom in the Mediterranean, and are therefore to be looked upon as colonists. The following table will show the proportions of each tribe in the three regions of the province.

	Black Sea.	Mediterranean.	Adriatic.
Sub-order Eubranchiata . {	Brachyura 9	74	51
	Anomura 2	22	16
	Macrura 4	50	44
Sub-order Anomobranchiata	0	7	4
	15	153	115

33. Professor Claus of Marburg, who is already well known by several excellent papers on the Crustacea, has published a monograph upon the free-living Copepoda. Recognising in the divisions of Herr W. Zenker¹ the elements of a natural classification, he divides the Crustacea into: 1. Thoracostraca (Decapoda, Schizopoda, Cumacea, Stomatopoda); 2. Arthrostraca (Amphipoda, Læmodipoda, Isopoda); 3. Trilobites; 4. Xiphosura; 5. Branchiopoda (Phyllopoda, Cladocera); 6. Ostracoda; 7. Copepoda; 8. Cirripedia. Herr Zenker separated M. Milne Edwards's Entomostraca into its two more or less distinct components, the Copepoda or Cyclopoida of Dana, and the Ostracoda. With the former he united the neighbouring Siphonostoma and Lernæodea of Burmeister, or Lernacopodidæ of Milne Edwards, into a single group, to which he gave the name of Entomostraca. O. F. Müller, who first used this term, applied it solely to those forms having tegumentary coverings which remind us of the mollusca (Entomostraca seu insecta testacea quæ in aquis Daniæ et Norvegiæ reperit, &c.). Dr. Claus thinks that the word Entomostraca should therefore not be used any longer to express a systematic conception implying the possession of general properties and analogies in opposition to Malacostraca; and he accordingly uses for Herr Zenker's Entomostraca, that is, for the Cyclopidea, Siphonostoma, and Lernæodea, the term Copepodea. The order so constituted is a well characterised one. As to the work itself, we believe it to be one of the best contributions to crustacean zoology which has appeared for a long time. The sections on morphology and development are very

¹ The paper containing the views of Herr Zenker was published in Wiegmann's Archiv, Bd. xx. p. 108, for 1864, under the title of "Das System der Crustaceen."

good, and full of new observations correcting previous erroneous views, or completing the imperfect observations of others, and are well illustrated. The section on habits and geographical distribution is not so full; a good summary of the distribution of the order in Europe would be useful, and would have rendered the work more complete.

He divides the order into the following families, to which we have added the number of genera, indicating at the same time the number of new ones which he has established in each, and also that of the new species belonging to those new genera, or to the previously-established ones: 1. Cyclopidae (3 genera, one of which is new, and 4 new species); 2. Harpactidae (12 genera, of which 4 are new, and 27 new species); 3. Peltedidae (5 genera, among which 5 new species have been recognised); 4. Corycæidae (8 genera, of which 3 are new, and 12 new species); 5. Calanidae (15 genera, of which 6 are new, and 26 new species); 6. Pontellidae (4 genera, of which 2 are new, and 4 new species). This makes a total of 47 genera, of which 16 are new, and 78 new species; in these we do not include the new genera and species previously established by the author in his various papers on this order. Among his new genera in the family of the Corycæidae is one called *Lubbockia*, having as yet only one species, *L. squillomana*, which is an interesting intermediate form between the Corycæidae and the Cyclopidae, reminding us most of *Dithona* in the latter family. This genus has been so named as a proper recognition of Mr. John Lubbock's labours in this field of zoology. Whether further investigations will justify so large an addition to the Copepoda remains to be seen. The author cannot, however, be considered a maker of species; he is, on the contrary, very cautious in including insufficiently studied forms; he might, for instance, have added many more in the genus *Pontella*.

34. Dr. Brehm, who accompanied the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha on a hunting expedition to the Abyssinian coast of the Red Sea, and who had already travelled a good deal in Africa, has given us an account of his observations upon the habits of life of the mammalia and birds met with during his hunting expedition. The country visited, although close to the highway of Indian travellers, is very little known. The Abyssinian coast of the Red Sea, from the Bay of Tajura beyond the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb, and the burning desert forming the remarkable depression of Bahr Assal, a salt-lake now nearly dried down to the frontiers of Nubia, appears to consist almost entirely of basalt; nor has volcanic activity altogether ceased there yet, as is shown by the breaking out of the volcano of Ed two or three years ago. As far north as 18 degrees of latitude, the coast is within the region of tropical rains; so that the shore is fringed with a dense jungle of *Schora*, a plant about 20 feet high, which only thrives within range of the tides, and which gradually extends seaward by the accumulation of new soil caught by its entangled roots. Behind this fringe extends the belt of volcanic land just spoken of, which, in the latitude of Massana or Massowah, the port of debarkation of our hunters, is about thirty miles wide, and is there called the Samchara. This region consists of a succession of irregular

chains of black basaltic hills and valleys. Through the latter runs a fine network of rivers, along the borders of which vegetation grows with tropical luxuriance. Here the mimosas, saturated with water, become large trees; numerous climbing plants, such as the *Cissus*, an ivy-like plant, encircles the acacias with its four-sided tendrils, and hangs in rich leafy draperies. Many *Convolvulacæ*, some with magnificent flowers, entwine themselves with the *cissus*, and complete the labyrinthine arbours which they form, and which often become impenetrable jungles. To these may be added great numbers of *Stapelias*, *Statices*, castor-oil trees, and species of *Capparis*. The broad valleys and plains, which are enclosed by the hills, and the margins of which are fringed with the rich tropical jungle just described, form a steppe-like land often passing into true desert, with poor sunburnt plants, which look gray and colourless; while the ground itself, heated by the rays of an ever-cloudless sun, is adorned with the colours of the mirage. Coarse grasses, some herbaceous plants, tamarisks, *Euphorbias*, *Asclepias*, and *Salsola*, chiefly form this sunburnt vegetation, while a few stunted mimosas are scattered over the sides of the black hills in irregular patches of bush. Some of the valleys are, however, very picturesque, and during the rainy season are covered with a variety of plants.

Behind the Samchara the highlands rise like walls, and above these the jagged peaks of the Bogos mountains, 8000 feet high, and composed of granite, porphyries, and clay-slate. The few rivers that come down from this high region into the Samchara form deep escarped ravines. Under the glowing Abyssinian sun there is an everlasting play of light and shade about the dark mountain masses projected into the intense blue sky, and thrown into greater relief by the patches of luxuriant green which pools of water call forth upon their steep sides. The highlands themselves consist of plains, from which the peaks rise abruptly; and as there are two rainy seasons, nothing can surpass the wonderful luxuriance of vegetable life—beautiful flowering Cacti, *Mimosas*, *Euphorbias*, one like a medieval *corona lucis*, which gives a peculiar aspect to the character of the vegetation. The giants of African vegetation—the *Adansonia*s or Boababs, and several new species of forest-trees—many of the trees being covered with innumerable climbing plants—fill the valleys, while the high ground and the sides of the Bogos mountains are covered with thin woods of olives. Between the higher trees, which at a distance appear like a thin wood, grows a luxuriant vegetation of grasses, shrubs, and flowering plants of innumerable species—*aloes*, *Stapelias*, *Heliotropes*, *Malvæ*, *Convolvulacæ*, *Cassia*, *Jasmin*, *Solanacæ*, &c.

In so varied and rich a region, animal life must be varied and abundant. Some of the black hills of the Samchara have plants able to shelter apes, such as the *Cynocephalus hamadryas*, and the lovely gazelle (*Gazella dorcas*), which feeds almost exclusively on the leaves of the *Mimosa*. In the broad valleys and plains of the same region, two other antelopes are found, the Beisa (*Oryx beisa*), the true *Oryx* goat of the ancients, and the stately gazelle of Sömmering; and in the river-jungles the dwarf of the family, the beautiful monogamous *Cephalolophus*

Hemprichiana. Large herds of oxen, the African zebu, browse here for months; numerous goats, several races of hairy fat-tailed sheep (*Ovis platyura Persica*) enliven the dark hills. The great lion (*Leo Senegalensis*) comes from his mountains to hunt here; the leopard (*Leopardus antiquorum*) is also met with, though rarely: the Samchara is, however, the true home of the African hunting leopard (*Cynailurus guttatus*). The jackal (*Canis mesomelas*), the fox (*Canis famelicus*), several varieties of dog, among others the wolf-hound (*Canis Anthus*), which occasionally comes from the western steppes, the painted dog (*Lycaon pictus*), the tiger-wolf or spotted hyæna (*Hyæna crocuta*), the ichneumons (*Herpestes fasciatus* and *gracilis*), the civet and ginster cats (*Viverra civetta* and *Abyssinica*), the curious long-eared hare (*Lepus Abyssinica*), peculiar earth-squirrels, the "father of the thorns," as the Arabs call the prickly swine (*Hystrix cristata*), show the richness of the mammalian fauna. In the rainy season, herds of elephants descend from the highlands for a day or two into the Samchara; and in the thick bush of some valleys troops of a peculiar pachydermatous animal, *Phacochoerus Eliani* (Rüppel), are frequently met with. Even the crocodile is not unknown in these regions, as Dr. Brehm found one in a small pool of water.

The birds, fish, lizards, snakes, fresh-water tortoises, and other classes of animals are equally various. Dr. Brehm, in speaking of the luxuriance of animal and vegetable life, says that, in the small territory of Bogosland, a society of naturalists might find work for many years before they could exhaust the treasures of life with which it abounds, and this though Rüppel and Russegger have gleaned there.

The time which Dr. Brehm was able to spend in Abyssinia was too short to enable him to do much; and unluckily he caught a fever there, which prevented him from making full use even of that short time. He has nevertheless collected a great deal of valuable information upon the habits of the mammalia and birds, a subject which is liable to be forgotten by closet naturalists, who necessarily give all their thoughts to morphology and development. He gives us very detailed measurements of the birds. As he says he is likely to give us some similar observations on Egyptian animals, we wish he would extend his measurements to the mammalia also. Such measurements of the animals of the valley of the Nile may prove of great value in archæological researches, and may throw a light on the influence of time upon form.

35. M. Koechlin-Schlumberger has published the results of a new investigation of the so-called transition rocks of the Vosges, which have been already the subject of numerous investigations, especially by M. Delesse. The intellectual *vis inertia* is well illustrated by the growth of opinion upon the subject of metamorphism of rocks. Not many years ago, it was thought that all metallic ores came up in a state of fusion or vapour; even rock-salt was held to be a rock of igneous origin as late as 1847, when Karsten published his *Lehrbuch der Salinenkunde*; perhaps there are yet persons who believe that rock-salt came up in a state of fusion. Step by step the igneous origin of most rocks has been

given up, and the slow metamorphosing action of water admitted to be sufficient. But when a phenomenon was found to be incompatible with the hypothesis of fusion, geologists assumed the water to be hot, or in a state of vapour. M. Delesse, for instance, assumes that granite came up as a magma of mineral matter and water, out of which the granite separated, while the mother-liquor from which it separated penetrated the surrounding rocks and metamorphosed them. M. Koechlin-Schlumberger has, however, come to the conclusion that not only are mica schiste, gneiss, minette, and similar altered rocks, but that granite, syenite, eurite, and even in some instances melaphyre also, are the result of the slow metamorphosis of water and molecular movement of paleozoic slates and grits. According to the energy and deviation of the action, according to the composition and the structure of the original rock, this slow action can produce different types, such as minette, mica-slate, gneiss or granite, and other varieties.

Why is it that writers on the metamorphism of rocks think it necessary to write such big books? M. Koechlin-Schlumberger has no doubt made very many careful observations; but, after reading over his 307 quarto pages, we could not help thinking that if he had rewritten the work in 100 pages it would have been greatly to the benefit of his facts. If observers expect to be read they should condense the accounts of their observations.

The fossil part, which is illustrated by thirty plates, contains the description of fifteen species of plants, which appear to be finely preserved. They belong to the genera *Calamites*, *Knorria*, *Stigmara*, *Tubercules*, *Ancistrophyllum*, *Didymophyllum*, *Sagenaria*, *Cyclopteris*, *Sphenopteris*, and *Dadoxylon*.

The remainder of the volume contains papers on physics and meteorology, by Professor Bertin. The former are chiefly on electro-magnetism. In one of them he describes a simple mode of exhibiting at lecture the electro-magnetic rotation of liquids. There is also a paper by Prof. Bach on transits of Mercury, and especially on that of 1861. Professor Fee contributes the following papers *On the Longevity of Man*; *A letter to M. Is. Geoffroy St.-Hilaire on the adoption of a Human Kingdom*; and *On Species*.

36. M. Coquand has published a second memoir on the geology of the Algerian province of Constantine. The observations of M. Renou, M. Fournel, M. Ville, and of M. Coquand himself, had established the existence in North Africa and the Atlas chain of representatives of the European formations, upper silurian, of the so-called Devonian, triassic, lias, jurassic, cretaceous, and tertiary. M. Coquand pointed out the existence of crystalline schists, grits, and quartzites in the first coast ranges of mountains stretching from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Riff. M. Ville found gray and green schists and quartzites in the province of Oran, on the frontiers of Morocco, apparently the continuation of the Riff Silurian rocks. Overlying the latter are coarse red conglomerates, which M. Coquand refers to the old red sandstone; and in the collection of the Mining Engineers at Algiers he noticed a piece of gray quartzite

full of Spirifers and Orthis, and of unquestionable palæozoic origin, from the Sahara to the south-east of El Agouat. The existence of rocks of about the age of our Devonian beds is further confirmed by the discovery by Overweg of grits of that age in Soudan and Fezzan. In his first memoir on the Province of Constantine, which described only the northern part, M. Coquand referred the brownish-red, rose-coloured, and green marls, alternating with dolomitic limestone, quartzites, and argillaceous slates, and resting on talcose slates, with quartz veins, which occur in that province, to the Triassic formation. But no fossils have been observed in those rocks; and their stratigraphical succession has therefore been determined only by their relations to the overlying *lias*. The lower *lias* exists under the form of great limestone masses crowning the chain of mountains which stretches parallel to the coast from the Great Babor, on the confines of the provinces of Algiers and Constantine, to the frontiers of Tunis. The upper *lias*, characterised by *Ammonites bifrons* (Brugn.), *Ammonites heterophyllus* (Sow.), *Ammon. radians* (Schloth.), accompanied by many *Belemnites*, has been discovered in Oran. M. Ville mentions *Amm. Humphriesianus* (Sow.), *Amm. Brongnarti* (Sow.), *Amm. cycloides* (D'Orb.), which generally characterise the lower Jura. The representatives of the Kelloway rock, Oxford and Kimmeridge clays, have been noticed by M. Ville. The cretaceous rocks have been referred to the Neocomien, Aptien (or Speeton clay), Albien or Gault, and the chalk-marl.

In his present memoir M. Coquand has established the existence of the lower Jura, the middle Jura (Kelloway and Oxford series), and the Neocomien, in the southern part of the province of Constantine, to which the memoir refers. The Neocomien is in contact with the Oxford series near Batna. In his first memoir he had pointed out the existence of the coralline oolite at Djebel Taïa, and the lower *lias* at Sidi Cheik ben Rohou. It thus appears that the high peaks of Grand Babor (1999 mètres), Ta Babor (1960 mètres), Tougourt (2101 mètres), and the east of the Kabylie, belong to the Jurassic formation.

The cretaceous system appears to be developed on a grand scale in the Atlas range. M. Coquand divides his lower chalk into the following *étages*: Valenginien, Neocomien, Barremien, Urgonien, Aptien; the last corresponding with the Speeton clay, or base of the Gault. His middle chalk consists of the Albien, Rhotomagien, Gardonien, Carantonien, Angoumien, Mornasien, Provencien *étages*. The last *étage* is characterised by *Hippurites organisans* (Desm.) and *Hippurites cornu-vaccinum* (Bronn); his middle chalk consequently corresponds with the upper green sand, or Cenomanien series, including, however, the zone of Rudists characterised by the fossils just named, which is sometimes included in the Turonien or chalk-marl series. His upper chalk series includes the Coniacian, Santonien, Campanien, and Dordonien *étages*, including the Turonien or chalk-marl series, and the Senonien or white-chalk series. He finds the whole of these sixteen *étages* of the cretaceous period represented in Africa. The Atlas range must therefore be considered to afford the most complete example of the series known. It is probable that there too cretaceous rocks attain their

maximum of elevation; for the highest ranges of the chain in Eastern Algeria, the Aures Mountains,—one of the peaks of which, the Djebel Cheliah, attains 2312 mètres,—the Amamra, and the Bou Arif, appear to belong to the chalk-marl and white chalk.

Rocks of the tertiary epoch are largely developed on the flanks of the Atlas mountains bordering the Sahara. The lower tertiary is composed of two distinct *étages*, the first of which M. Coquand is inclined to refer to the age of the Soissons sands, and the second to that of the *calcaire grossier* of Paris. Great saliferous deposits are associated with the African tertiary rocks, the most remarkable of which is the mountain of salt in the southern part of the province of Constantine, called Djebel el Melâh; this mass appears to be Eocene. M. Coquand thinks that all the tertiary rocks between the Djebel Dir and the limits of the Sahara present considerable analogy with those of the department of Aude at the base of the Eastern Pyrenees. The Pleiocene period is represented in the neighbourhood of Constantine by three *étages*, a conglomerate about 150 mètres thick, gypseous clays containing helix 100 mètres thick, and a limestone and red clay 130 mètres thick, or in all 380 mètres. In the valley of Smendou the limestones of the last *étage* contain *Unio*, *Planorbis*, and *Lymnæa*. This Pleiocene conglomerate forms a steep barrier to the Sahara, and appears to pass under the sands of the desert, as is proved by the borings made at Kabash, Ziban, and Oned R'ir. As these Subapennine beds are thrown up nearly vertical along the whole southern declivity of the Atlas, dipping always to the Sahara, while they form the horizontal floor of the latter, it is evident that the last great elevation of the chain took place after the deposition of the Subapennine beds. M. Coquand accordingly concludes that the elevation of the Atlas belongs to the system of the principal chain of the Alps.

The analogy between the geology of North Africa and that of the Iberian peninsula is most striking, and especially between the Cantabrian chain and the Atlas. The elevation in great part of both those chains at the close of the Pleiocene period is evidently connected with the drainage of the Sahara, the greater part of which is below the level of the sea. The fresh-water Pleiocene tertiaries of Constantine were obviously contemporaneous with those of the valleys of the Ebro, Duero, and Tagus. The commencement of the series of elevations which produced the plateau of Spain and the Atlas chain must have been connected with the barring out of the ocean from the Aralo-Caspian basin. The coördination of the stratigraphical succession of rocks forming the boundary of the great basin, which stretches from the Straits of Gibraltar to the mountains of Thian Shan, whenever we may be in a position to make it, will throw great light upon the changes which preceded the human period.

The province of Constantine appears to offer beautiful examples of surface action producing valleys. From the nature of the climate, all the rivers are torrential; and consequently the denudation is not produced by that slow sloping down of a country into open valleys that we see in the regions where rain is not periodic. The torrents cut down deep

ravines with escarped sides, like the *cañons* of the Colorado, and the *escobios* of North Spain. One of the most remarkable of these is the *ravin bleu*, near Constantine. Now that this subject is much discussed among geologists, we are sorry M. Coquand did not devote some attention to it, as well as to other questions of physical geology.

In 1851 the number of fossil species cited by the first explorers, M. Renou and M. Fournel, was only 31. M. Coquand's first memoir brought that number up to 142. The present memoir and short supplement contains a catalogue of 635, of which 306 are new, and of which descriptions and figures are given. The plates of fossils appear to be executed with great care, but we cannot say the same of the diagrams. The latter are not artistic, nor are they calculated to give accurate notions. The diagrams in the author's "*Traité des Roches*" are of the same kind; so that he seems to have adopted this style on principle. We strongly advise him to give it up. Maps of Algiers are not so common out of France as in it; and consequently the study of the book would have been greatly facilitated if it had been accompanied by a plain topographical map showing the hydrography and orography of the province.

37. Dr. Kluge of Chemnitz, pending the completion of a work of some extent upon the subject of volcanic phenomena, has published a small book on the synchronism and antagonism of volcanic eruptions. It is based on a catalogue of about 1450 eruptions, which he has constructed from the catalogues of Herr Hoff, the Messrs. Mallet, and M. Perrey, with considerable additions of his own. By synchronism is to be understood the simultaneous activity of two or more volcanoes in different chains. The author distinguishes several kinds of synchronism. For instance, the activity may have commenced at the same moment; or it may not have been noticed whether one or more days intervened between the outbreaks; or the synchronism may be confined to the outbreaks occurring in the same year; and finally, the synchronism of the activity of two or more volcanoes may have extended over several periods. By antagonism is meant the alternate action of two or more volcanoes, or systems of volcanoes, of which the volcanic groups of Kamtschatka, the Kurile chain, and Japan on the one side, and the Aleutian Islands and Alaschka on the other, have offered a beautiful example since the year 1786. Dr. Kluge has arrived at a very remarkable conclusion, which is specially interesting in connection with the dynamical theory of heat. He thinks himself justified in assuming that certain years are distinguished by very considerable accumulations of earthquakes and volcanic eruptions, while others are more or less free from them; and that those years of eruption return in pretty regular periods of time; so that they may be referred to a mean period of eleven and a half years. Herr Schwabe has shown that the solar spots increase in number for five or six years, and decrease again for about the same period; so that they appear to follow a regular period of ten to twelve years. Herr Lamont came to the conclusion that the increase and decrease of the amplitude of the diurnal variation of the magnetic

needle was subject to a certain periodicity, the period being about ten years. Father Secchi and others pointed out that the periods of maxima and minima of these observations coincided with the periods of maximum and minimum of Schwabe's observations on the solar spots. The observations of Arago, from 1820 to 1835, reduced by M. Barral, confirm this view—that is, that an increase in the spots gives an increase in the amplitude of variation. Dr. Kluge now thinks that his period of earthquake and eruptive activity coincides with that of the solar spots, and the amplitude of diurnal variation; the maximum of solar spots corresponding to a minimum of earthquakes and eruptions, and the maxima of the two latter to the minima of the former.

Dr. Kluge has attempted to represent graphically the eruptions from 1600 to 1860; the ordinates represent the number of eruptions, the abscissæ the years. He first represents the number for the whole earth, then that of the northern, southern, eastern, and western hemispheres. A glance at these curves shows that, although the observations are sufficient to indicate an apparent periodicity, they are not sufficient to give its relative approximate value anterior to about the year 1820. It appears that the year 1852 was the year of maximum disturbance for the whole earth, and for each hemisphere, while the year 1835, which has a maximum for the whole earth almost as great as that of 1852, and has also a maximum in the southern and western hemispheres, exhibits a minimum in the northern and eastern. The year 1855 had a large number of disturbances in the N. and W., and comparatively few in the S.; 1857 had also a maximum in the N. and E. On referring to Herr Schwabe's table, we find that the year 1835 does not coincide with the minimum of solar spots; in 1833 there were 33 groups observed, and 139 days without spots; while in 1835 there were 173 groups of spots, and only 18 days on which spots were not seen. The year 1837 had the maximum number of spots for the period, namely, 333 groups. In 1851 the number of groups was 151; we have not at hand any later observations than the year just named, but we may consider that year to be the second before the minimum. So that neither of the years of greatest maximum disturbance coincide with the minimum of solar spots; the maximum of 1835 occurred two years after a minimum of spots, and that of 1851 two years before. The year 1823 appears to have been a year of minimum spots; and it was also one of a comparatively high maximum of eruptive activity. It may be that the seeming coincidence between eruptive action and the phenomena of solar atmosphere and terrestrial magnetic disturbance is only accidental. The subject is, however, well worthy of future investigation; and we trust that Dr. Kluge's book will help to direct attention to this apparent connection between the most mysterious of terrestrial phenomena and cosmical agencies.

38. Compounds of Cyanogen have latterly become so numerous that many of them are omitted from even the largest treatises of chemistry. Professor Kühn of Leipzig has therefore performed a useful labour in giving us a monograph on Cyanogen and its inorganic compounds. It

seems to have been prepared with great care and labour, and it is consequently with reluctance that we notice what we consider three serious defects in it. The first is, that his mode of tabulating his formulæ is very confusing; it does not enable the reader to seize properly the analogies which different compounds present, and consequently the groups into which they arrange themselves. The second is, that the results of actual analyses ought to have been more frequently given, if not in the case of every simple cyanide, at least in that of every complex one. In some instances, as in the case of the nitro-prussides, for which no satisfactory formulæ have yet been proposed, the author has of course given the experimental data. We think these data, however, are just as essential in the case of compounds about the formulæ of which there is now no difference of opinion, but which may be unsettled any day by the introduction of new atomic weights. The third defect in the book is the absence of references to the memoirs of the authors who are quoted, and this is the greatest of all, because it concerns one of the chief uses of such a monograph.

39. Professor Frey, who is already favourably known by his good handbook of Histology and Histochemistry, has published another on the microscope and microscopical manipulation. The subject divides itself into three parts: the instrument itself; the reagents, injecting, preserving, and other auxiliary apparatus; and the preparation and examination of tissues, secretions, and excretions. The processes are well described, and in sufficient detail to enable the student to repeat them; and we have no doubt that any student who would carefully go through the course of observations laid down in the book would be in the right way to become a good observer. The wood-engravings are excellent; and the author has availed himself of all the most recent information. He has given at the end a price-list of microscopes, lenses, and auxiliary apparatus, made by the chief makers in Europe. We notice one defect in this otherwise excellent book. The author has only said a few words about the polariscope, and not one word about a goniometer. He seems to think the subject difficult, and outside the range of studies of medical men, and to belong rather to optics. This objection applies equally to the microscope itself. The value of the polariscope and micro-goniometer in physiological investigations cannot be over-estimated; indeed, if ever accurate analysis of animal and vegetable secretions is to be attained, it will be by the use of both those instruments. By a few measurements of the angles of a single crystal, and an examination of it by polarised light, we may determine the nature of the substances contained in a drop or two of a secretion, while the ordinary chemical processes would require many ounces, and even then an analysis might not be practicable. The part relating to microscopic photography requires to be enlarged, as the student should not be obliged to purchase two books on the same subject.

40. Professor Volkmann has commenced the publication of a series of investigations in physiological optics. The subjects treated of in the

first part are of great importance in psychophysics, and are—1. Irradiation; 2. The relation between the force of the excitation and the force of the sensation; 3. The smallest area of independent sensation, and isolated nervous conduction; 4. The question whether the smallest relative differences of magnitude which we are able to distinguish have a constant value; and 5. Original and acquired faculties in the perception of space.

Irradiation is the term applied to the visual enlargement which takes place in the size of a bright spot on a dark ground. M. Plateau explained this phenomenon by supposing that the excitation of the retina produced by a bright surface exceeded the boundaries of the optical image. Herr Welcker, however, proved it to be due to a purely physical cause, namely, dispersion. Professor Volkmann showed that dark objects on bright grounds irradiate also, that is, appear enlarged at the expense of the surrounding bright part. In this case also the irradiation must proceed from the bright part, and yet, instead of diminishing the black space, it enlarges it; we may call this phenomenon negative irradiation. The explanation which he gave at the time, though correct in principle, because it is certainly a phenomenon of dispersion, and can be corrected by suitable spectacles, is insufficient in details; and he has accordingly taken up the subject again. His first object was naturally to determine the amount of dispersion, and then to discover the causes of it. We must refer to the memoir itself for the description of the experiments, the grounds of their trustworthiness, and the numerical results. The following are some of the conclusions at which he has arrived—1. The amount of irradiation depends upon the size of the image on the retina, and both change inversely: 2. White lines on a black ground irradiate more than black lines upon a white ground; that is, positive irradiation is always greater than the corresponding negative: 3. The extent of the irradiation is dependent on the difference between the luminous intensity of the object and of the ground; that is, as this difference increases the strength of the irradiation diminishes: 4. The extent of perceptible irradiation is dependent on the amount of dispersion, and this relationship appears to be of the same kind as that just stated for difference of intensity: 5. The amount of irradiation is subject even in healthy eyes to very considerable individual variations: 6. Reflection on the opposition between the object and the ground in the field of view influences irradiation; that is, the physical phenomenon of dispersion is influenced by psychological causes. Professor Volkmann considers that when two unequally illuminated fields placed alongside each other are presented to the eye, the one which makes the predominant impression on the soul will be enlarged. This predominance depends on two conditions, namely, brightness in opposition to darkness, and the object in opposition to the ground. He thinks that from this point of view all phenomena of irradiation can be explained, especially of black on a white ground, which cannot be explained by merely physical causes.

Herr Fechner, as is well known, considers that within a large interval of brightness the perceptible differences of luminous sensation ap-

proximately correspond to constant fractions of the brightness; and he has used this view to frame a general law, which he calls a psychophysical law, and which appears to apply to other perceptions of the senses also: thus differences in the pitch of notes appear to us equally great when the differences of the times of vibration are equal parts of the whole period of vibration. According to Herr E. H. Weber's investigations, this law appears to apply also to our power of recognising differences of weight and linear measurements. This law appears to assume that the extent of the illuminated surface of the retina exerts no influence worth considering on the intensity of the sensation. Indeed, Steinheil's experiments showed that in photometrical measurements the magnitude and position of the illuminated surfaces towards each other exerted no decisive influence on the judgment as to their equality of intensity. Herr Fechner accordingly did not include the element of the extent of the surface of excitation in his formula; nor, as Professor Volkmann thinks, does Professor Helmholtz believe it to be of much importance, as he does not allude to its omission in Herr Fechner's formula, in the elaborate criticism which he has given of it in his *Physiologische Optik*. Professor Volkmann gives us in the present work a series of experiments, which proves beyond doubt that the extension of the excitation does exert an appreciable influence on the intensity of the sensation.

Herr E. H. Weber calls that portion of the skin and retina which is connected with the sensorium by only one nerve-fibre a sensitive circle. He considers that the perception of distance is due to the simultaneous excitation of two such circles, separated by one or more similar circles. Every one knows that the magnitude of the smallest perceptible distance which can be recognised by the skin or the retina varies with the parts, being a maximum where the nervous fibres are fewest. Herr Weber looks upon the skin, retina, and other surfaces of sensation, as mosaics of sensational units; and he consequently regards our conceptions of magnitude as built up, so to say, of the individual sensations of those units, so that, the greater the number of units excited, the greater the space perceived. This consequence he has supported by experiment. We may also deduce from such a theory of sensation, that if a part of the nervous fibres in a given spot lose their conducting power, the perception of magnitude which would be derived from such a spot would be diminished. Professor Volkmann gives experiments which appear to confirm this important conclusion. The application of Weber's theory to vision encountered many difficulties, which at first seemed fatal to it. Herr Heinrich Müller has, however, shown that the layer of *bacilli* and *coni*, or what constitutes what was called Jacobs' membrane, is that which directly receives the excitation of light; and histological investigations have further shown that Sömmering's yellow spot contains nothing but *coni*, and must consequently be the most sensitive spot in the retina. As these *coni* are the ends of nervous fibres, and are considered by anatomists as histological elements, their sections should be the smallest units of sensitive capacity. According to Kölliker, the diameter of the cones is from 0.0045 millimètres to 0.0067m.; Müller's determination gives 0.0040 m. to 0.0060 m.; those of Professors

Gerlach and Frey coincide almost perfectly with the numbers just given. Herr Schultze found the cones in the centre of the yellow spot to be about half the size of those on the margin, while in the *fovea centralis* they measured only 0.0022 m. to 0.0027 m., results which have been fully confirmed by Herr H. Müller. If, then, these numbers represent the diameters of the units of distinct perceptive sensation, experiments on the smallest recognisable distances become decisive tests of what a histological element is on the one hand, or of Weber's theory on the other. If, for instance, excitations which fall within the area of one and the same cone could reproduce distinguishable perceptions, a contradiction would be established between both. Professor Volkmann gives us a number of determinations of the magnitude of the smallest perceptible distances, which show, in the first place, that the power of the eye to distinguish small objects is very different with different individuals; and consequently that Ehrenberg's statement that there is a normal power for distinguishing small objects in human eyes, which only seldom and slightly varies, is erroneous: and in the second place, that without exception they are smaller than the diameters of the cones, according to Kölliker and H. Müller,—in one case eleven times smaller, and consequently at least five times smaller than Schultze's measurements. The distinct perception of distance can consequently arise from the excitation of a single cone. Determinations founded on the smallest perceptible differences, the smallest recognisable figures, and the smallest perceptible motions, led to a similar conclusion. Professor Volkmann consequently concludes that anatomists are wrong in their idea of a histological element. We believe the idea of homologous physiological series suggests a theory of nervous action far more complete than any yet proposed.

In the case of intense excitations, the differences of excitation appear to remain the same, so long as the same ratio continues to exist between the excitations. Herr E. H. Weber considers that this rule extends to large excitations; so that the smallest perceptible difference of magnitude would be given by a constant ratio of the two dimensions compared. Fechner has experimentally shown that so far as the sensation of touch is concerned, this rule does not appear to apply. On the other hand, experiments made with the eye have been found almost always to correspond with Weber's rule. Professor Volkmann's fourth series of experiments related to this point. They are not decisive, and the author himself considers them only as tentative. We must refer to the memoir for the account of them, and for the interesting observations on the author's fifth subject—original and acquired faculties in perceptions of space. It is unnecessary to point out that, independently of their physical and physiological importance the experiments of Professor Volkmann have a direct bearing on stellar astronomy, in connection with the relative magnitude of stars, &c.

CURRENT EVENTS.

On the 4th of February the House of Commons entered upon its sixth session. In the present state of public affairs this circumstance

The Govern-
ment and the
Opposition.

is something more than a chronological fact ; it is one which may exercise, and indeed has already exercised, an important influence on the action of our political machinery. A defeat of the government at this stage of parliamentary existence must almost inevitably be followed by a general election. There are times when the consciousness of such a necessity tends to strengthen the hands of the opposition, since it deprives the administration of the power of using, to any purpose, the threat of a dissolution. In the present instance, however, it seems to have a contrary effect. The Tory leaders have to consult the country as well as the House of Commons ; and though Mr. Disraeli is skilful enough in feeling the pulse of the latter, he is rarely happy in his diagnosis of the former. But at this moment it is the country which is all important to him. The confidence of an expiring Parliament would be of little value ; for it would be no real index of the temper of its successor. A successful appeal to the country requires either personal popularity or a definite policy ; and in a race with Lord Palmerston, Lord Derby is nowhere as to the first requisite, while he is at best only on a level with him as to the last. So long as he confines himself to finding fault, this latter deficiency does not make itself felt. Criticism is the legitimate function of an opposition ; and it would be strange if, amid the confusions of two continents, there were any difficulty in discovering fitting occasions for its exercise. But when criticism has to be replaced by action, the want of a policy becomes serious. There is little to be gained by a change of ministry when it involves only a change of faces. And yet the promises which the opposition have been holding out for the last twelve months amount to nothing more than this. They propose to play the same parts as their predecessors, though they hope to sustain them better ; they accept the substance of Lord Russell's despatches, but think they could improve on his style ; they are quite prepared to carry out the programme of the government, if they may vary it by a few imperceptible alterations. They forget that imperceptible alterations are rarely worth the trouble of making. It can hardly be wise to turn out a ministry without some definite promise of a new policy.

It would have been very difficult, however, for the Tories to take a more decided line. For some time past public attention has been exclusively occupied with foreign affairs, and, consequently, any effective attack on the government must be directed against its foreign policy. Now, if a general election is to turn upon foreign policy, there must be a very simple issue submitted to the electors. Constituencies are not likely to trouble themselves with the details of despatches ; they must be shown that the attitude of the government has been pacific when it

ought to have been warlike, or warlike when it ought to have been pacific. And this is just what on two at least of the subjects now or lately in dispute—Poland and America—the opposition leaders have declined to attempt. As to the first, they were even less disposed to fight than the cabinet itself. All their attacks upon Lord Russell's diplomacy resolved themselves into this—not that he did too little, but that he said too much. They quarrelled with him, not because his thoughts were smoother than oil, but because his words were very swords. Still, whatever may be the demerits of this or that despatch, peace has been preserved; and it would be difficult to persuade the nation to displace the men who have preserved it, merely to make room for others who, even if we listen to their own account of themselves, would only have preserved it better. In the case of America, the government professed to hold the balance even between the contending parties; and it was open to the opposition either to contest the fact or to oppose the theory—either to deny that we were, or to assert that we had no business to be, neutral. Lord Derby chose the former course. He expressed entire acquiescence in the policy proclaimed by Lord Palmerston; but he blamed him for not carrying it out more strictly. The best answer to accusations of this kind is to be found in the acrimony with which England has been assailed alike by Federals and Confederates. And a counter proposition, to maintain a rigid neutrality between the combatants by going to war with one of them, is hardly more than a political bull. On the other hand, if the Tories had taken the alternative course, and disputed the ministerial theory, they would certainly have raised a question which deserves to be fairly fought. But it is not easy to speak positively on the political results of such a contest. It is a subject upon which the nation is divided. If the upper classes sympathise strongly with the South, the working classes, even those of them who have suffered most by the war, sympathise no less strongly with the North; and although this latter feeling springs in great measure from a non-appreciation of the merits of the quarrel, it is not an error which it is at all easy to correct. The questions really involved, the principles really at stake, in the American war, are not those which lie nearest to hand; nor could they be easily made intelligible to minds unaccustomed to draw nice distinctions, or to look below the surface of political problems. The differences between the two parties on the subject of Schleswig-Holstein are more outspoken, since the Tories certainly mean war if they do not actually preach it. And in this case, it might seem, they have a better chance of carrying the country with them. But even here there are difficulties. The extent of English sympathy with Denmark has probably been overrated, while there is undoubtedly very little of it in those quarters from which the new ministry would most naturally expect support. And that Lord Palmerston's dismissal should be demanded as the stepping-stone to a spirited foreign policy seems almost a contradiction in terms. The fact of a war being possible is with the mass of the people a reason for retaining him; the fact of our being actually engaged in one would almost certainly be held a reason for recalling him.

If there is little change in the attitude of the opposition, there is less in that of the ministry. Lord Palmerston's hold over the House of Commons is not weakened; his relations to the party he leads, and to the party he commands without leading, remain unaltered. He still secures the Radicals by his foreign policy, and the Tories by his home policy. The first of these claims is, in some respects, a fair one. The confidence so generally felt that while Lord Palmerston is in office our relations with other countries will be satisfactory at least to ourselves, is, in part, a just tribute to his great knowledge of the *personnel* of foreign governments, his long experience in diplomacy, and his strong English sympathies. But this feeling rests also on grounds which do the object of it but little honour. Lord Palmerston has too often taken up the political commonplace of the hour, and allowed his foreign policy to be simply the mirror of an uninstructed and superficial liberalism. No doubt he has often been prompted in this respect less by his regard for popular support at home than by his affection or dislike for particular foreign courts and particular foreign statesmen. It would be a hard matter for him to distribute equal justice in a dispute between France and Austria. No doubt, also, it is implied in his character and position that he should not be a severe critic of popular enthusiasm. It is essential to the maintenance of that diplomatic influence which has always been one of the great objects of his ambition, that he should be in an especial manner the exponent of the national feeling. He is a power in the councils of Europe because he is known to have England at his back. But after every allowance of this kind has been made for him, there are features in his foreign policy which neither affection, nor hatred, nor necessity can excuse. He has never used his great influence in the country to inform the public mind. He has never pointed out the real differences which underlie the superficial identity of true and false liberty. He has never distinguished between just resistance to arbitrary power, and the reckless overthrow of existing rights and institutions from devotion to abstract ideas. He has confounded the revolutions of Northern and Southern Italy in a common eulogy; he has spoken of the two belligerents in North America as though they merited a common blame.

Nor is the expedient by which Lord Palmerston has succeeded in conciliating Tory acquiescence at all more creditable to him. His power over the opposition benches of the House of Commons dates from the session of 1860; and it is due to that "masterly inaction" in domestic legislation of which the abandonment of the Reform Bill was the most obvious instance. Undoubtedly his conduct at and since that time has been distinguished by remarkable cleverness; but it is cleverness of a kind which implies the abnegation of his duties alike as a party-leader and as the head of the administration. He hedged cleverly; it would have been better for his ultimate reputation if he had stood to win or lose. The Reform Bill of 1860 was, it is true, a thoroughly bad one. But Lord Palmerston was responsible for its introduction and for its defects; and he did not release himself from either of those burdens by assuming the further responsibility of

letting it drop. We are not likely soon to see a better opportunity for disposing of the Reform question, at least for the present generation, than the last three years have afforded. The subject had been thoroughly discussed; the dangers with which a change is surrounded were fully known and appreciated; and the atmosphere out of doors was calm enough to allow of careful enquiry and unbiassed decisions. The importance of this latter condition can hardly be over-estimated. The defects of the Reform Bill of 1832 are exactly those which will not be remedied in a time of popular excitement. A bill prepared or debated at such a time will necessarily be single in its aim, and simple in its provisions. It will regard only the enfranchisement of the class which will have been agitating for enfranchisement; and it will carry out that object with small reference to conflicting but weaker claims. If nothing is done to anticipate such a demand, a moment will inevitably arrive when it will be put forward with extreme, and possibly irresistible, violence. If it is anticipated—if, that is to say, it is conceded, so far as it is reasonable, without grudging and without delay—the necessity for formally refusing it, so far as it is unreasonable, will probably never arise; and if it should, the position of those who refuse will be indefinitely strengthened by the fact that they have never resisted for the sake of resistance. Nor is it only by way of precaution that such a course deserves to be adopted. Our representative system does, in the main, fairly answer its purpose; but it is neither right nor prudent to disregard its obvious demerits. There is a real call for the removal of needless anomalies, for the fuller recognition of the new interests which have grown up during thirty years of unexampled national progress, and, above all, for the admission into the electoral body of that great section of the community which is still practically excluded from it. But each of these improvements has its corresponding danger, and ought to have its corresponding safeguard. We must not remove anomalies which answer some good purpose, unless we can provide for its attainment in some other way; we must not neglect the older interests of the country in our desire to give new ones their due weight; we must not so enfranchise one class as to disfranchise all the rest, or sacrifice to the direct representation of numbers the indirect representation of property and education. If ever the day comes when a Reform Bill is carried without one of these precautions being attended to, the blame will be justly due to the statesman who first trifled with a great question, and then traded on the results of his trifling.

There is one party, however, which shows some symptoms, not perhaps of change, but certainly of development. If the economists may be judged by Mr. Bright, they have ceased for the present to regard economy as the final cause of government, and they desire Parliamentary Reform not as a means of minimising expenditure, but as a step towards the redistribution of lauded property. Their ideal polity can only be attained through the medium of a social revolution. In a speech delivered at Birmingham

Mr. Bright
at Birmingham.

on the 26th of January, Mr. Bright, after describing, with considerable truth, the deplorable condition of the agricultural labouring population, first attributed their condition "to the unsound and unjust laws which regulate the possession and distribution of land," and then went on thus: "In every country of the world, as far as I know, the possessors of land are the possessors of power. In France . . . the proprietors of the land are the vast majority of the voting population; and ten or twelve years ago it was their suffrages that conferred the supreme power upon the present Emperor of the French. If you cross the Atlantic . . . it is the land-owning farmers and cultivators of the great States in the interior of the country who are the depositaries of political power, by whose will alone the President of the United States is able to carry on the great matters which belong to his exalted station. It is the same in the Southern States; for the great planting population, the great owners of plantations, are the life and soul of the disorders which are now unhappily reigning in those States. And if you come to your own country, if you come to your own county of Warwick, you will find that two or three landowners can sit down and determine who shall or who shall not go to Parliament, in the pretended representation of the population of this country." It is strange that Mr. Bright should not be more on his guard against his fatal facility of illustration. By itself the proposition, "the possessors of land are the possessors of power," is perfectly true and perfectly harmless. But Mr. Bright insists on reminding his hearers that the possession of power does not necessarily imply the fitness to exercise it. He chooses a country in which freedom has been judicially murdered, and another in which it has committed suicide, and asks us to take France and the United States as types of what by wise legislation England may yet be brought to. Probably the process would be more difficult than he thinks; but as to the tendency of his proposals he is quite right in his estimate. If the land-system of England were the same as the land-system of France, the chances of an assimilation of the political systems of the two countries would be indefinitely increased. The subdivision of land, while it distributes over a wider area the power of choosing, or more correctly of acquiescing in, the government, distributes, in a proportionate degree, the power of controlling or resisting it; and in the latter case distribution implies weakness. Again, such a distribution tends necessarily to bureaucratic government. For political influence can be attained, as a general rule, only by possessing land, or by actually taking part in the conduct of public affairs. Men govern their country because they have power in it, or they have power in it because they govern it; the aristocracy controls the executive, or the executive constitutes the aristocracy. It is easier to foresee the ultimate consequences of Mr. Bright's schemes to the political liberties of England, than to understand how they can be intended to confer any immediate benefit on the class of which he has constituted himself the champion. If we suppose that primogeniture and entails are abolished, that in cases of intestacy landed property descends to all the children equally, and that no man can make a devise to unborn persons, the intermediate

step which is to put the agricultural labourer in possession of the soil is still to be discovered. It is conceivable that, by a process of continual subdivision, landholders may be reduced to the position of labourers ; but it is less easy to divine the reflex action by which the labourers are to be raised to the position of landholders. There may be more estates in the market ; and the wealthy manufacturer, or the successful merchant, who wishes to invest his capital in land, may do so on easier terms. But the element of capital will never be altogether eliminated from the transaction ; and so long as the transfer of land requires, as a preliminary condition, the payment of the purchase money, the most formidable impediment to the transmutation of labourers into proprietors will continue to operate. But the errors of the advocate ought not to obscure the importance of his cause. It is quite true that the condition of the agricultural labourers in many parts of the country demands the most serious consideration. But this consideration must be devoted to their real wants, not to their wants as painted by the imagination of a political agitator. The grievance of the labourer is not that he cannot buy land ; it is that he cannot get a decent cottage to live in, and that he has only the workhouse to look forward to in his old age. The first of these evils may, perhaps, be remedied by an alteration in the law of settlement. The other requires, in the first place, some modification in a Poor Law which, after all the improvements of 1834, seems still to encourage too much dependence upon parish relief, and, in the next place, the provision of increased opportunities for the exercise of individual frugality and forethought.

The latter of these ends has already been greatly furthered by the institution of post-office savings' banks, and Mr. Gladstone now asks leave to take a still more important step in the same direction. By the Government Annuities Bill, which was brought in on the 11th and read a second time on the 15th of February, the Commissioners for extinguishing the National Debt are empowered to grant deferred annuities, commencing at the age of sixty, in consideration of monthly or weekly payments ; and also, for the same consideration, to grant assurances on lives for sums not exceeding 100*l*. On the 7th of March, in an adjourned debate on going into committee, Mr. Gladstone explained the principle of the bill, and justified its introduction by an unsparing exposure of the position and prospects of many of the smaller insurance and friendly societies. To the first of his proposals, the grant of deferred annuities, little opposition has been made, the only change introduced by it into the Annuities Act already in operation being that the commissioners are authorised to accept payments in less than annual instalments ; but the clause enabling the government to grant life assurances has been warmly contested. Two principal objections are made to it : one, that it will teach the people to look to the government to do for them what they ought to do for themselves ; the other, that it will affect the prosperity, if not the existence, of private societies. To both of these charges there is an obvious answer. The bill does not empower

the government to do for the people what they ought to do for themselves; it only enables the government to give them that which they cannot obtain for themselves, and the absence of which too often renders all their self-help unavailing. The large commercial associations in which the life insurances of the upper and middle classes are mostly effected can offer a substantial security for the money invested in them. If a man insures his life in an unsound office, it is usually because he is deluded by offers of small premiums and large profits. But the poor man has no opportunity of examining the position of the society which is to guarantee the safety of his hardly-earned savings. He must make his choice among those which he finds established in his own neighbourhood, and by the agents of which he is canvassed. Such associations may be unsafe without being fraudulent. They cannot, in many instances, command the scientific accuracy which can alone insure them a sound constitution, or the knowledge of business which ought to govern the management of their affairs and the investment of their capital. Where these requisites are united in a society, it has no cause to fear government competition. To a large class of persons good terms with fair security will always be more attractive than inferior terms even with absolute security. In a society where these conditions are wanting, every additional year of existence does but enlarge the area over which its inevitable bankruptcy must extend.

On the 18th of February Sir George Grey introduced a bill for the Amendment of the Acts relating to Penal Servitude, founded on the Report of the Royal Commission presented at the close of last session. The operation of the existing acts, which formed the subject-matter of the commissioners' enquiries, is briefly as follows: A convict sentenced to penal servitude has first to undergo about nine months of separate confinement, during which he is employed in some trade. At the end of this period he is removed to another prison, where he is employed in associated labour on public works. A portion of this latter term is remitted in the case of all convicts "whose conduct in prison is such as not to deprive them of this indulgence." The proportion which this remission bears to the whole term of imprisonment varies, according to the length of sentence, from one-sixth to one-third. Those convicts who obtain it are discharged with a "ticket of leave," on which is endorsed certain conditions amounting to a threat of revocation in the event of the holder associating with bad characters, or being convicted of any new offence, "unless the punishment for that offence extends beyond the term of his former sentence." The first of these conditions has hardly ever been enforced; and even if the convict "should be unfortunate enough to incur a fresh conviction, the unexpired period under his first sentence will probably be merged in the period to which he will be condemned under the second." Besides this remission of a part of the sentence, a convict may earn during his imprisonment a weekly gratuity for good conduct and another for industry,—the two together amounting, at most,

to fifteen pence a week,—which are paid to him in one sum or in instalments after his discharge from prison. About six hundred convicts are selected every year for transportation to Western Australia. Here they are considered eligible for a ticket of leave at a much earlier period of their sentence than in England, and after a certain time to a conditional pardon, “the only condition being that they shall not return to the United Kingdom.” In Ireland the law relating to penal servitude is the same as in England, but it is administered with some important differences. The separate confinement is somewhat more severe ; and there are two intermediate prisons to which convicts are removed in the last stage of their sentence, in order to test, by a greater amount of freedom, their fitness for being discharged on a ticket of leave. When so discharged, they are placed under the supervision of the police, and obliged to report themselves at the constabulary station of their district on the first of every month. The revocation of the license is rigidly enforced in every case where the conditions endorsed on it are known to have been violated.

A majority of the commissioners recommended that the minimum sentence of penal servitude should for the future be seven years instead of three ; that the remission of a portion of the sentence should be regarded as a reward, to be earned by industry and good behaviour, not as a right, to be forfeited by idleness and misconduct ; that all male convicts, not disqualified for such removal, should be sent to Western Australia during the latter part of their punishment ; that those so disqualified and released on ticket of leave at home should be placed under strict supervision ; that their license should be suspended or revoked on conviction of a breach of the conditions ; and that when it is revoked the holder should be sent back to prison to undergo the whole of the original sentence which remained unexpired on his discharge, in addition to any fresh punishment he may have incurred. From this report the Lord Chief Justice dissented ; and he explained his reasons for so doing in a separate memorandum. He recommended that the preliminary separate confinement should be increased to eighteen months, the maximum length of imprisonment in an ordinary prison ; that during the whole sentence the “punishment should be made as rigorous as is consistent with health of body and mind ; that being rendered thus rigorous, it should not be prolonged beyond what is necessary to deter from similar crime ; but that, the sentence of the judge once pronounced, the punishment should be suffered for the full and entire period of the sentence.”

Sir George Grey's bill adopts the recommendations of the commissioners, with the substitution of five years as the minimum period of penal servitude, and the restriction of the convicts to be sent to Western Australia to their present numbers ; a partial concession to the strongly expressed hostility on the part of the colonists on the eastern and southern coasts to the maintenance of a penal settlement even at a distance of 2000 miles from their frontier.

The Danish Patent of the 30th of March was revoked on the 4th of

December. If this step had been taken earlier, the Schleswig-Holstein difficulty might have been settled without a war; but it was delayed until the Federal execution had become inevitable, until the feeling of Germany had been embittered by the development of the incorporation policy in the Constitution of November, and until the grievance of a disputed succession had been imported into the constitutional quarrel. During the greater part of this interval Lord Russell was still smarting under his experience of the preceding autumn; and as late as the 31st of August he declared that "her Majesty's Government had no intention of making any communication to the Danish Government after the reception which had been given to his suggestion of last year." But a policy of verbal abstention is not congenial to Lord Russell's temper, and though Denmark had to be punished by the loss of his advice, there was no reason why it should be withheld from Germany. On the 16th of September he suggested "an offer of good offices on the part of Great Britain and France," based on four "uncontrovertible propositions: 1. that Denmark owes to Germany a complete written explanation with respect to the bearing of the ordinance of the 30th of March on the laws, and especially on the financial position, of the Duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg; 2. that Germany cannot justly order a Federal execution with a view to promote or to prevent the establishment of a Constitution common to Denmark, Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg; 3. that the affairs of Schleswig can only be treated between Germany and Denmark as a matter of international concern; 4. that as a matter of international concern, it is to be desired that Germany would lay down with precision what are the rights she claims for the German inhabitants of Schleswig, and in what manner any engagements made on their behalf have been, in the opinion of the German Diet, violated by Denmark." This proposal was declined by M. Drouyn de Lhuys on the plea that he "had no inclination to place France in the same position with reference to Germany as she had been placed with regard to Russia." On the 29th of September, after the presentation of the Report of the joint Committees recommending the Diet to proceed to Federal execution, Lord Russell wrote to the English minister at Frankfort. "Had the Report of the Committee," he says, "gone no further than to affirm that the Royal Letters Patent do not fulfil the resolutions of the Diet as to the Duchy of Holstein; that the Duke of Holstein has no right to dispose of the money of Holstein without the consent of its Representatives; that he has no right to enact laws for Holstein, but in concurrence with the Diet of Holstein; that the long delays of the Danish Government to come to a satisfactory arrangement have made Federal execution necessary;—her Majesty's Government, although they would still have lamented the interference of the German Diet at this particular time, could not have denied that the principles asserted were the sound, and indeed the fundamental, principles of constitutional government." But he objects to any interference on the part of the German Confederation in questions affecting the Constitution of the whole Danish

monarchy; he denies that a military occupation of Holstein based on such grounds would be a proper Federal execution; and, inasmuch as "her Majesty's Government could not be indifferent to the bearing of such an act upon Denmark, and upon European interests," he earnestly entreats the Diet to "submit the questions in dispute between Germany and Denmark to the mediation of other powers."

By the early part of October he had determined once more to give Denmark the benefit of his counsel. He recommended that no opposition should be offered to the execution so long as it was confined to Holstein, and that the Patent of the 30th of March should be revoked, or at least suspended. Sir A. Paget found M. Hall not at all disposed to adopt conciliatory measures, or even to regard the prospect of a war with Germany with much apprehension, his opinion being that "the present moment was perhaps as favourable for Denmark and as unfavourable for Germany as any that would occur. If, therefore, the question must be settled by an appeal to arms, it had better be so now; and he felt convinced that Denmark and Sweden would not stand alone." Notwithstanding the arguments of the English Minister, repeated in several interviews, the only promise M. Hall would give was to the effect that the answer of the Danish Government to the Diet should so far modify the Patent as to deprive it of its definitive character. Neither Austria nor Prussia considered such a concession satisfactory; but the latter Power expressed its willingness to endeavour to prevent the Execution, on condition of Denmark's satisfying the Diet with respect to Holstein, and accepting the mediation of England upon the international question. Lord Russell again urged Denmark to adopt this course; but he was only able to induce the Danish Government to declare, in its answer to the demand of the Diet, that it was ready to negotiate with Germany respecting alterations in the Patent. On the 5th of November Count Bismarck suggested that the English Government should itself propose mediation, and ask the Diet to suspend the Federal execution. At first Lord Russell declined, except on condition of Austria and Prussia jointly supporting the proposition; but by the 18th November, three days after the death of King Frederick, his disinclination had vanished, and the English Minister at Frankfort was instructed to ascertain from the representatives of Austria, Prussia, and Bavaria, "whether the Diet would be disposed to accept the sole mediation of Great Britain in the international questions on which Denmark and Germany were now at issue; namely, 1st, the relations of the Duchy of Schleswig to the kingdom of Denmark proper, and to the German Confederation; and, 2dly, the position of the Duchy of Holstein in the Danish constitution." The result of Sir A. Malet's enquiries was not favourable to the scheme. Austria and Prussia admitted it in principle, though the former regretted that the offer had not been made earlier, and spoke of the withdrawal of the new Danish Constitution as a necessary preliminary to its acceptance; but the death of Frederick VII., and the consequent claim of the Prince of Augustenburg to the ducal crown, had so roused the public feeling of Germany, that the smaller States

had no longer the power, even if they had the will, to take any step which might imply a sacrifice, or even a postponement, of the question of succession.

Lord Russell next applied to Prussia. After attributing the adoption of the new Constitution in Denmark to the neglect by the Prussian Government of his advice not to allow "the Holstein question to add to the complications and dangers of Europe,"—a sentence which, if it meant any thing, meant that Germany ought simply to have given in to Denmark,—he warns Count Bismarck that though England would not interfere with an execution of a purely Federal character, yet "should it appear that Federal troops had entered the Duchy on international grounds, her Majesty's Government may be obliged to interfere;" and he recommends that the Diet should "demand that the Letters Patent of March 30 should be immediately withdrawn, threatening execution if their requisition is not complied with, and that both sides should refer their international differences to the Powers who were parties to the Treaty of London of the 8th of May 1852." At the same time he gives his opinion to the Danish Government that his Majesty Christian IX. ought to "have no difficulty in taking this step, and it should be done with as little delay as possible." No answer appears to have been given by Prussia to this communication, beyond a statement that Prussia and Austria were acting in perfect agreement; but Count Rechberg replied about the same time that it was now too late to demand the revocation of the Patent, when that demand had been already made and refused; that the majority of the Diet were now pressing for occupation instead of execution; and that, if a simple execution could still be carried out, it would be best for all parties, since it would defeat the revolutionary movement in Germany, and operate as an indirect recognition of the title of Christian IX. On the 28th of November the Committee of the Diet recommended, Austria and Prussia dissenting, the suspension of the Holstein-Lauenburg vote until the conflicting claims to the succession had been decided. The proposal of Saxony to exclude the representative of Christian IX. was at once carried by a large majority; and a further proposal of the same state to convert the execution into occupation was referred to the Committee. On the 7th of December, however, the counsels of the moderate party prevailed, and the Austro-Prussian proposal for immediate and simple execution was carried by a majority of one. In the mean time, on the 4th of December, the Patent of the 30th of March had been at length revoked, M. Hall stating at the same time that the concession "would be now considered by Germany as quite illusory, because since the passing of the Constitution the Patent had become of very little importance; . . . whatever course was adopted, however, he felt convinced that war must come at last."

On the 9th of December Lord Wodehouse left England, charged with a special mission to convey to the King of Denmark her Majesty's congratulations on his accession to the throne, and also with instructions to endeavour to effect a settlement of the differences between Denmark and Germany. These instructions were to the following

effect: The English Government could not admit that the binding force of the Treaty of 1852 depended in any way "on the execution of arrangements not mentioned or referred to in the Treaty itself;" but it was ready to examine "fairly and impartially" whether Denmark had failed in her obligations towards Germany, and to use all its "influence at Copenhagen to induce the King of Denmark to comply faithfully with all the engagements of his crown." Inasmuch as the Constitution of the 18th of November was "virtually an incorporation of Schleswig with Denmark," effected "without the requisite sanction of the Duchy, it was contrary to those engagements, and ought to be repealed." Lord Wodehouse was to "communicate the views of her Majesty's Government to the ministers of France, Russia, and Sweden," and to endeavour to make their joint representations to the Danish Government "conformable in substance if not identic in terms." On his way through Berlin he had an interview with Count Bismarck, in which the views of the two great German Powers were stated with great distinctness. Count Bismarck said that it was impossible in the present excited state of Germany "to demand from Denmark less than the complete fulfilment of her engagements;" that it was doubtful whether it would be possible to prevent the organisation of insurrectionary movements on behalf of the Prince of Augustenburg "without exciting an uncontrollable outbreak of popular passion in Germany;" that "the demands of Germany were the same as they had ever been, namely, that Denmark should fulfil her engagement not to incorporate Schleswig with the kingdom, and to grant a common Constitution, in which Holstein, Schleswig, and Lauenburg should enjoy equal rights with the kingdom;" that the Constitution of the 18th of November must be declared before the 1st of January "to be inapplicable to Schleswig," and that the German Powers "could not be satisfied with a mere postponement of the meeting of the new Rigsraad." In answer to Lord Wodehouse's sensible representation that, after eleven years of fruitless discussion as to what constituted "equal rights," there was little hope of the German and Danish views upon the common Constitution being reconciled, Count Bismarck only said that it was for the Danes, not the Germans, to propose some other alternative. "I said," continues Lord Wodehouse, "that I supposed that he would be satisfied if the king issued a declaration that the Constitution could not be carried into effect as regards Schleswig. It might be necessary, if the question was not concluded by the existing Rigsraad, which expired at the end of the year, to call together the new Rigsraad, by which alone the law could then be altered. His Excellency said, provided Schleswig was exempted from the operation of the law by some act done by the king before January 1st, when the new Constitution came into force, he did not care by what assembly the law was ultimately abrogated. However, it would, he was convinced, be necessary for the King of Denmark to dismiss his present ministers; a *coup-d'état* would be the best solution of the difficulty. The fact was, that Germany would never be on good terms with Denmark as long as the present democratic institutions of Denmark were

maintained." Count Bismarck finally gave Lord Wodehouse the following memorandum of the German demands, which was approved by the king and by the Austrian minister at Berlin. "The Austrian and Prussian Governments require that the Danish Government shall carry out the engagements entered into by Denmark in 1851-52; so that, apart from the Federal ties which concern only Holstein, Schleswig shall not be more closely connected with the kingdom of Denmark than Holstein. They, therefore, consider that the Constitution of November 18, 1863, is a violation of the engagements of Denmark, and they require that measures shall be taken before January 1 by the Danish Government to prevent that Constitution from being carried into effect as regards Schleswig. When such measures shall have been taken, they expect to receive from Denmark propositions as to the manner in which the engagements of 1851-52 are to be fulfilled."

On the 15th of December Lord Wodehouse arrived at Copenhagen; and on the 20th, after consulting with the representatives of France, Russia, and Sweden, he and M. d'Ewen, the Russian envoy, had an interview with M. Hall. M. Hall listened to their joint remonstrances against the maintenance of the Constitution of the 18th of November, and replied that the engagements of Denmark towards Germany were not violated by the Constitution, and that there would be nothing gained by its revocation; "that Denmark wanted a final settlement of the affair," while the only prospect now held out was the recommencement of the "interminable negotiations with Germany, in which so many years had been consumed without result;" that, great as might be the danger of rejecting the advice of England, the danger of accepting it seemed to him still greater, since "at present the king and his people were united," while "if the Constitution were revoked this great advantage would be lost;" and lastly, that even if the government were disposed to accept it there was no means of doing so before the 1st of January, as the Rigsraad would be closed the next day, and would not consent to undo its own work even if it were to remain sitting. In answer to this latter difficulty, Lord Wodehouse suggested that the session might be prolonged until the king could "lay before the Parliament of the nation the advice which he had received from his allies, and leave to that Parliament the responsibility of accepting or rejecting it; or that, if the ten days which still remained before the 1st of January were too few to pass a repealing Act, the Rigsraad might, "at so alarming a crisis of the monarchy," pass a resolution "to prolong its own existence till it had finished the work in hand." To both these plans M. Hall objected that a change of the constitution required a majority of two-thirds of the Rigsraad. Then, said Lord Wodehouse, a pledge might be given to the German Powers that the Schleswig members should not be summoned to the new Rigsraad, which might proceed without them to consider the repeal of the Constitution. "M. Hall said that it was of no use to call together an assembly merely for the purpose of committing suicide. In short, his excellency was evidently deter-

mined not to admit that any means could be found of doing what we advised." Lord Wodehouse's appeal was followed up later in the same day by Sir Augustus Paget. He reminded M. Hall that to him, as the sole author of the Constitution, the king had a right to look to propose its revocation; that no one else had so much influence with the Rigsraad; and that if he were to lay before it a "full and correct account of the situation, the advice which had been given by the Powers, and the alternative of its rejection," there could be little doubt that the assembly would agree to pass a repealing Act; and he entreated him, "for the sake of the king, as well as his country, to take upon himself the task which would have to be performed by some one, unless the monarchy were to be sacrificed." To all this M. Hall only answered that, according to his notion, "the best thing for the dynasty, as well as for the country, would be to take up a position in Schleswig, and there await an attack of Germany; that even if he could consent, which he never could, to be the instrument for proposing to the Rigsraad the revocation of a measure which he had just succeeded in carrying, and even if he could succeed in getting such a proposition adopted, which he thought an impossibility, he did not see of what advantage it would be to Denmark."

In spite of all remonstrances, the Rigsraad was dissolved on the 21st of December. "I expressed to M. Hall," says Lord Wodehouse, "my surprise and regret that the Rigsraad had been closed at the moment when, above all others, it was essential that it should remain in session. I warned him in the most serious manner of the impression which must be produced throughout Europe, and especially in Germany, by an act which could only be construed as a complete refusal to listen to our advice." M. Hall only repeated that the Rigsraad was fully aware of the critical position of affairs; that there was not the slightest chance of its consenting to revoke the Constitution; and therefore that it would have been useless to keep it sitting. But, as Lord Wodehouse points out, the Rigsraad could not have been made acquainted with the advice of the English and Russian ministers, inasmuch as that advice was only given on the Sunday, and the session was closed on the Monday. On the 24th the ministry resigned rather than consent to the Rigsraad being again called together. This proposition originated with the king; but apparently the new ministry were as little inclined to adopt it as the old one, for it was never mentioned again. With the Rigsraad disappeared the last reasonable hope of preserving peace. So long as that assembly was in existence, the Constitution might have been repealed before it came into operation, and without inflicting any fresh wound upon German feeling; after a dissolution, the Constitution could only be repealed by being first brought into operation,—by the very thing, in fact, being done against which Germany was protesting. If in some intermediate stages of the negotiations, Austria and, still more, Prussia were to blame; if, by defining with greater exactness the demands of Germany upon Denmark, they might have given the latter Power less excuse for resisting them; if their policy was too much swayed by the force

of popular excitement,—there can be no doubt that the responsibility of this final failure rests with Denmark alone. There are few ministers who have had the same opportunities as M. Hall of leading their country into an unequal war ; there are still fewer, let us hope, who have proved themselves so completely equal to their opportunities.

The principal object of Lord Wodehouse's mission being thus defeated, he was next instructed, on the 24th of December, to inform the Danish Government that England would support a proposition "to refer the differences between Denmark and Germany to a conference of ministers of all the Powers parties to the Treaty of London, with the addition of a representative of the German Diet ; it being understood that during the deliberations of such conference no change should be made in the present state of affairs, and that her Majesty's Government would offer no objection to such conference being held at Paris." The French Government, however, on being sounded on this point, declined to have a conference held at Paris, on the ground that it would be discourteous to those Powers not parties to the Treaty of 1852 who had accepted the French invitation to a congress. Upon this Lord Russell applied, on the 11th of January, to the Austrian and Prussian Governments to know whether they would accept the following bases for a conference at some place to be hereafter named : "1. That the Treaty of London should be maintained. 2. That full security should be taken for the good government of the German subjects, or subjects of German race, of the King of Denmark in the Duchies of Holstein, Lauenburg, and Schleswig, in conformity with the engagements which Denmark contracted with Germany in 1851-52. 3. That as an earnest of his intention to fulfil the said engagements, the King of Denmark should promise France, Great Britain, Russia, and Sweden to propose to the Rigsraad the repeal of so much of the Constitution of November 1863 as relates to the Duchy of Schleswig." Neither Government was disposed to listen favourably to any proposal to "postpone the invasion of Schleswig until the Danish Government might think fit to annul by constitutional means the illegal union of Schleswig and Holstein ;" and Count Rechberg further objected to any specific bases being prescribed, as tending to prevent the Diet from sending a representative. The idea was shortly after abandoned altogether, upon France declining to take any part in a course which "meets, in the present state of affairs, with obstacles which forbid all hope of success."

Since the 28th of December there had been before the German Diet two motions,—one, introduced by Bavaria and Saxony, with the object of converting the Federal execution in Holstein into an occupation in favour of the Prince of Augustenburg ; the other, introduced by Austria and Prussia, calling upon the Diet to require Denmark to repeal definitively the Constitution of November, and to declare that in the event of a refusal the Confederation would proceed to a military occupation of Schleswig. On the 14th of January the latter motion was thrown out by eleven votes to five ; and on the same day Austria and Prussia declared their intention of carrying out their resolution without regard to its rejec-

tion by the Diet. Accordingly, on the 16th of January, a collective note was presented by the ministers of the two powers to the Danish Government demanding the withdrawal of the Constitution of the 18th of November within forty-eight hours. On the 18th the demand was refused, the immediate reason alleged being the impossibility of complying with it in a legal manner within the time fixed. When this impossibility was urged on Count Rechberg by the English ambassador at Vienna, "he replied that in a constitutional manner it would be perhaps impossible, but the king might order a state of siege in Schleswig, which would insure a suspension of the Constitution in the Duchy; and that after all the Danish Government could not assert that they were taken by surprise, for they had been perfectly aware for a long time past of all that had been intended." He further maintained that the occupation of Schleswig by Austria and Prussia was really more for the interests of Denmark than the uncontrolled action of the Diet, which would otherwise be inevitable; "that Germany had been so often disappointed in the failure of Denmark to fulfil her engagements, that the conviction had gained ground that nothing short of compulsion would insure the satisfaction of the demands which Germany had to make upon her;" and "that her Majesty's Government did not sufficiently recognise the violent excitement of the German public upon this question, nor how impossible it was for a German government to satisfy the opinions of its subjects without having recourse to an energetic policy, which should aim at exercising such pressure upon the Danish Government as would coerce it to fulfil the obligations contracted eleven years ago." In a similar strain Count Bismarck spoke of the occupation "as a proof of the intention of the two great German Powers to maintain the Treaty of London and the integrity of the Danish monarchy. 'It was out of the question,' he said, 'that an Austrian and Prussian army should be halted on the banks of the Eider for six weeks, in order that an assembly against the legality of which they had protested might discuss the expediency of granting the demand which they had addressed to the Danish Government.'"

The English Government made one more effort to avert the outbreak of hostilities. On the 26th of January Lord Russell proposed to France, Russia, and Sweden, that their representatives in London, together with those of Austria, Prussia, and Denmark, "should sign a protocol to the following effect: Denmark, on her part, would engage to convoke without delay the Rigsaad, and lay before that assembly on its meeting a proposal that it should revoke the Constitution of November 18, so far as that Constitution applies to the Duchy of Schleswig; and Denmark would further engage that the Danish Government should employ their utmost efforts in order to induce the Rigsaad to consent to such revocation. Austria and Prussia, on their part, would declare that they accepted the diplomatic engagement so contracted by Denmark, and, as a consequence of such acceptance, would agree to delay the passage of the Eider by any military force until the result of the measures to be taken by Denmark should be ascertained."

This suggestion was only accepted by Sweden; France and Russia delayed to give a positive answer until it was known whether Austria and Prussia would concur in it. It was little likely that they should do so, for the new proposal contained nothing which they had not already rejected. On the 28th of January, however, it was formally made to both Governments, and at once declined by them. On the 31st, Marshal Wrangel summoned the Danish commander-in-chief to evacuate Schleswig, and received for answer that he had orders to defend it. The King and the President of the Council left Copenhagen for the army, and the Austrian and Prussian ministers took their departure.

The internal state of France has at length become so much more interesting to Frenchmen than external events, that the movement has been hailed as "*le réveil de l'esprit public*." The

France. Republican enthusiasm of 1848 did not last long; the reaction was so complete in 1852, that the *coup-d'état* of the 2d of December was accomplished with the greatest ease. The masses, who had lost all political sentiments whatever, applauded the bold stroke, and blindly voted as the Dictator ordered them. A great part of the middle class was glad to be rid of the nightmare of socialism at any price, and submitted with good grace, if not with devotion. Instead of politics, these men rushed into speculation. Fortunes were rapidly won and lost; but there was real material prosperity enough to prevent criticism of the government. The first chamber elected under the new *régime* in 1852 did not contain a single oppositionist, so well had the administration enlightened the people on the duties of universal suffrage, and so powerful were its means of persuasion.

But the fire was not quite quenched. Groups of eminent men who were called in disdain "*les anciens partis*," preserved the traditions of liberty; and in the elections of 1857 five opposition candidates were successful. They were called, at first in derision, "*the five*;" but they soon adopted the name as a title of honour. It cannot be said that their opinions were very reasonable, or that, even on their own grounds, they always acted wisely. They often committed the fault of asking too much, if not absolutely, at least relatively to the occasion. Still the debates of the legislative body, which no one had read, and which the papers had left off printing, began once more to excite attention; and, as the paroxysm of fear had subsided, men began to feel themselves too much confined by the constitution of 1852. The electoral movement of 1863 was strong enough to return, not only "*the five*," but also some of the leaders of the old parties, such as MM. Thiers, Berryer, Marie, Jules Simon, and other practised debaters. Still the opposition does not count more than 24 or 25 members, instead of the 60, or even 130, who once divided the chamber of 283 deputies. The French government has many means of influence; it holds in its hands both hope and fear,—the two great motive powers when passion is not aroused. But passion seems likely to be aroused. The government only succeeds in putting the

moderate men—the true liberals—to silence by substituting radical fire-brands in their place.

The first session of the new chamber was opened on the 5th of November last. The speech from the throne was important, and had been looked for with anxiety. Men wondered how the Emperor would take the revival of liberalism; whether he would issue reactionary decrees, so as to retain at all hazards the dictatorial power he held, or whether he would anticipate the demands of public opinion by letting in a few gleams of liberty. Probably both courses were weighed, and the difficulty was solved by turning off at a tangent. Things were left as they were; and the public was amused with the bubble of a universal congress destined to be the prelude of perpetual peace.

Not that the imperial speech made no allusion to internal politics; for example: "The legislative body has been renewed for the third time since the foundation of the Empire, and for the third time, in spite of some local dissent, I have only to congratulate myself on the result of the elections. You have all taken the same oath; that secures to me your support. Our duty is to do the business of the country speedily and well, in fidelity to the constitution which has given us eleven years of prosperity, and which you have sworn to maintain." The way in which the oath is insisted on betrays a certain anxiety. The cases that have happened of deputies elect refusing to swear fidelity to the Emperor have occasioned a rule that each candidate is to deposit his oath in writing with the prefect a week before the election. The contrast drawn between the cases of local dissent and the common oath leads to the suspicion that it was intended to convey an imputation upon the honesty of some who had taken it. If the Emperor only meant to say that certain electoral colleges had failed to elect the candidate of the government, he expressed himself with needless obscurity, and uttered a complaint quite unworthy of a speech from the throne.

The "verification of powers" might have shown how numerous were the cases of local dissent. Opposition candidates were almost every where proposed, and in some places failed only by a very few votes. During the verification many scandals were revealed, such as are inevitable under the circumstances. Of course a man wishes to succeed in his enterprises. He who wills the end, wills also the means; and the stronger he is, the more obstinate is his determination. Thus the French government, when it proposes official candidates, imposes on itself the necessity of succeeding at almost any price.

The nomination of official candidates was one great subject of the debate on the address—the debate in which the opposition must expose all its grievances, and revenge itself for its enforced silence during the rest of the year. This liberty, such as it is, only dates from November 20, 1860. Between the *coup-d'état* and that date France was a country "constitutionnel mais non parlementaire;" and no one could present an address or make an enquiry. Indeed there was no one to answer such enquiries, since the constitution does not permit the ministers to sit in the legislative body. But the decree of November 1860

allowed the chamber to present an address ; and in the course of the discussion any deputy might address a question to the government orators. During the rest of the session no such right exists.

In the recent discussion two speakers, M. Jules Favre and M. Thiers, exposed the abuse of official candidates. The former was for abolishing them entirely, while the latter was for allowing them in a modified form. "The official candidatures," said M. Favre on the 13th of January, "have always appeared to me unjustifiable, because they are in contradiction to the very principle of universal suffrage ; because they lead to an improper application of the electoral law ; and because they are dangerous to every body, and especially to the government." This thesis was sustained in a more practical way than M. Thiers sustained his, although M. Thiers is considered the very ideal of a practical man. For, the moment a government is permitted to recommend its candidates it is implicitly permitted to secure their election by all the means in its power. M. Thiers, however, said, "I do not think I impose any very hard condition when I say that these official candidatures are only admissible under certain conditions : the first is respect for decency ; the second, abstinence from using any of the means which the possession of power puts into the hands of its administrators ; the third, observance of the law." This is as much as to say, I allow you to do a thing, but on condition of your not using the means in your hands for doing it. Abstinence in such a case would be something more than human.

M. Rouher, the minister of state, and the chief representative of government in the chamber, replied to these arguments by two others — "There always have been government candidates, and parties exist which are hostile to the imperial dynasty." Those who answered him failed to bring out one point, namely, that before 1852 the strife was confined to the parties, while the sovereign reposed in a higher sphere, supposed to be untroubled by their din. A party in power can go farther than a prince ; for the party can appeal to the country and receive its approbation, or if it has passed this limit it may be turned out of office. Now, several of the prefects have gone far beyond the limits of what would be condoned in a party.

These official candidatures have made a deep impression on France. The unmeasured interference of the government has had the palpable effect of alienating several of its former partisans ; and the question of universal suffrage has been brought on the carpet again. This question is indeed tabooed, and no one but the orators of the government are allowed to say a word against it. If a private person declared that he thought it no panacea, he would be "attacking the constitution." But the government may say that universal suffrage "would do great harm if it were not directed." This consideration makes us appreciate the prudence of M. Thiers when he said as deputy, "I now conclude with a simple reflection. I know very well the argument with which many people console themselves for the irregularities which may take place in the execution of the electoral law. They say, 'What would you have ? We have to deal with universal suffrage. Universal suffrage is an edged

tool. We must consider how very dangerous it is ; and we must leave the government means to direct it.' I wish that we could, once for all, come to an understanding on this subject. In giving us universal suffrage, was it your intention, yes or no, to give us liberty? If it was your intention to give us liberty, you have no right to use all the means you usually employ to direct universal suffrage. If it were demonstrated that universal suffrage is as dangerous as it is said to be, *I do not say that I would sacrifice the liberty of elections for this consideration*, but I own that I should be profoundly affected. Will you allow me to give you my sincere opinion? I do not know what is in store in the future for universal suffrage. I see what it is at present; and I am convinced that if fewer attempts to enlighten it were made—do you know what would happen? It might perhaps rather increase the means of control in the hands of the state; and I am sure that, instead of destroying the government to which you are attached, it might perhaps save it."

These last words produced many protests, but did not hinder the representative of the government from enlarging on the dangers of universal suffrage, which many people think, perhaps without much foundation, will be one day abolished by the imperial government.

The international relations of France are more important to us than its internal affairs; for though the Emperor is at peace with all his neighbours, his enemies declare that his apparent repose is only the preparation of the lion meditating on what victim he shall first leap. Against this suspicion the following passages of his speech were directed: "In the midst of these successive rendings of the fundamental European pact (the treaties of 1815), ardent passions are being over-excited, and in the South as well as in the North powerful interests are demanding a solution. What, then, is more legitimate or more sensible than to assemble the powers of Europe in a congress where self-love and resistance will disappear before a supreme arbitration? What is more in conformity with the ideas of the time, with the wishes of the majority, than to speak to the conscience of the statesmen of all countries, and to say to them, 'Have not the prejudices and the aversions which divide us already lasted too long? Shall we always feed our mutual suspicions on exaggerated armaments? Must our most precious resources be indefinitely wasted in a vain ostentation of our strength? Shall we for ever keep ourselves in a position which is neither that of peace with its security, nor of war with its chances of success? Have we not been too long giving a factitious importance to the subversive spirit of extreme parties, by opposing our rigid logic to the legitimate aspirations of our people? Let us be bold, and substitute a stable and regular order for our sickly and precarious state, even though it costs us some sacrifices. Let us assemble, without any preconceived system, without exclusive ambition, and with the single thought of establishing for the future an order of things founded upon an understanding of the interests of sovereign and people.'"

There may have been a time when such political philosophy was something practical—when it was enough to speak profoundly about

conciliation, progress, civilisation, nationalities, and other "ideas," in order to make a great country give up a portion of its territory to its neighbour, or consent to such a diminution of its forces as might be convenient to another power. The Emperor himself, as we shall see, had no great faith in the meeting of the congress. Yet in his letter of November 4 he invited all the sovereigns and independent states in Europe to take part in it. This solemn invitation provoked several kinds of reply.

The first in order was that of the English government (Nov. 12), demanding full information on the objects of the meeting, before giving its consent. On the reply of M. Drouyn de Lhuys (Nov. 23), which implied that every question then agitating Europe was to be discussed, Lord Russell definitively refused to have any thing to do with it. Russia and Austria both objected that the congress could do no good unless the questions to be canvassed were previously defined. Prussia, having never broken the treaties of 1815, and having consequently no interest either way, accepted the invitation; so did Saxony, Wurtemberg, and Hanover, but on the condition that the other European powers, especially the great German powers, were represented. Bavaria and the Germanic Confederation and Turkey accepted it with certain reservations. Belgium and Holland accepted it simply. Portugal, the Pope, Denmark, Italy, Switzerland, Greece, accepted it without reserve, and with more or less readiness.

We see, then, that the invitation to the congress was accepted by almost all those who were not interested, or who thought they could gain by it; all the others made their own reservations. Every one might have been willing to get a portion of his neighbour's territory, but only on the condition of losing none of his own. Did not the Emperor foresee this result? Let us examine a little more of the speech of November 5. "When the insurrection broke out in Poland, the governments of Russia and France were in the best relations; since the peace, they had found themselves in agreement on the great European questions; and, I do not hesitate to declare, during the Italian war, as well as at the time of the annexation of Nice and Savoy, the Emperor Alexander gave me the most sincere and cordial support. This good understanding demanded some consideration; and I must have believed the Polish cause to be very popular in France if for its sake I did not hesitate to compromise one of the first alliances of the Continent, and to lift up my voice in favour of a nation, rebellious in the eyes of Russia, but in our eyes possessing a legal right inscribed in history and in treaties. . . . The Polish insurrection, the duration of which has given it a national character, enlisted every one's sympathies; and the object of diplomacy was to get for it the greatest possible number of supporters, in order to press upon Russia with the whole weight of European public opinion. This almost unanimous agreement appeared to us the means most proper to persuade the cabinet of St. Petersburg. Unfortunately, our disinterested advice was interpreted as a threat; and the measures taken by England, Austria, and France, instead of stopping the contest, have only envenomed it. Both

parties have been guilty of excesses which are equally deplorable on the score of humanity. What is to be done, then? Are we reduced to the alternative of war or silence? No." Is it not possible, the argument seems to proceed, to make "much ado about nothing," to make a great sensation, to exhibit a surprising spectacle, and to electrify the public? If the congress succeeds, it will have made a lucky hit; we shall have established the perpetual peace which Podiébrad and Henry IV., Leibniz and the Abbé de St. Pierre, the Quakers with Mr. Cobden and M. Victor Hugo, could never compass. If we do not succeed, we shall at least have shown our good-will, our fidelity to our motto, "the Empire is peace;" and the fault must be laid on those who refused. It is very ingenious to say, "Two ways are open to us: the one leads to progress through conciliation and peace; the other leads necessarily to war through an obstinate maintenance of a past order of things which crumbles beneath us."

The objection is, that this ingenuity, which here as in the ancient oracles gives an equal apparent support to two contradictory opinions, hinders the public from seeing where it stands. Among the readers of the speech of November 5 there were as many who hoped for peace as there were who feared war. A similar uncertainty is the constant result of reading any manifesto from the Emperor, such as his letter to the Prince of Augustenburg (Dec. 10, 1863) on the Schleswig-Holstein succession, which manifestly holds in an even balance a sympathy for the cause of nationalities and respect for the treaty of 1852.

We are not much better informed upon Mexican affairs. The war is not popular in France; it has been briskly attacked in the chamber, and the press is as hostile to it as it dares to be. The government has said no more about it than it was forced to say. We do not quite know what its views for the future may be. The one thing certain is, that the Archduke Maximilian has accepted the new throne, and will soon set out for America. If it is true that it requires a higher advancement in a people to bear a republican than a monarchical form of government, the new prince ought not to fail through internal difficulties. The prestige of his birth and his personal character will both help him; and he will be aided by several powerful interests. In the mean time France sends a scientific mission. "Sixty-six years ago," says the minister of public instruction in his report to the Emperor, "40,000 men of the army of Italy, and our most glorious captain, landed at Alexandria. Behind the young general there marched, not only the bravest soldiers in the world, but a whole colony of scientific men, to effect another conquest of Egypt by lifting up the veil that had concealed its ancient civilisation for fifteen centuries." Consequently, a scientific expedition must be sent to Mexico. "The results gathered sixty years ago are the guarantee of the results to be acquired by the new mission." Science will certainly be the gainer, and industry also; perhaps the French treasury will be no loser. The first estimate of the expense is 200,000 francs, and the commission to draw up the instructions for the exploring parties is dated February 27, 1864.

The men of science will find their brethren of the sword still in

Mexico. It is not impossible that the army there will occasion a second loan besides that contracted at the beginning of this year. At that moment the floating debt had attained the formidable dimensions of 972 millions, a great part of it being payable on demand, so that a panic on the Exchange might have produced a catastrophe. The minister, in his annual report on the finances, in the *Moniteur* of December 3, 1863, asked for a loan of 300 millions to consolidate that sum, and so to reduce the debt to 672 millions. The Emperor consented, of course. The chamber consented with some hesitation. The capitalists, large and small, also consented; and much more than the 300 millions was subscribed for. The law authorising the loan was passed on the 30th of December 1863; and the price of the stock was fixed by decree (January 12, 1864) at 66·30, 3 per cent. To realise the 300 millions at this rate, besides the 15 millions necessary for expenses, and to pay arrears during the present year, it was necessary to create stock paying an annual interest of 14,253,393 francs. The subscription was opened on the 18th of January, and closed on the 25th of the same month. It was understood that subscriptions for 6-franc interest should be subject to no reduction, unless the offers went beyond the demand, while all subscriptions beyond this minimum were reducible in certain proportions. The subscribers were 541,993,—134,105 in Paris, and 407,888 in the departments; they subscribed for an annual interest of 219,281,464 francs. The irreducible subscriptions (for 6 francs of interest) amounted to 2,409,534 (of interest). The 119,731 subscriptions of between 10 and 120 francs, representing 3,391,640 francs, were reduced to the minimum, and produced 718,386, leaving 11,125,473 francs to be divided among the capitalists. When we see that a demand for 14 millions produces offers of 219 millions, we must feel sure that the state enjoys an excellent credit, and that the provision of unemployed capital is far from being exhausted. But if we were to go so far as to think that France has in hand the 4725 millions necessary to purchase the 219 millions of the subscription, we should be grievously mistaken. It was known beforehand that the 315 millions of capital, or 14 millions of interest, would be exceeded; capitalists, therefore, put down their names for larger sums than they could have paid, in order that, after the proportional reduction which would be made, the sum they really desired might be allotted to them. It is only the irreducible subscriptions, and a portion of those for between 10 and 120 francs interest, which really represent savings. Now, adding the 2,409,000 of the first to the 3,391,000 of the second, we shall have about 5,800,000 of interest, or about 150 millions of capital. But this figure must be too large. All, or nearly all, the rest was furnished by speculators. The amount of the subscription was approximatively known day by day. The bankers and great capitalists were able to wait, and to take their measures with full knowledge of the situation. If this information is exact—and we have it on excellent authority—it shows that the goose which lays the golden eggs, as we may call the public loan, is somewhat sickly, and requires rest in order to restore her strength. Otherwise, the govern-

ment will have to apply to the bankers, and to pay them their commission, besides losing the moral support of the spectacle of long *queues* of subscribers curling from all the doors of the offices of the minister of finance.

To make loans less frequent, the government should walk in the way of economy; it has not yet entered that road. The estimates for 1865 are just given out. The expenses stand at 1,797,263,790 francs, or 21,081,789 more than for 1864. The receipts stand at 1,799,801,062, or 19,313,070 more than for 1864. This shows a surplus of 2,535,272 francs. But this is only the "ordinary budget." The "extraordinary budget" shows 108,750,011 francs for receipts, and 108,650,000 francs for expenses. Both together amount to 1906 millions of expenses, and 1908 millions of receipts. The surplus of two millions would be excellent, if there was not also the "supplementary budget" to provide for, as well as "unforeseen occurrences." The first of these by itself has almost always proved equal to deranging the most admirably contrived equilibrium of French financial ministers; and history shows that in France "the unforeseen" is stronger than laws, constitutions, kings, emperors, or the most scientific and profound policy.

INDEX.

ABOU MOHAMMED ATA, 561.
 Abyssinian coast of the Red Sea, zoology of, 741-743.
 Africa (West), Wanderings in, from Liverpool to Fernando Po, by a F.R.G.S., *reviewed*, 322, 323.
 Agrarian crime, causes of, in Ireland, 346, 347.
Agriculture in France, 379-401; differences between French and English systems, 379, 380; the French economists of the physiocratic school the originators of agricultural progress, 381, 382; subdivision of property not a fruit of the revolution, 383, 384; laws relating to agriculture, 384, 385; government interference, 386-389; horse-breeding, 389, 390; cattle-shows, 390, 391; estimates of the Minister of Agriculture for 1864, 392; the *crédit foncier*, 392-394; excessive centralisation, 394, 395; statistics, 396, 397; effect of the population on agriculture, 397-399; migration into towns, 400; progress of agriculture, 401.
 Ahmed, son of Haroun er Raschid, 567.
 American War of Independence, the German auxiliaries of England in the, 719, 720.
 Americana, interest felt in Europe by, 79.
 Angles, earliest colonisation by the, 580-582.
 Ansted (D. T.), *The Ionian Islands in 1863*, *reviewed*, 320, 321.
 Apocrypha, Prof. Plumtre's article on, in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, 616.
 Archiac (Dr.), *Du Terrain quaternaire, et de l'ancienneté de l'homme dans le Nord de la France*, *reviewed*, 329, 330.
 Aristophanis Acharnenses, edidit A. Müller, *reviewed*, 272-274.
 Armenia, History of, 287-289.

VOL. IV.

Asceticism amongst Mahometan Nations, 553-576; story of Schakran, 553, 554; connection between all religions, 555; seeming inconsistency of asceticism and Mahometanism, 556; Mahomet's dislike of asceticism, 557; gradual growth of the ascetic feeling, 558, 559; Zaous, Abou Abd er Rahman, 560; Hasan Yesar, 560, 561; Abou Mohammed Ata, 561; Basra the head-quarters of the ascetics, 562; Fodheil Abou Ali Zalicani, founder of the Derviche family, 563-565; his follower Ibrahim Ebn Adhem, 565; forbearance under injury a prominent feature in the disciples of Fodheil, 566; Bischar el Hafi, 566; Ahmed, son of Haroun er Raschid, 567; Dhou el Noun, 568; gradual coalescence of the Derviches, 569; outbreak of heterodoxy in the ascetic faction, 569-571; Hossain el Halladj, 571, 572; explanation of the title Kothb, 572, 573; brotherhood of the Kaderieh, 573; the Shadheliéh, 574; interest attached to an analysis of the doctrines of the ascetics, 575.

Atomic theory, 439-444.

Austria, position of, in the Schleswig-Holstein affair, 371, 372.

Avesta, Dr. F. Spiegel's translation of the Khorda, *reviewed*, 251, 252.

Avril (Adolphe d'), *La Chaldée Chrétienne: étude sur l'histoire religieuse et politique des Chaldéens unis et des Nestoriens*, *reviewed*, 706, 707.

BACON (FRANCIS), J. v. Liebig's Discourse on, *reviewed*, 292-300.

Badger's (G. P.) edition of the *Travels of Ludovico di Varthema*, *reviewed*, 707, 708.

Ballads, Old Spanish, 79-102; interest in, felt by Americans in Europe, 79; notice of Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature*, 80-82; *Ballad of Flo-*

- riseo and the Queen of Bohemia, 83, 84; Orlando the hero of many of the early romances, 84-86; the captive knight and the blackbird, 87, 88; the story of Montesinos, 88-99; Count Bertram at the battle of Roncesvalles, 100, 101; death of Orlando, 102.
- Balor Bailcheimnech, pedigree of, 153, 154.
- Bank Charter Act*, 402-432; general misunderstanding of the Act, 402; enactments of the law of 1844, 403; the issue department a separate body, 404; issue of bank-notes, 405, 406; the science of currency, 407-410; the act a currency law, unconnected with banking, 410-412; advantage of the Bank mint not being under the control of government, 412; convertibility of the paper into gold, 412, 413; waste of the present large reserve of gold, 413-419; Mr. James Wilson's opinions on paper currency, 420; paper circulation of Scotland, 421, 422; summary of the act, 422-425; paper issues of the country banks, 425; the issue department totally distinct from the Bank, 426; delusion connected with the importance of gold, 426, 427; coin and bank-notes the small change of trade, 428-430; Lord Overstone's misapprehension of the paper currency, 430, 431; absurdities of currency oracles, 432.
- Basra the head-quarters of the Mahometan ascetics, 562.
- Bateman's (C. W.) edition of Taylor's translation of Kühner's Greek Grammar, *reviewed*, 703-705.
- Bennigsen-Förder (Rudolf von), Das nordeuropäische und besonders das vaterländische Schwemmland in tabellarischen Ordnung seiner Schichten und Boden-Arten, *reviewed*, 328, 329.
- Berjeau's (J. P.) reproduction of the History of the Holy Cross, *reviewed*, 290-292.
- Bernicia and Deira the two centres of Angle settlement, 582-584.
- Berthelot and Verdet, Leçons de Chimie et de Physique professées en 1862, *reviewed*, 330.
- Bertram (Count) at the battle of Roncesvalles, 100, 101.
- Bhamini Vilasa of Jagannatha, 250.
- Bhartrihari, Proverbs of, 702.
- Bible, Dictionary of the, see *Smith's (Dr.) Dictionary*.
- Biblical Essays by the Rev. John Kenrick, *reviewed*, 705, 706.
- Biblical Science, growth of, 623, 624.
- Birch (S.) on two Egyptian Tablets of the Ptolemaic period, *reviewed*, 258, 259.
- Bischar el Hafl, 566.
- Bleek (F.), Einleitung in das Neue Testament, *reviewed*, 267-271.
- Böhtlingk (Otto), Indische Sprüche, Sanskrit und Deutsch, *reviewed*, 702.
- Brehm (Dr. A. E.), Ergebnisse meiner Reise nach Habesch im Gefolge seiner Hoheit des regierenden Herzogs von Sachsen-Koburg-Gotha Ernst II., *reviewed*, 741-743.
- Bright (Mr.) at Birmingham (Current Events), 756-758.
- Britain, various occupations of, 139, 141-147.
- Budget of 1860, 8, 9.
- Bulwer Lytton, see *Lytton*.
- CALMET's Bible Dictionary, noticed, 623.
- Calvini (J.) Opera quæ supersunt omnia, edid. G. Baum, E. Cunitz, E. Reuss, vol. i., *reviewed*, 715.
- Campana Collection, notice of Majolica in the, by A. Jacquemart, *reviewed*, 331, 332.
- Canon of Scripture, Mr. Westcott on the, 630-636.
- Catholic Priesthood, influence of the, in Ireland, 349, 350.
- Catholics of Germany, want of a bond of union between, 210-212.
- and Italy, differences between, 675, 676.
- Cattle-shows in France, 390, 391.
- Caxtoniana, by Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, *reviewed*, 316-319.
- Celtic Ethnology*, 129-164; want of appreciation for Celtic studies, 129, 130; ethnology of the Celtic races, 131, 132; the Finn and Basque theories, 132-134; the Iberians and Ligurians, 134, 135; names of the Celts, 136; the Keltoi in Gaul, 136, 137; physical character of the Germans, 138; Celtic settlers in Britain, 139; origin of the name Kymry, 140; Gaedhelic occupation of Britain anterior to the British, 141, 142; Iberian origin of the Silures, 143; influence of Irish traditions in Welsh poetry, 143, 144; various races who occupied Britain, 144-147; Welsh poetry of the sixth century, 148-150; the Picts and Scots, 150, 151; the Britons not driven out of the coun-

- try by the Saxons, 151, 152; ethnology of Ireland, 152-163; pedigree of Balor Bailcheimnech, 153, 154; settlement of Cyrene, 156, 157; emigration from Ireland, 162, 163; the Tuatha De Danann, 163; mixed character of the population of Europe, 164.
- Celtic Studies, by H. Ebel, translated by W. K. Sullivan, *reviewed*, 282, 283.
- Chaldée (La) Chrétienne, par Adolphe d'Avril, *reviewed*, 706, 707.
- Charities, controversy touching the extension of the income-tax to, 13-16.
- Chemical Science, the Progress of*, 433-475; epochs of change in the history of science, 433; chemistry at the beginning of the eighteenth century, 433; Stahl's phlogiston theory, 434; overturned by Lavoisier, 434, 435; Bergmann's theory of elective attractions, 435, 436; study of crystallography, 436-438; the atomic theory, 439-441; isomorphism, 441, 442; Galvani's discovery, 442, 443; electricity of finite atoms, 443, 444; researches in organic chemistry, 445-447; Laurent's nucleus theory, 447, 448; Dumas's theory of types, 448; controversy between the advocates of the radical and type theories, and the different ideas of classification proceeding therefrom, 449-462; the new theory of types, 462, 463; connection between heat and motion, 464-471; spectrum analysis, 471-475.
- Chemical Society of Paris, 330.
- Christian VIII. of Denmark, effect of his accession on the Schleswig-Holstein question, 45, 46.
- Christianity, modification of opinion concerning the evidences of, 665, 666.
- Church and State, meaning of the words, 609.
- Cicero (M. T.), Life of, by William Forsyth, *reviewed*, 705.
- Clarke (C. Cowden), Shakespeare Characters, chiefly those subordinate, *reviewed*, 292.
- Classical Myths in relation to the Antiquity of Man*, 103-128; supposed germs of truth in classical mythology, 103, 104; universality of certain traditions, 105, 106; historical character of Hercules, 107; Egyptian and Hellenic polytheism, 108, 109; wars of the giants, 110, 111; antiquity of the Trojan war, 112-114; confirmation of old traditions, 115; alleged geological phenomena, 115, 116; voyage of Jason to the Pontus in quest of the golden fleece, 117-119; Scylla and Charybdis, 120; legend of Delos, the floating island, 120-123; upheaval of the island of Rhodes, 123; record of geological changes found in old legends, 124, 125; legends relating to volcanic action, 125-127; summary, 127, 128.
- Claus (Dr. C.), Die frei lebenden Copepoden, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Fauna Deutschlands, der Nordsee und des Mittelmeeres, *reviewed*, 740, 741.
- Confucius, Ueber die Quellen zum Leben des, von Dr. J. H. Plath, *reviewed*, 700.
- Constantine, geology of the Algerian province of, 744-747.
- Convents, solution of the question of, by V. D. B., *reviewed*, 312, 313.
- Copepods, monograph on the free-living, by Prof. Claus, 740, 741.
- Coquand (M. H.), Géologie et Paléontologie de la Région sud de la Province de Constantine, *reviewed*, 744-747.
- Corneille, Shakespeare and Goethe, by W. Reymond, *reviewed*, 721.
- Corsen (W.), Kritische Beiträge zur Lateinischen Formenlehre, *reviewed*, 281, 282.
- Courts-Martial (Military)*, 19-37; their power received under the Mutiny Act, 19-21; different kinds of court-martial, 21; constitution of a general court-martial, 22; its procedure, 23, 24; not amenable to the charge of being a piece of organised injustice, 25, 26; its great fault, a want of legal knowledge amongst its members, 26-28; difference between civil and military courts, 29-32; proceedings of the judge-advocate-general, 30, 31; necessity of separating the characters of judges and jurymen, 33, 34; advantage of creating a permanent military court, 35, 36; want of a Royal Commission on the subject, 36, 37.
- Crédit (the) Foncier, 392-394.
- Crimea, the invasion of the, by A. W. Kinglake, 4th edition, *reviewed*, 308-310.
- Cross (Holy), History of the, reproduced by J. P. Berjeau, *reviewed*, 290-292.

- Crustacea of Southern Europe, by Dr. C. Heller, *reviewed*, 739, 740.
- Crystallography, study of, 436-438.
- Cumberland, struggle between the Britons and Angles in, 593-599.
- Currency, the science of, 407-410.
- Cuthbert (St.), the jurisdiction of, 605-607.
- Cyanogen, monograph on, 748, 749.
- Cyrene, settlement of, 156, 157.
- DANIEL, Mr. Westcott on the Book of, 649.
- Deira, Bernicia and, the two centres of Angle settlement, 582-584.
- Delos, the floating island, legend of, 120-123.
- Deluge, difficulties connected with the Noachian, 655, 656.
- Demarquay, De la Glycerine, de ses applications à la Chirurgie et à la Médecine, *reviewed*, 330.
- Denmark and Germany (Current Events), 335-337, 761-769.
— see *Schleswig-Holstein*.
- Derviches (the), 563; their gradual coalescence, 569.
- Dhou el Noun, 568.
- Dollfus-Ausset, Matériaux pour l'étude des Glaciers, *reviewed*, 326-328.
- Döllinger's (Dr.) Inaugural Address at the Munich Congress, abstract of, 228-235.
- Doyle (J. E.), A Chronicle of England, *reviewed*, 289, 290.
- Dressel's (A. R. M.) edition of Patrum Apostolicorum Opera, *reviewed*, 271.
- Drumann on Cicero, 705.
- Durham, Palatine powers of the Bishop of, 608.
- EBEL'S (H.) Celtic Studies, translated by W. K. Sullivan, *reviewed*, 282, 283.
- Economy (Political), course of, by G. de Molinari, *reviewed*, 313-315.
- Eelking (Max von), Die Deutschen Hilfstruppen im nordamerikanischen Befreiungskriege, 1776-1783; *reviewed*, 719, 720.
- Egypt, A Winter in Upper and Lower, by G. A. Hoskins, *reviewed*, 321, 322.
- Egyptian Chronology, examination of the modern systems of, 255, 256.
- Egyptian tablets (on two) of the Ptolemaic period, by S. Birch, *reviewed*, 258, 259.
- Elective attractions, Bergmann's theory of, 435, 436.
- Eliot (George) compared with Thackeray, 507, 508.
- Elizabeth's (Queen) reign, see *Froude*.
- Enamels of Palissy, 331.
- Energy, theory of, 465.
- England, Chronicle of, by J. E. Doyle, *reviewed*, 289, 290.
- Court and Society from Elizabeth to Anne, by the Duke of Manchester, *reviewed*, 716, 717.
- neglect of the history of the early state of the North of, 577.
- English history in the 16th and 17th centuries, by L. Ranke, vol. iv., *reviewed*, 715, 716.
- Epic Poetry, see *Indian Epic Poetry*.
- Esdras, on the Book of, 266.
- Esmond, Thackeray's best novel, 508, 509.
- Essays, scientific, political, and speculative, by Herbert Spencer, second series, *reviewed*, 315.
- Esther, on the Book of, 264-266.
- Ethnology (Celtic), see *Celtic Ethnology*.
- Etruscan language, 702.
- Europe (North), superficial deposits of, 328, 329.
- European Congress, the proposed, 337, 338.
- Ewald (H.), Das vierte Ezrabuch nach seinem Zeitalter, *reviewed*, 266.
- Ausführliches Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache des Alten Bundes, *reviewed*, 259, 260.
- FARMS, consolidation of the small, in Ireland, 341-344.
- Fitzgerald's (Dr.) Article on Miracles in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, 660.
- Floriseo and the Queen of Bohemia, ballad of, 83, 84.
- Fodheil Abou Ali Zalicani, founder of the Derviche family, 563-565.
- Fomorian Immigration into Ireland, 153.
- Foncier, the Crédit, 392-394.
- Forsyth (William), Life of Marcus Tullius Cicero, *reviewed*, 705.
- France (Current Events), 769-776.
- Agriculture in, see *Agriculture*.
- Political and Literary History of the Restoration, 722, 723.
- Treaty of Commerce with, 11, 12.
- Frey (Dr. H.), Das Mikroskop und die mikroskopische Technik, *reviewed*, 749.
- Frohschammer's (Dr.) Collision with the Holy See, 676-682.
- Froude's (Mr.) Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, 191-208; general interest con-

- nected with the reign, 191; the author's mode of treatment, 192-194; Correspondence of the Spanish Ambassadors deposited at Simancas, 195; De Quadra, Bishop of Aquila, 196; the author's misquotation of his documents, 197-201; want of accuracy in minor details, 201, 202; Mary Queen of Scots known chiefly through her enemies, 202, 203; John Knox's character, 203; Randolph's correspondence, 204-207; radical defects of the work as a history, 208.
- GALVANI'S discovery, 442, 443.
- Geddes' (W. D.) edition of Plato's *Phædo*, *reviewed*, 274-276.
- Geneva, the Climate of, by E. Plantamour, *reviewed*, 328.
- Geological changes, record of, found in old legends, 124, 125.
- Geology of the Algerian province of Constantine, 744-747.
- and Mineralogy of the Spanish provinces of Santander and Madrid, by W. K. Sullivan and J. P. O'Reilly, *reviewed*, 323-325.
- German Literature, action of, on France, 721.
- German Parties, present state of, 365, 366.
- Germans, physical character of the, 138.
- Germany and Denmark (Current Events), 335-337, 761-769.
- see *Schleswig-Holstein*.
- Giants, Wars of the, 110, 111.
- Glaciers, Materials for the Study of, by Dollfus-Ausset, *reviewed*, 326-328.
- Gladstone's (Mr.) *Financial Statements*, 1-18; his attempts at a great financial revolution, 1-3; arguments in favour of an income-tax, 3-7; miscalculation with regard to the succession duty, 7; the budget of 1860, 8, 9; refusal of the House of Lords to pass the bill abolishing the paper-duty, 10, 11; treaty of commerce with France, 11, 12; complete success of Mr. Gladstone's reforms, 12, 13; controversy touching the extension of the income-tax to charities, 13-16; danger of an increased national expenditure, 17, 18.
- Government Annuities Bill (Current Events), 758, 759.
- Glycerine and its Applications to Surgery and Medicine, by Demarquay, *reviewed*, 330.
- Gold, see *Bank Charter Act*.
- Gospels, Abp. Thompson's Article on the, in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, 644-648.
- Göthe, Memoirs of his Life, by H. Richelot, *reviewed*, 720, 721.
- Government (the) and the Opposition (Current Events), 753-756.
- Government Annuities Bill (Current Events), 758, 759.
- Greek Grammar, by Dr. R. Kühner, *reviewed*, 703-705.
- Grey's (Sir George) Penal Servitude Amendment Bill (Current Events), 759, 760.
- Grimaltos (Count), his story, 90-98.
- Guizot (M.), *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de mon temps*, vol. vi., *reviewed*, 723, 724.
- HAMILTON (ALEX.) and his Contemporaries, by C. J. Riethmüller, *reviewed*, 718, 719.
- Hasan Yezar, 560, 561.
- Heat and Motion, connection between, 464-471.
- Hebrew Grammar, by H. Ewald, *reviewed*, 259, 260.
- Heller (Dr. C.), *Die Crustaceen des südlichen Europa*, *reviewed*, 739, 740.
- Hercules, historical character of, 107.
- Hervey's (Lord Arthur) Articles in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, 642-644.
- Hindu Poetry, see *Indian*.
- Home and Foreign Review, the, on the discontinuance of its publication, 683-690.
- Horse-breeding in France, 389, 390.
- Hosain el Halladj, 571, 572.
- Hoskins (G. A.), A Winter in Upper and Lower Egypt, *reviewed*, 321, 322.
- Humanité, *Etudes sur l'histoire de l'*, par F. Laurent, *reviewed*, 715.
- Humour, remarks on, 497-499.
- Huxtable's (Mr.) Article on the Book of Isaiah in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, 644-648.
- IBERIANS (The), 134.
- Ibrahim Ebn Adhem, 565.
- Income-tax, arguments in favour of an, 3-7.
- Index of prohibited books, use of, 674.
- Indian Epic Poetry*, 512-552; the epic essentially popular, and a growth from the ballad, 512, 513; warlike spirit of the Indian epics, 514, 515; the *Mahābhārata* looked on as a religious book, 515, 516; the great size

- of this poem, 517; its episodical character, 517, 518; the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana* written when Sanskrit was a dead language, 518-521; connection of these poems with the Vedic hymns, 521-531; origin of the poems, 532, 533; sketch of the story of the *Mahābhārata*, 534-543; of the *Rāmāyana*, 543-548; the Purānas, 548; degeneration of the Hindu epics, 549; the Indian and Greek epic contrasted, 549-552.
- Indische Sprüche, Sanskrit und Deutsch, *reviewed*, 702.
- Ionian Islands in 1868, by D. T. Ansted, *reviewed*, 320, 321.
- Ireland, a Church History of, from 1169 to 1582, by Rev. S. Malone, *reviewed*, 708-715.
- Ethnology of, 152-163.
- Irish Exodus and Tenant Right*, 339-364; serious extent of the emigration, 339-341; consolidation of the small farms, 341-344; manufactures required as a support to the people, 345; causes of agrarian crime, 346, 347; relations between landlord and tenant, 347, 348; influence of the Catholic priesthood, 349, 350; causes of the misfortunes of Ireland, 351; tenant-right, 352-354; extension of the tenant-right of Ulster, 354-356; rights of the tenant class in England and Ireland, 357-359; possible effect of a tenant-right bill on agrarian crime, 360; treatment of Ireland by England, 361-364.
- Irving (Washington), *Life and Letters of*, by Pierre M. Irving, vol. iv., *reviewed*, 726, 727.
- Isaiah, Mr. Huxtable on the Book of, 644-648.
- Isomorphism, 441, 442.
- Italy, ancient languages of, 702, 703.
- JACQUEMART (ALBERT), *Notice sur les majoliques de l'ancienne collection Campana*, *reviewed*, 331, 332.
- Jagannath's (Pandita) Bhamini Vilasa, edited by Pandit Yadu Nath Tarkaratna, *reviewed*, 250.
- Jason, Voyage of, to the Pontus in quest of the golden fleece, 117-119.
- Johantgen (Dr. F.), *Ueber das Gesetzbuch des Manu*, *reviewed*, 249, 250.
- Jones's (J. W.) translation of the Travels of Ludovico di Varthema, *reviewed*, 707, 708.
- Judith, on the authenticity of the Book of, 260-264.
- Julien (Stanislas), translation of *Yu Kiao Li*, *reviewed*, 701, 702.
- KADERIEH, brotherhood of the, 573.
- Kelta, see *Celtic Ethnology*.
- Kenrick (Rev. J.), *Biblical Essays*, *reviewed*, 705, 706.
- Kinglake (A. W.), *The Invasion of the Crimea*, 4th edition, *reviewed*, 308-310.
- Kingsley (Mr.) and Dr. Newman: a Correspondence on the question whether Dr. Newman teaches that Truth is no Virtue, *reviewed*, 727-730.
- What, then, does Dr. Newman mean? a reply to a pamphlet lately published by Dr. Newman, *reviewed*, 727-730.
- Kluge (Dr. E.), *Ueber Synchronismus und Antagonismus von Vulkanischen Eruptionen und die Beziehungen derselben zu den Sonnenflecken und erdmagnetischen Variationen*, *reviewed*, 747, 748.
- Knor's bearing towards Mary Queen of Scots, 203.
- Koehlin-Schlumberger (J.) et W. J. Schimper, *Mémoire sur le Terrain de Transition des Vosges*, *reviewed*, 743, 744.
- Kothb, explanation of the title, 572, 573.
- Kühn (Dr. O. B.), *Das Cyan und seine anorganischen Verbindungen nebst dem Mellon, eine Zusammenstellung aller darüber bekannt gewordenen Erfahrungen*, *reviewed*, 748, 749.
- Kühner (Dr. R.), *An Elementary Grammar of the Greek Language*, translated by S. H. Taylor, a new edition by C. W. Bateman, *reviewed*, 703-705.
- Kymry, origin of the name, 140.
- LABOULAYE (E.), *Le Parti libéral, son programme et son avenir*, *reviewed*, 724, 725.
- Lamennais's position towards the Church, 668-672.
- Lancashire, early settlement of, 599-605.
- Landlord and Tenant, relations between, in Ireland, 347, 348.
- Langen (D. T.), *Die deutero-canonicalen Stücke des Buches Esther*, *reviewed*, 264-266.
- Langlois (V.), *Le Trésor des Chartes d'Arménie*, *reviewed*, 287-289.
- Latin Language, W. Corssen on the forms of the, 281, 282.

- Laurent (F.), *Etudes sur l'histoire de l'Humanité*, reviewed, 715.
- Legh (Dr.), one of the commissioners to examine the monasteries in Henry VIII.'s reign, 181.
- Lepsius (R.), *Das ursprüngliche Zend-alphabet*, reviewed, 254, 255.
- Liberal party, E. Laboulaye on the, 724, 725.
- Liebig's (Justus von) Discourse on Francis Bacon and the History of the Natural Sciences, reviewed, 292-300.
- Ligurians (the), 134, 135.
- Locomotiven-Blasrohr (Das), von G. Zeuner, reviewed, 332-334.
- London (Dr.), one of the commissioners to examine the monasteries in Henry VIII.'s reign, 181.
- Longfellow (H. W.), *Tales of a Wayside Inn*, reviewed, 734-736.
- Lyttelton's (Lord) Greek translation of Milton's *Comus*, reviewed, 300-305.
- Lytton (Sir E. Bulwer), *Caxtoniana*, a series of essays on life, literature, and manners, reviewed, 316-319.
- MAGUIRE (J. F.), *Father Mathew*, a biography, reviewed, 305-308.
- Mahābhārata (The), 515 *et seq.*
- Mahometan Nations, Asceticism amongst, see *Asceticism*.
- Majolica ware in the Campana collection, Notice of, by A. Jacquemart, reviewed, 331, 332.
- Malone (Rev. S.), *a Church History of Ireland from 1169 to 1582*, reviewed, 708-715.
- Man, the antiquity of, &c., by M. J. Schleiden, 248, 249.
- Classical Myths in relation to the antiquity of, see *Classical Myths*.
- Manchester (Duke of), *Court and Society from Elizabeth to Anne*, reviewed, 716, 717.
- Manning (H. E.), *Sermons on ecclesiastical subjects*, reviewed, 310-312.
- Manu, the code of, 249, 250.
- Mary Queen of Scots known chiefly through her enemies, 202, 203.
- Mathew (Father), a biography, by J. F. Maguire, reviewed, 305-308.
- Matter, Swedenborg, *sa vie, ses écrits et sa doctrine*, reviewed, 717.
- Mendelssohn Bartholdy (Felix), *Letters from 1833 to 1847*, translated by Lady Wallace, reviewed, 319.
- Mendicancy, attempts of the state in the reign of Henry VIII. to put down, 616.
- Mentz divines and their dispute with the Tübingen school, 213, 214.
- Merlin a Caledonian, 149.
- Meyrick's (Mr.) *Articles in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, 658-660.
- Mexico, new empire of (*Current Events*), 774.
- Microscope (the), and microscopical manipulation, 749-752.
- Military Court, advantage of creating a permanent, 35, 36.
- Miltoni *Comus*, *græce reddidit Georgius Baro Lyttelton*, reviewed, 300-305.
- Miracles, Dr. Fitzgerald's article on, in *Dr. Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, 660.
- Molinari (G. de), *Cours d'Economie Politique*, reviewed, 313-315.
- Mommsen on Cicero, 705.
- Monasteries, the Dissolution of the English*, 165-190; supposed value of monastic property, 165-167; frequent spoliation of monasteries, 168-170; monastic foundations in Hampshire, 170, 171; the monks easy landlords, 172, 173; their extravagance, 173-175; charges against the monasteries, 178, 179; returns for Warwickshire, 179-181; bad character of the commissioners Legh, London, and Layton, 181, 182; charges of immorality against the monks not to be relied on, 182, 183; the monks of Sawtrey Abbey, 184, 185; general pliancy of the monks, 186, 187; the chief receivers of the property, 188; the dissolution a gain to the nation, 189; the new gentry created, 190.
- Montesinos, the story of, 88, 89.
- Moulin-Quignon, discovery of the human jaw at, 329, 330.
- Mythology, classical, supposed germs of truth in, 103, 104.
- Müller's (A.) edition of the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes, reviewed, 272-274.
- Munich, the Pope's brief to the Archbishop of Munich on the congress at, 691-696.
- Munich Congress*, 209-244; origin of the congress, 209; want of a bond of union between the Catholics of Germany, 210-212; the Mentz divines and their dispute with the Tübingen school, 213, 214; injury to the Church of internal dissensions, 215; negotiations for the congress, 216-218; notice of the various members, 221-228; abstract of Dr. Döllinger's inaugural address on Catholic theology, 228-235; remarks

- on its merits and the controversy raised by it, 235-239; debate on the freedom of scientific investigation, 239-241; further discussions, 242, 243; good to be expected from the congress, 244.
- Municipalities of England and continental countries, difference between the, 55, 56.
- NASH (D. W.), the Pharaoh of the Exodus, *reviewed*, 255, 256.
- Neimhidh immigration into Ireland, 158.
- Nennius, *Historia Britonum*, 578-579 (note).
- Neuhaus (Charles), *Pensées et Fragments divers*, *reviewed*, 733, 734.
- Newman (Dr.), see *Kingsley*.
- Newmarch (Mr.), on one-pound notes, 422.
- Noah, Mr. Perowne's article on, in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, noticed, 655, 656.
- Northumbria, the Colonisation of, 577-608; neglect of the early state of the north of England, 577; the history of Northumbria usually commenced with Ida, 578-580; on the authorship of the *Historia Britonum*, 578, 579 (note); earliest colonisation by the Angles, 580-582; Bernicia and Deira the two centres of Angle settlement, 582-584; early history of the two kingdoms, 584-588; the Angle dominion in Scotland, 588-593; struggle between the Britons and Angles in Cumberland and Westmoreland, 593-599; the settlement of Lancashire, 599-605; the jurisdiction of St. Cuthbert, 605-607; palatine powers of the Bishop of Durham, 608.
- O'LEARY (ARTHUR), 305.
- Optics, physiological researches in, by Dr. A. W. Volkmann, 749-752.
- O'Reilly (J. P.), see *Sullivan*.
- Orlando the hero of many of the early romances, 84-86.
- Overstone's (Lord) opinions on currency, 402 *et seq.*
- PALISSY (BERNARD DE), *Les Terres émaillées de*, par A. Tainturier, *reviewed*, 331.
- Palmerston's (Lord) policy (Current Events), 755, 756.
- Paper-duty, refusal of the House of Lords to pass the bill abolishing the, 10, 11.
- Paris, *Municipal and Economical*, 55-78; difference between the municipalities of England and continental countries, 55, 56; functions of the prefects of the Seine and police, 56-58; municipal council of Paris, 59; expenditure of the city, 60, 61; sources of revenue, 61-66; various items of expenditure, 66-69; public works for the improvement of the city, 69-73; the *caisse de travaux*, 74, 75; effects of the building fever, 76-78.
- Pathetic feelings, why the, are attractive, 499, 500.
- Patrick (St.), Apostle of Ireland, Memoir of, by J. H. Todd, *reviewed*, 283-287.
- Patrum Apostolicorum Opera, edidit A. R. M. Dressel, *reviewed*, 271.
- Pedigrees (Irish), 153.
- Pelasgians (the), 155.
- Penal Servitude Amendment Bill (Current Events), 759-760.
- Pentateuch, Mr. Perowne on the authenticity of the, 639-642.
- Perowne's (Mr.) article on the authenticity of the Pentateuch in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, 639-642.
- Pharaoh of the Exodus, by D. W. Nash, *reviewed*, 255-256.
- Phlogiston theory, 434.
- Physiocratic school, the French economists of the, the originators of agricultural progress, 381, 382.
- Plantamour (E.), *Du Climat de Genève*, *reviewed*, 328.
- Plath (Dr. J. H.), *Ueber die Quellen zum Leben des Confucius, namentlich seine sog. Hausgespräche* (Kia-ü), *reviewed*, 700.
- Plato's Phædo, edited by W. D. Geddes, *reviewed*, 274-276.
- Plumptre's (Prof.) articles in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, 627 *et seq.*
- Political Economy, course of, by G. D. Molinari, *reviewed*, 313-315.
- Polytheism, Egyptian and Hellenic, 108, 109.
- Poole's (Mr. R. S.) articles in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, 662-665.
- Poor-Law, the Rise of the English, 609-622; meaning expressed in the words Church and State, 609; relief of the poor by the Church, 610; the mobilisation of the population, 611, 612; antagonism of the Church and State with regard to the relief of the poor,

- 614; relief by the religious houses, 615; attempts of the state to put down mendicancy, 616; system of parochial relief, 617-619; secularisation of poor-relief, 620; distinction should be made between the work-house as a house of correction for the vagabond and as a hospice for the impotent, 621, 622.
- Prescott (William H.), *Life of*, by G. Ticknor, *reviewed*, 725, 726.
- Proverbs (Sanskrit), 702.
- Purānas (The), 548.
- QUADRA (DE), Bishop of Aquila, 196.
- Quesnay's maxims on agriculture, 381.
- RAMAYANA (The), 518, *et seq.*
- Randolph's correspondence relating to Mary Queen of Scots, 204-207.
- Ranke (L.), *Englische Geschichte vornehmlich im sechzehnten und siebzehnten Jahrhundert*, vol. 4, *reviewed*, 715, 716.
- Red Sea, zoology of the Abyssinian coast of, 741-743.
- Reinisch (Dr. S.), *Die Grabstele des Priesters Ptah'emwa*, *reviewed*, 256-258.
- Reymond (William), Corneille, *Shakespeare et Goethe; étude sur l'influence anglo-germanique en France au dix^e siècle*, *reviewed*, 721.
- Rhodes, upheaval of the island of, 123.
- Richelot (Henri), *Göthe, ses mémoires, sa vie*, *reviewed*, 720, 721.
- Riethmüller (C. J.), Alexander Hamilton and his contemporaries, *reviewed*, 718, 719.
- Risi (Pietro), *Dei Tentativi fatti per spiegare le antiche lingue italiane, e specialmente l'Etrusca*, *reviewed*, 702, 703.
- Rome, *conflicts with*, 667-690; intellectual freedom in the Catholic Church, 667; Lamennais's position towards the Church, 668-672; relations between science and authority, 672-674; use of the Index of prohibited books, 674; differences between the Catholics of Germany and Italy, 675, 676; Dr. Frohschammer's collision with the Holy See, 676-682; the Pope's brief to the Archbishop of Munich, 682, 683; its bearing on *The Home and Foreign Review*, 683-690.
- SAWTREY abbey, the monks of, 184, 185.
- Schakran, story of, 553, 554.
- Schleiden (M. J.), *Das Alter des Menschengeschlechts, die Entstehung der Arten, und die Stellung des Menschen in der Natur*, *reviewed*, 248, 249.
- Schleswig-Holstein, *the constitutional question in*, 38-54; necessity of impartiality in stating the question, 38; unitedness of the German nation on the subject, 39; historical view of the question, 40-45; effect of the accession of Christian VIII. 45, 46; the war in 1848, 47; the Duchies deserted by Germany, 48; change in the succession, and treaty of London, 1852, 49; negotiations between Germany and Denmark, 50, 51; encroachment of Denmark on the rights of the Duchies, 52-54.
- *Movement in Germany*, 365-378; state of the German parties, 365, 366; rejection of the treaty of London, the great object with Germany, 367; state of the Federal system at the death of Frederick of Denmark, 368, 369; position of Austria in the Schleswig-Holstein affair, 371, 372; feeling of the smaller states, 372-375; the Nationalverein and the Reformverein, 375-377; unanimity of the German people in favour of the rights of the Duchies, 377, 378.
- question (Current Events), 335-337.
- Science, epochs of change in the history of, 433.
- and authority, relations between, 672-674.
- Scientific investigation, debate at Munich congress on the freedom of, 239-241.
- Scotland, the Angle dominion in, 588-593.
- Scripture, Mr. Westcott on the canon of, 630-636.
- Scylla and Charybdis, 120.
- Seine, functions of the prefect of the, 56-58.
- Sepulchre (Holy), Mr. Fergusson's article on the site of, in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, 661, 662.
- Sermons on Ecclesiastical Subjects, by H. E. Manning, *reviewed*, 310-312.
- Shadhelieh (The), 574.
- Shakespeare characters, by C. Cowden Clarke, *reviewed*, 292.
- Silures, Iberian origin of the, 143.
- Smith's (Dr.) *Dictionary of the Bible*, 623-666; growth of biblical science, 623, 624; defects of this Dictionary, 625-627; Prof. Plumptre's article on Urim and Thummim, 627, 628; dif-

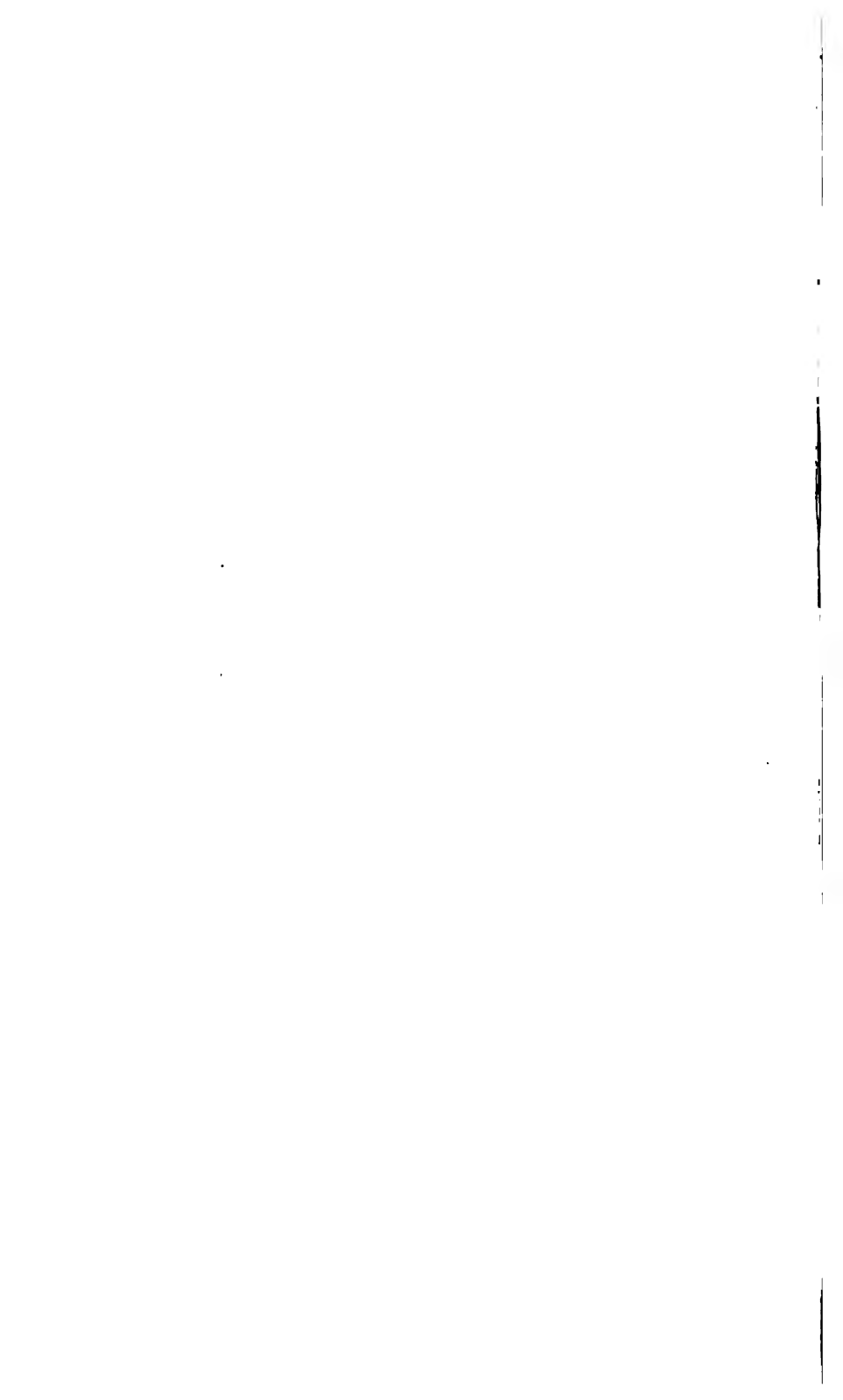
- fuseness of some articles, 628, 629; Prof. Plumptre's article "Bible," 629; Mr. Westcott on the canon of Scripture, 630-636; Prof. Plumptre's article "Apocrypha," 636; other articles criticised, 637; Mr. Westcott on the Vulgate, 638, 639; Mr. Perowne on the authenticity of the Pentateuch, 639-642; Lord Arthur Hervey's articles, 642-644; Mr. Huxtable on the book of Isaiah, 644-648; Mr. Westcott on the book of Daniel, 649; the deuterocanonical books not well treated of, 649, 650; unsatisfactory character of Dr. Thompson's article on the Gospels, 650-653; other articles on the New Testament noticed, 653, 654; the biographical articles, 655-657; sectarian views displayed in Mr. Meyrick's articles, 658-660; Dr. Fitzgerald's article on miracles, 660; excellence of the geographical articles, 661, 662; Mr. R. S. Poole's articles, 662-665; modification of opinion concerning the evidence of Christianity, 665, 666.
- Smith (Goldwin), a Plea for the Abolition of Tests in the University of Oxford, *reviewed*, 730, 733.
- Spain, Notes on the Geology and Mineralogy of, by W. K. Sullivan and J. P. O'Reilly, *reviewed*, 323-325.
- Spanish intrigues in England in Queen Elizabeth's reign, 195, 196.
- Spectrum analysis, 471-475.
- Spencer (Herbert), Essays, scientific, political, and speculative, second series, *reviewed*, 315.
- Spiegel (Dr. F.), Avesta, die heiligen Schriften der Parsen, Band 3, *reviewed*, 251, 252.
- Stahl's phlogiston theory, 434.
- Stahr (Adolf), Tiberius, *reviewed*, 276-281.
- Stanley's (Dr.) articles in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, 655-657.
- Stephen, Dr. Stanley's article on, in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, *noticed*, 657.
- Succession duty, Mr. Gladstone's miscalculation with regard to the, 7.
- Sullivan's (W. K.) translation of Ebel's Celtic studies, *reviewed*, 282, 283.
- and J. P. O'Reilly, Notes on the Geology and Mineralogy of the Spanish Provinces of Santander and Madrid, *reviewed*, 323-325.
- Swedenborg, his life, writings, and doctrine, by Matter, *reviewed*, 717.
- Sybel (Heinrich von), Kleine historische Schriften, *reviewed*, 722.
- TAINTURIER (A.), Les Terres émaillées de Bernard de Palissy, *reviewed*, 331.
- Taylor's (S. H.) translation of Dr. R. Kühner's Greek Grammar, *reviewed*, 703-705.
- Tenant right, see *Irish Exodus*.
- Testament (New), Introduction to, by F. Bleek, *reviewed*, 267-271.
- Testa, a Plea for the Abolition of, in the University of Oxford, by Goldwin Smith, *reviewed*, 730-733.
- Thackeray, 476-511; his character seen in his works, 476; his chief aim to discover and display the soul, 477, 478; his portrait-painting, 479-481; his characters felt by himself to be real, 482; his moral philosophy, 483-486; mistakes in his painting of female characters, 487-489; egotism of his genius, his characters drawn from himself, 489-493; weakness of his bad characters, 494; his ideal of woman a negative, 494; portrait of Beatrix Esmond, 495; Thackeray never forgets his inner life in his novels, 496; remarks on humour, 497-499; why the pathetic feelings are attractive, 499, 500; two kinds of humour exhibited by Pendennis and Warrington, 500, 501; Thackeray as a week-day preacher, 501, 502; his view of married love, 503, 504; his mind a proverbial one, 504, 505; tolerant of contradictions, 505-507; compared with George Eliot, 507, 508; his digressions, 508; Esmond his best novel, 508, 509; Vanity Fair, 509; his feeling towards Catholicism, 510, 511.
- Thompson's (Abp.) article on the Gospels in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, 644-648.
- Tiberius, by A. Stahr, *reviewed*, 276-281.
- Ticknor's (G.) History of Spanish Literature, *reviewed*, 79-82.
- Life of William Hickling Prescott, *reviewed*, 725, 726.
- Todd (J. H.), St. Patrick, apostle of Ireland, a memoir, *reviewed*, 283-287.
- Traditions, universality of certain, 105, 106.
- Treaty of commerce with France, 11, 12.
- Triads, the Welsh, 139 *et seq.*
- Trojan war, antiquity of the, 112-114.
- Tuatha De Danann, note on the, 163.

- Tübingen School, the Ments divines and their dispute with the, 213, 214.
- ULSTER, on an extension of the tenant right of, 354-356.
- Unger (F.), Die versunkene Insel Atlantis, *noticed*, 124, 125.
- Urim and Thummim, Prof. Plumptre's article on, in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, 627, 628.
- VANITY Fair (Thackeray's), 509.
- Varthema (Ludovico di), Travels in Egypt, Syria, Arabia Deserta, and Arabia Felix, &c., 1503-1508, *reviewed*, 707, 708.
- Vedic hymns, connection of the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyana* with the, 521-531.
- Verdet et Berthelot, Leçons de Chimie et de Physique professées en 1862, *reviewed*, 330.
- Verdier (L.), Histoire politique et littéraire de la Restauration, *reviewed*, 722, 723.
- Volcanic action, legends relating to, 125-127.
- eruptions, on the synchronism and antagonism of, 747, 748.
- Volkman (Dr. A. W.), Physiologische Untersuchungen im Gebiete der Optik, *reviewed*, 749-752.
- Voges, memoir on the transition rocks of the, 743, 744.
- Vulgate, Mr. Westcott on the, 638, 639.
- WALLACE's (Lady) translation of Mendelssohn's letters, *reviewed*, 319, 320.
- Welsh poetry of the sixth century, 148-150.
- Westcott's (Mr.) articles in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, 630 *et seq.*
- Westmoreland, struggle between the Britons and Angles in, 593-599.
- Wilson's (Mr. James) opinions on Paper Currency, 420.
- Windischmann (Fr.) Zoroastrische Studien, Abhandlungen zur Mythologie und Sagen Geschichte des alten Iran, *reviewed*, 252-254.
- Wolff (O.), das Buch Judith als geschichtliche Urkunde vertheidigt und erklärt, *reviewed*, 260-264.
- Woolner (Thomas), My Beautiful Lady, *reviewed*, 736-739.
- Workhouse (The) as a house of correction and as a hospice for the impotent, 621, 622.
- YADU Nath Tarkaratna's edition of the Bhamini Vilasa of Pandita Jagannath, *reviewed*, 250.
- Yu Kiao Li, les deux Cousines, roman chinois, traduction nouvelle, par Stanislas Julien, *reviewed*, 701, 702.
- ZAOUS, Abou Abd er Rahman, 560.
- Zend alphabet, the primitive, 254-255.
- Zeuner (G.), das Locomotiven-Blasrohr, experimentelle und theoretische Untersuchungen über die Zugzeugung durch Dampfstrahlen, *reviewed*, 332-334.
- Zoology of the Abyssinian coast of the Red Sea, 741-743.
- Zoroastrians, religious system of the, 251.
- Zoroastrische Studien, von F. Windischmann, *reviewed*, 252-254.

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